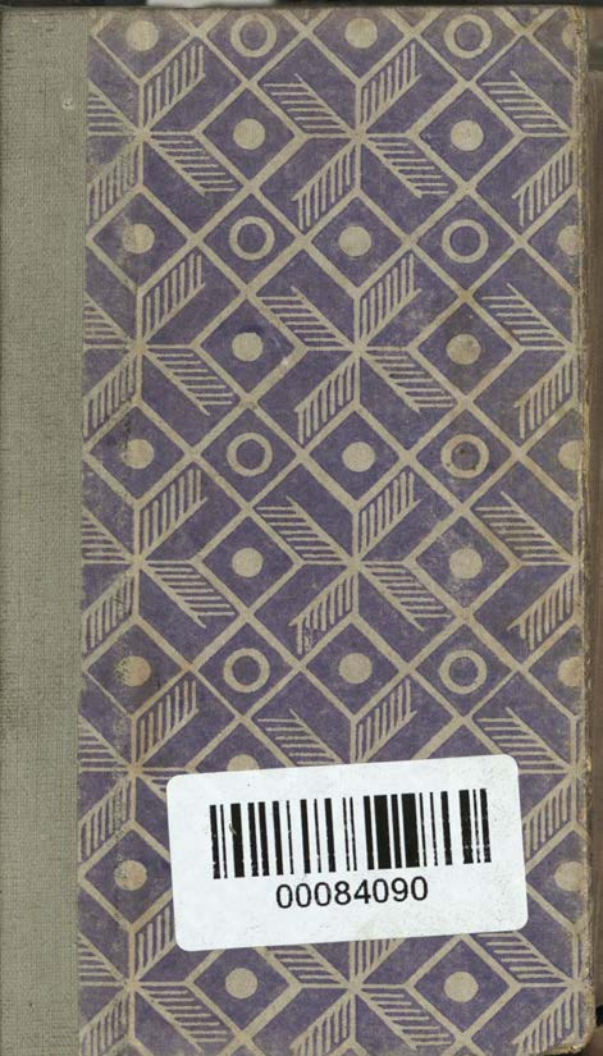
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Map
of
GREECE,
Engraved for
THE MODERN TRAVELLER
By Sidney Hall
English Miles
ADRIANOPLE
RUMILIA
SALONICA
LEMNOS
Tenedos
C. Baba
Skyros
Peaca
Andros
Nigaria
Palmo
Siphanto
Amorgo
Stampalia
Santorin
Mila
CERIGO
CANDIA
CORFU
PAXO
Anti Paxo
ST MAURA
ITHACA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
G. OF ARCADIA
TRIPOLATES
THESSALY
G. OF SALONICA
G. OF CONTESSA
G. OF SMYRNA
C. Matapan
C. St Angelo
C. Corbo
C. Orio
Gaidurnisi I.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

GREECE.

[A country of Europe, lying between lat. 36° 12′ and 40° N., and long. 20° 10′ and 24° 5′ E.; bounded, on the N., by Albania Proper and Macedonia; on the E. by the Egean Sea; on the W. by the Ionian Sea; and on the S. by the Mediterranean.]

THREE centuries and a half have elapsed since, by the cession of the Morea to the Ottoman conqueror of Constantinople, the name of Greece was blotted out from the map of Europe. It had long been reduced to a mere name. From the time that Athens fell before the arms of Sylla, (B. C. 86,) it had ceased to be an independent power. When the master of the Roman world removed the seat of empire from Italy to Thrace, Greece was still nothing more than a province of Rome; and the historian remarks, that "in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of Romans adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople."*

It is not true, that "the majesty of Greece fell under the scimitar of Mahomet II." It had long been despoiled of its honours by Christian invaders; and

* Gibbon.

the pillage of Constantinople by the Latin barbarians, in the fifth crusade, was not surpassed in horrors by that which ensued on the Mussulman conquest. In the partition of the empire by the French and the Venetians in 1204, Greece, "the proper and ancient Greece," again received a Latin conqueror in the Marquis of Montferrat, who is described by Gibbon as treading with indifference that classic ground. "He viewed with a careless eye the beauties of the valley of Tempe, traversed with a cautious step the straits of Thermopylæ, occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos, and assaulted the fortifications of Corinth and Napoli di Romania, which resisted his arms." * The fertile island of Crete was purchased of the Marquis by the Venetians, "with the ruins of a hundred cities," and colonised with the refuse of the Adriatic. Sclavonian robbers had desolated the peninsula before the Turks became its masters. All of ancient Greece that had not perished, consisted of its language, its monuments, and its haunted and teeming soil,—its "vales of evergreen and hills of snow,"—

> "The sun, the soil, but not the slave, the same;
> Unchanged in all, except its foreign lord."

* Gibbon, ch. 61. "It was evident," says Daru, "that this division of the empire would in a short time ruin the power of the Latins in the East. Powerful enough to destroy, they were not sufficiently so to preserve. When we read, in Villehardouin, of the conquests which this and that prince undertook with a hundred or six-score knights, we seem to be reading of the expeditions of the lieutenants of Pizarro or Ferdinand Cortes; and one is mortified to see the descendants of the Greeks and the remains of the Roman empire treated with such contempt. . . . These possessions were conceded to barons with titles hitherto unknown in the East. The earl of Blois was duke of Nicea; Villehardouin, marshal of Romania. The novelty of the titles bespoke the great change which had taken place in the constitution of society; and Greece must doubtless have been astonished at beholding an east of Naxos, a prince of Lacedæmon, a duke of Athens."—*Histoire de Venise*, lib. iv. § 37.

"Some confusion," remarks an accomplished Philhellenist, "has been occasioned by the different ideas attached by various writers to the denominations Greece and Greeks. When they are exclusively restricted to those commonwealths that took part in the Peloponnesian war, or those that sent deputies to the council of Amphictyons, Macedonia, Epirus, and Constantinople will be without their limits; and if a wider range be taken, there will be danger of confounding with the descendants of the Hellenes, many nations of perfectly different origin, but whose religion and habitual language have embodied them with the Greeks. The Wallachian colony that occupies the passes of Pindus and the frontiers of Thessaly and Macedonia, is distinguished from its neighbours by the preservation of a dialect retaining much more of the Latin than any of its other derivatives. They are supposed to have acquired this idiom from the Roman colonies planted by Trajan upon the Dacian frontier. A Sclavonian race is immediately distinguishable in the figure, countenance, and habits of the Albanian: his native idiom bears also marks of the same origin. But the common tongue of both these tribes, even among themselves, is Greek; and few of the Albanian colonists of Peloponnesus retain even a recollection of their original language.* Mussulmans in their native mountains, the Albanians have generally assumed the Greek faith in their emigrations to the south, and are supposed to be equally negligent of both. Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the eastern Morea, are full of their villages; and the effeminate Greeks are gradually

* Mr. Leake states, that the descendants of the Albanian colonists who, about two centuries ago, settled in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, still speak the Albanian tongue.—*Outline*, &c. p. 9.

yielding to a more hardy race, the care of the flock and culture of the field.

"When the Russians, after their abortive expedition to the Morea, left its inhabitants, without protection, to the fury of their masters against whom they had rebelled, the Turks, too indolent for the work of slaughter themselves, turned the Albanian bloodhounds upon that devoted region; nor was the task they had given them neglected. All the Morea, northward of the impervious mountains of Maina, remained many years in the possession of an unrestrained banditti. Some of these robbers, no doubt, settled in the country which they had pillaged; but the tall, strong figures and sandy countenances of many of the peasants in Argolis and Arcadia, refer their Sclavonian blood to a much earlier date. The despot of the Morea is said to have had Albanians in his service; and Gibbon mentions several irruptions of Sclavonians into that country so early as the eighth century. At present, the majority of the smaller villages is certainly occupied by the descendants of Sclavonians; and the pure Greek blood is more likely to be found in the islands of the Archipelago, than upon the continent, except in some singular cases. Eastward of the Strymon, the Albanians are but thinly scattered; but the Bulgarians, who occupy the ancient Thrace, are united, by the Mussulmans, with both Albanians and Greeks, in the common appellation of *Giaour* or infidel, and agree with them in religion and in the general use of the same tongue." *

The claims of the modern Greeks to the sympathy

* Douglas (Hon. F. S. N.) on certain Points of Resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks. 8vo. pp. 40—43. (3d edn. 1813.)

and aid of Christian Europe, cannot depend on the geographical, or rather historical question which relates to the proper application of the name. Their right and title to the soil, on the ground of inheritance, would seem to be not much more valid than that of the Welsh, the genuine Britons, to the sovereignty of the British isles. Whether, then, the Mainotes are descended, as they boast, from the ancient Spartans, or from Laconian pirates; whether the Hydriotes are Hellenists by descent, or belong, as has been contended by a modern traveller,* to "the worst and lowest species of Albanians;" whatever be the origin of the various tribes of the peninsula, or how mixed soever they may be with Sclavonic or Venetian intruders, their cause is the cause of freedom and of humanity. Like the Copts of Egypt, they are doubtless both a mixed and a degenerate race. Still, the interest attaching to them as Greeks, and which, in spite of all that may be said against them, must attach to their name, linked as it is with every classical prepossession and with the proudest historical recollections,—this interest belongs to the soil, not to the race. Their substantial claims are those of a persecuted and oppressed people: the accidental interest of their cause arises from the dialect they speak and the country they occupy. It is felt as a violence done to every association, an incongruity in the political state of things, a disgrace to human nature,—that Greece, the cradle of western learning and the birth-place of liberty, where the language of Homer and Pindar and Plato is still the vernacular tongue, should be the seat of Tâtar barbarism and Mussulman intolerance, peopled only by tyrants and by slaves.

Sir W. Gell.

The distinguishing, perhaps we might say the redeeming characteristic of the modern Greeks,—that bond which still unites the mixed tribes as one people, and at the same time connects them with the country and its ancient masters, is their language;—that brilliant phenomenon, alike wonderful in its preservation and in its origin, which has survived the political revolutions of thirty centuries, and which, disdaining to blend with the barbarous idioms of successive invaders, has triumphed over the Latin itself, and still vindicates its claim to be the only indigenous language of Greece.* Disguised as it is in the Romaic by various dialects and perhaps a corrupt pronunciation, it retains, if we may be allowed the expression, all its vital force, and is almost daily resuming more and more of its original character as embodied in the ancient literature. The little Greek spoken in Asia Minor, on the contrary, is nearly unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Peninsula, on account of the number of Turkish words with which it is interlarded.† Thessaly and the northern provinces have adopted the barbarisms of Albania, and an Italian may generally be substituted for a Greek word at Athens and in the Morea. The Megareans speak a language much less corrupt than what is spoken in Attica. The harsh and guttural utterance of the Mainotes has been remarked by more

* "The Greeks have preserved their original tongue in greater purity during an equal extent of years, than any nation with which we are acquainted, perhaps with the single exception of the Arabians; and I believe, the contemporary of William of Malmsbury or of Froissart would find more difficulty in conversing with his modern countrymen, than any Athenian of the purer ages with his."—DOUGLAS, p. 91.

† See Mod. Trav., Syria and Asia Minor, vol. ii. pp. 134; 155, 6; 173.

than one traveller. In Crete, where few even of the Turks understand their native tongue, the Romaic is universally employed in conversation, and appears to have retained the greatest number of ancient Greek words. Strange to say, the purest Greek is spoken by the Fanariots of Constantinople, many of whom employ the ancient idiom with as much facility as if it were still in general use;* but this is the result of cultivation. In Greece Proper, it seems to be the very effluence of the climate and the inspiration of the scene.

Upon the whole, the Greek language may be said still to prevail, more or less, over the whole of what was anciently considered as included in Hellas; namely from the Tænarian promontory to Upper Macedonia, together with the islands and coasts of the Egean Sea; and these are the countries that will now come more immediately under our observation. The division, political and military, which has been adopted by the Greek government, is that of Eastern Hellas, Western Hellas, the Morea, the Islands, and Crete. To this we shall adhere, adverting only occasionally to the ancient and other modern divisions. But first, we shall take a general view of the

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

The long chain of mountains which, stretching across European Turkey from east to west, divides Servia and Bulgaria from Romelia and Albania, sends out two secondary ranges, one of which, the ancient

* The dialect spoken by the Greeks at Joannina, is considered as one of the purest forms of the Romaic.

Rhodope, runs in a south-easterly direction to the Sea of Marmora; the other, improperly termed the Pindus Chain, separating the ancient Illyricum from Macedonia, extends southward through the whole of Greece, terminating in the Corinthian Gulf, while various collateral ranges on the western side, traverse Albania, and extend to the shores of the Gulf of Arta. This mountain barrier, dividing the country longitudinally into two unequal portions, separates what is now termed Eastern from Western Greece; while, in the parallel of 39°, its lateral branches extend quite across the continent, from the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ on the shores of the Maliac Gulf, to the coast of Acarnania. This is the range known under the name of Mount Œta, which separates the plains of Thessaly from Bœotia. A double barrier of mountains divides the isthmus from Continental Greece, while an apparent prolongation of the great longitudinal chain traverses the whole of the peninsula, terminating in the rocky coast of Maina.

The Bœotian plains terminate to the north-west in the valley of Phocis and Doris, watered by the Cephissus and its branches, which have their origin in Mount Œta. This valley separates the mountains that rise from the Gulf of Corinth, and which anciently bore the names of Helicon, Corax, Parnassus, &c., from the mountains of Locris, the ancient Callidromus and Cnemis, which are a prolongation of Mount Œta, and the northern face of which looks down on the valley of the Spercheius and the Maliac Gulf. These two ranges are united in the region of the ancient Doris; and from their junction, the central chain of Pindus continues in a N. or N.N.E. direction, gradually inclining towards the coast of the Adriatic, and giving

off collateral branches which intersect Albania. For about a hundred miles, this elevated range is nearly equi-distant from the eastern and western coasts.

In Western Greece, a series of plains and valleys lie between Mount Pindus and the irregular range which borders the entire extent of the western and southern coast. At some distance from the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta (the ancient Ambracia), which divides Epirus from Acarnania, rises a steep, woody mountain, now called Makrinoro (or Makronoros, the Long Mountain), which constitutes a pass of great strength and importance, corresponding to that of Thermopylæ at the eastern end of the Œtean range, and completing the barrier between Eastern and Western Greece. To the north of this ridge rises the vast and apparently insulated mass called Tzumerka;* and still loftier mountains, rising to the N.E. and N. of this, divide the valley of the Aracthus or river of Arta, from that of the Aspropotamo (the ancient Achelous). These mountains are commonly known under the name of Agrafa: as seen from the elevated plain of Ioannina, they appear to fill up, in the distance, the interval between the Tzumerka and the narrow and lofty ridge called Metzoukel, which separates the plain of Ioannina from the deep valley of the Aracthus. Immediately beyond the river commences the ascent of a lofty groupe, the successive ridges of which conduct the eye to summits, supposed to be not less than 7000 feet above the level of the sea. These mountains, which now bear the name of the Greater Metzovo, are, apparently, the very nucleus of the chain of Pindus. The town of Metzovo is situated near one of the sources of the river of Arta, in the

* Supposed by Dr. Holland to be the ancient Tomarus.

bosom of these Alpine regions, and forms one of the most interesting geographical points in the country. From this part of the chain of Pindus, four considerable rivers take their rise, each pursuing its course to the sea in a different direction. These are, the Arachthus, which flows in a south-westerly direction into the Gulf of Arta; the Achelous, which rises at no great distance, and takes a southerly course through a mountainous district, entering the Ionian Sea near Messolonghi; the Peneus (or Salympria), which, rising on the eastern side of that part of Pindus immediately above Metzovo, descends into the great plains of Thessaly, and pursues its course to the Archipelago through the precipitous defiles of Tempe; and lastly, the Viosa (Vioussa), or Aous, which has its origin in the mountains to the north of Metzovo, and flowing in a N.E. direction to Tepeleni, enters the Adriatic near the site of the ancient Apollonia.

One of the principal routes over Pindus, in proceeding from the western coast, lies through the canton of Zagora, in which one of the branches of the river of Arta has its source, forming its junction with the Metzovo branch in the deep hollow between Metzoukel and Pindus. The Zagora mountains are distinguished from most other parts of the Pindus chain by their summits spreading out into wide and open plains, instead of forming narrow ridges. Beyond Metzovo, in the same direction, is the ridge of Mavronoros, or the Black Mountain; and still further northward are the mountains of Tzebel and Samarina, which are believed to be among the most elevated points in Albania. The chain continues to run northwards, dividing Illyricum from Macedonia, till it unites with the mountains that enclose the basin of the Danube.

The upper ridge of Pindus, near Metzovo, appears

to be composed entirely of serpentine. The exposed surface of the rock is every where covered with a yellowish green steatite, generally disposed in a sort of scales upon the serpentine, which is probably superposed upon primitive slate. The ridge intervening between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of the Aracthus, exhibits a series of layers of calcareous slate, apparently of recent formation, interrupted at intervals by rocks of limestone, which come down in abrupt cliffs to the channel of the stream. This limestone probably forms the basis of all the country westward of the river of Arta, and is the material also of the lower parts of the Pindus chain on the eastern side. The bed of the river, however, and the channels of the streams which join it from the east, contain fragments of syenite, porphyry, and serpentine, and sometimes mica-slate, jasper, and conglomerate rock, indicating that the more central parts of Pindus are composed in part of primitive formations. In the valley of the Salympria, there is a most remarkable groupe of insulated rocks, composed entirely of a conglomerate, consisting of granite, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, syenite, greinstone, and quartz pebbles. The origin of this formation, which is of a very limited extent, presents an interesting problem to the geologist. Limestone, however, is the prevailing rock, for the most part cavernous, and with abrupt and precipitous faces. The whole chain of Œta, in particular, appears to belong to the great calcareous formation of Greece. The general appearance of the limestone strikingly corresponds to that in the north of Ireland; its colour, in general, is nearly milk-white; it contains a great quantity of flint, either in layers or in nodules; and large deposites of gypsum have taken place upon it, particularly near the coasts of the

Adriatic and Ionian seas. The Scironian rocks on the southern coast of the Isthmus, consist of breccia, lying, as in Attica and over all the northern part of the Morea, on a stratum of limestone. In Thessaly, the limestone gives way to the serpentine breccia called *verde antico;* and that curious aggregate of dark diallage and white feld-spar, called by Italian lapidaries *bianco e nero antico*, is found in Macedonia. Other varieties of porphyry occur also in Thrace, particularly one of hornblende, resembling lava, in the great plain of Chouagilarkir, near the foot of the Karowlan mountains, a branch of the ancient Rhodope. But in Hellas Proper, with the exceptions above mentioned, to which may be added the breccia formation around Mycenæ, and the substratum of the rock of the Acropolis at Athens, the mountains so uniformly consist of limestone, that scarcely any other substance can be met with.*

The most fertile districts of Greece are Macedonia, Thessaly, and the eastern parts of Phocis and Bœotia.† The agricultural produce of Attica, owing to the lightness of the soil, is confined to barley and olives. The Morea is said to be susceptible of every species of cultivation.‡ The mountainous region of Epirus is the

* These geological observations are taken chiefly from Dr. Holland's Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c., and Dr. Clarke's Travels, part. ii.

† "Marathon, forgotten in every other respect, is now only regarded, as it was before its glory, for being the granary of the barren Attica····Pindus and Œta, with their various branches, are impracticable to the Albanian husbandman; though, in the little winding valleys (the τραχεῖαι) that intersect them, we may be secure of always finding a village with its surrounding fields of maize or cotton."—DOUGLAS, p. 51.

‡ "The corn of the Morea has long been highly prized in the adjoining islands, and its culture is proportionally extensive. Its

most barren. Thessaly yields wool and silk; and the soil of Macedonia is particularly favourable to tobacco: that of Yenige, on account of its balsamic odour, is preferred even to that of Latakia in Syria. Cotton also is extensively cultivated. But the principal wealth of Macedonia anciently consisted of its mines. The most celebrated were those of the mountain Pangæus, from which Philip annually derived a thousand talents

barley, however, is not so much esteemed, and its Indian corn had never been exported. The Peninsula is by no means a country for wine, the greater portion of its consumption being imported from the Archipelago. Two species, however, are admired by the Greeks; the wine of Mistra and that of St. George in Corinth. Both are only of a light body, and acquire a disagreeable flavour from the turpentine with which they are purified. The grapes are neither large nor of fine flavour; the best are produced at Gastouni. One species, however, the *raisin de Corinthe* (Zante currant), has been extensively cultivated of late along the shores of the gulfs of Lepanto and Salamis, where it has taken the place of tobacco plantations. Other fruits are likewise produced in abundance;—lemons, not large, nor peculiarly fine; oranges,—the best are found at Calamata; peaches, pomegranates, apricots, almonds, and a variety of shell fruit. The figs, especially those of Maina, are remarkable for their sweetness. The markets of Napoli di Romania are plentifully supplied with cucumbers, love-apples, spinnach, asparagus, and other vegetables. Olives abound in every district, but especially in Maina and Argolis. Manna and indigo were formerly cultivated, but are now neglected, as well as the gathering of galls, which used to be found in every forest. Cotton was never grown in large quantities, but its quality was remarkably white and delicate. The culture of flax was but little known. The immense flocks of Argolis, Messenia, and the valleys of Arcadia, furnish a proportionate quantity of wool, the exportation of which to the Ionian Islands, together with the sheep themselves, and a little wine, constitutes the only remnant of the once extensive trade of Pyrgos." Large quantities of wax are still exported from Napoli to Syra. The barren and mountainous districts abound with beds of thyme, fennel, and mint; but the honey of the Morea is decidedly inferior to that of Attica, and must be used with caution on account of its medicinal properties.—EMERSON'S *Journal in "Picture of Greece in* 1825." pp. 314—1

of gold; and by means of the treasure thence extracted, he became the master of Greece. In the plain of Arta, one of the most fertile districts of Epirus, maize, wheat, rice, and tobacco, are cultivated; the vineyards are numerous, and the orange-tree and fig-tree are made objects of peculiar attention. The oak, the plane, and the chestnut are the chief ornaments of the valleys; and the vast precipices of the Pindus chain are clothed with forests of pines. The forests of the Morea are in some districts very extensive, especially in Elis and on the western coasts, which have long furnished oak and pine for the construction of the Hydriot vessels, and large quantities of vallonia for exportation to Zante and Malta.*

* Among the extracts from Dr. Sibthorp's papers, given in Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, will be found a valuable list of Grecian plants, with an account of their medicinal and economic uses. Of seventy articles, the principal are the following: *Pinus maritima* (πεύκος); *pinus pinea* (πίτυς of the ancients; now called, from the fruit, *koukonaria*); *pinus picea*. *Quercus ægilops*; *q. ilex*; *q. coccifera*; (*q. cerris?*) *Arbutus unedo* (κομαριὰ), the fruit of which is esteemed a delicacy; a spirit is also drawn from it, and a vinegar of a bright gold colour; the flutes (φλουρια) of the Greek shepherds are made of the wood; *arbutus andrachne*, the fruit of which is not eaten. *Rhus cotinus*, yielding a beautiful yellow dye; the powdered fruit, called *sumach* by the Turks, is sprinkled upon meat as seasoning. *Laurus nobilis* (Δάφνη), the most aromatic of the Greek shrubs; the oil expressed from the berries is used to anoint the hair. *Nerium oleander* (the ancient ῥοδοδαφνη); the flowers are used to adorn the churches on feast-days. *Vitex agnus castus*, the constant companion of the oleander; the leaves yield a yellow dye, and baskets and bee-hives are made of the twigs. *Salix Babylonica*. *Pistachia lentiscus*,—yielding the mastich; *p. terebinthus*; the fruit is eaten, and an oil expressed from it. *Juniperus oxycedrus* (κέδρος). *Cervis siliquastrum*. *Daphne dioica*, yielding a yellow dye. *Myrtus communis*; the fruit μοῦρα is eaten in Greece, both the white fruit and the black; the plant is used in garlands and to ornament the churches; in Zante, a syrup is made from the fruit, and a purple colour is also obtained from the plant. *Ficus carica*. *Hedera helix*.

The zoology of Greece, so far as known, does not appear to furnish many distinct species. The lynx, the wild cat, the wild boar, the wild goat, the stag, the roe-buck, the badger, and the squirrel, inhabit the steeper rocks of Parnassus, and the thick pine-forests above Callidia. The bear is also sometimes found here. The rugged mountains about Marathon are frequented by wolves, foxes, and jackals; weasels are sometimes taken in the villages and out-houses;

Juncus acutus. Cistus creticus; the laudanum is not collected. *Arum maculatum;* the root is used in the Morea, in times of great scarcity, instead of bread. *Ceratonia siliqua;* the fruit is an article of commerce. *Rhamnus Græcus;* the berries yield a yellow dye. *Populus nigra* (λευκη). *Sambucus nigra;* it forms the hedge to the vineyards about Livadia. *Salsola fruticosa;* the alkali obtained from it is used in the manufacture of soap and of glass. *Amygdalus communis sylvestris. Nigella Damascena. Echium Italicum. Carthamus corymbosus. Origeron graveolens,*—gives a green dye. *Satureia capitata* (θυμος), the plant to the flowers of which the Hymettian honey owes its celebrity. *Erica multiflora,*—flowers in winter, and during that season furnishes the principal food of the bee; but the honey made from it sells at half the price of that made during the summer from the wild thyme. *Salvia arborea. Rubia peregrina;* the root gives a red dye. *Hyoscyamus albus* (ισχος); the leaves are used as an opiate in the tooth-ach, externally applied, or the fumes of the burnt seed are inhaled for the same purpose. *Lolium temulentum* (ζιζανια), supposed to be the *zizanion* of the New Testament (Matt. xiii.), the *zivan* of the Arabians, and the *rosch* of the Hebrews: the seeds often become mixed with the corn, and when eaten produce violent giddiness. *Smilax aspera;* the flowers are extremely fragrant, and are put into wine to give it a grateful flavour; the root is used as a depurator of the blood. *Asphodelus ramosus. Amaryllis lutea,* used as a coronary or ornamental plant; and the Turks plant it on the graves of their friends. The mallow, the asphodel, and the myrtle, were used anciently for the same purpose. *Malva sylvestris,* used as a pot-herb. *Scolymus maculatus,* eaten as a salad. *Scilla officinalis;* the root is made into an electuary. *Asparagus aphyllus;* this is boiled and eaten during Lent.

hares* are too numerous to be particularised. The mole burrows in the rich ground of Livadia (Bœotia), and the hedge-hog is found in the environs of Athens. The otter inhabits the rivers and marshes of Bœotia, and the phoca and the porpoise are seen in the Corinthian Gulf and off the coast of Attica. The small species of bat flutters about the ruins of Athens, and a larger species inhabits the caverns of the island of Didascalo.

The large vulture (ὀρνιο) frequents the cliffs of Delphi, and the woods and precipices of Parnassus. There are several species of the falcon tribe. Dr. Sibthorp particularises what he supposed to be the *falco chrysaetos* (called by the guide *aetos*), the *falco ierax*, and the *falco kirkenasi*. The latter, "half domestic, arrives early in the spring with the storks in immense numbers, joint inhabitant with them of the houses and temples of the Athenians, and retires with these birds at the end of August." He noticed also a large grey hawk of the buzzard kind on the plain of Marathon; another species, brown, with a white band on the wings, near Livadia; and a small dark hawk near Cape Sunium. The little owl (*strix passerina*) is the most common species of Minerva's bird in Greece: it abounds in the neighbourhood of Athens. The horned owl is sometimes, but rarely seen. The ash-coloured, the red-headed, and the small grey butcher-bird, frequent the olive-grounds. Of the crow tribe, the raven, the hooded crow, the jackdaw, the magpie, the jay, the *alcedo ispida*, and the Cornish chough, are found here. The latter generally confines itself to the mountainous

* *Tavoshan*, hare, is the nick-name given by the Turks to the Greek islanders.

parts, inhabiting the broken cliffs and caverns of Parnassus, but sometimes descends into the plains. The hooded crow (called by the peasants *κορωνη*), which retires from England during the summer, is a constant inhabitant of Attica. The roller frequents the gardens and olive-grounds. The cuckoo is heard early in the spring. The *merops*, attracted by the bees of Hymettus, appears at the latter end of summer. The *hoopoe* is also here a bird of passage. The *sitta* was seen on the rocks near Delphi. Wild pigeons abound in the rocks; and the turtle and wood-pigeon are found in the woods and thickets. The red-legged partridge abounds every where. Among the larks, the crested lark is the most frequent; but there are some of the other species. "Blackbirds frequent the olive-grounds of Pendeli; the solitary sparrow inhabits the cliffs of Delphi; and the song-thrush is heard in the pine-woods of Parnassus. Above these, where the heights are covered with snow, is seen the *emberiza nivalis*, inhabitant alike of the frozen Spitzbergen and of the Grecian Alps. The bunting, the yellow-hammer, and a species of *emberiza* nearly related to it, haunt the low bushes in the neighbourhood of corn-fields." The goldfinch and the linnet rank also among the Attic choristers; and the *fringilla flaveola* is not unfrequent about Athens. Of the slender-billed birds, the wheat-ear is the most general species throughout Greece, inhabiting alike the highest mountains and the lowest plains. The white water-wagtail haunts the banks of rivulets, and the red-start is found on the eastern coast. The king-fisher is also seen here. Various species of the duck tribe visit the salt lakes and the shores of Attica during the winter, retiring in summer to more unfrequented fresh-water lakes and deep morasses. Woodcocks, snipes, and bustards, in consi-

derable numbers, visit the neighbourhood of Athens during winter. The curlew and the red-shank, the purple and the grey heron, the long-legged, the grey, and the sand plover, also frequent the marshes of Bœotia and the eastern coast. The privileged stork generally arrives at Athens some time in March, and leaves it when the young are able to support a long flight, about the middle of August. The quail is another annual visiter. All the European species of the swallow tribe are found here, except the *pratincola;* also, various species of *motacilla*, confounded under the general name of *beccafica*. The sand-martin burrows in the cliffs of Delphi, and the goat-sucker still retains its ancient name, and the stigma attached to it. The storm-finch, the sea-gull, and the sea-swallow are seen on the coast of the Egean Sea.*

"One of the most agreeably diversified countries of the globe," says M. Beaujour, who was long resident in it, "is Greece: it is the epitome of all climates. The plants which grow within the tropics flourish in its plains and on its hills, and those of the most northern regions thrive on the mountains. Olympus, Pindus, Parnassus, the craggy mountains of Arcadia, preserve on their sides and summits a perpetual coolness, while the valleys lying at their feet enjoy a perennial spring. The lands unsusceptible of culture are still not destitute of vegetation, but produce spontaneously thyme, marjoram, and all the aromatic plants. Such a country would seem to be singularly adapted to yield rich pasture: accordingly, there are numerous herds. For six months of the year, indeed, it supports all those of the neighbouring regions.

* From the papers of the late Dr. Sibthorpe. Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 73—7; see also pp. 255—27

When the severity of the winter drives the Albanian shepherds from their native mountains, they descend to seek, in the fine climate of Greece, pastures more substantial and luxuriant. They enjoy the right of common in all the lands which are not under cultivation; and notwithstanding the tyranny of the Beys, who levy contributions upon them without mercy, their winterings in general cost them but little."*

Nothing, it is said, can surpass the delicious temperature of the islands in autumn, and of the winter at Athens, where the thermometer rarely descends below the freezing point. The longevity of the natives bears testimony to the salubrity of the air of Attica, which was always esteemed for its purity, and is still the best in Greece. Its extreme dryness has greatly contributed to the admirable preservation of the Athenian edifices. The corn in Attica is ripe about twenty-five days sooner than in the Morea and in Crete, owing, it is supposed, in part, to the abundance of nitre with which the soil is impregnated. The olives and the honey are still the best in the world.† Many parts

Beaujour. *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. 133. The number of sheep in Attica was computed, in 1786, at 60,000; the goats at 100,000; and 10,000 goats and 5000 sheep were killed annually. "During the winter months," says Dr. Sibthorpe, "a nomade tribe drive their flocks from the mountains of Thessaly into the plains of Attica and Bœotia, and give some pecuniary consideration to the pacha of Negropont and the vaivode of Athens. These people are much famed for their woollen manufactures, particularly the coats or cloaks worn by the Greek sailors."—WALPOLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 141.

† Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 7.* Mr. Hobhouse, who was at Athens in the depth of winter, speaks in more qualified language of the climate. "The weather was never so inclement as to prevent an excursion on horseback. To the northern constitution of an Englishman, the Athenian winters are not commonly so rigorous as, from ancient accounts, you might be led to expect. After having

of Greece, however, are far from being salubrious; and it is probable, that great changes have taken place in this respect, owing to the desolation spread by war, pestilence, and oppression. The air of Corinth is so bad, that the inhabitants abandon the place during the summer months, through fear of the *malaria*, which is the scourge of the maritime plains.*

Lord Byron pronounces the air of the Morea to be heavy and unwholesome; but, on passing the isthmus in the direction of Megara, a striking change is immediately perceptible. The transition is equally great after passing the ridges of Citheron. The climate of Attica, he describes as a perpetual spring: rain is extremely rare, and even a cloudy day is seldom seen. Neither in the Spanish peninsula, nor in any other part of the East, except Ionia, in his Lordship's opinion, is the climate equal to that of Athens; but "I fear," he adds, "Hesiod will still be found correct in his description of a Bœotian winter."† "The unwholesome marshes of Bœotia," remarks Mr. Douglas, "are inhabited by a race whom the vanity of the Athenians still despises as inferior beings." Speaking generally of the country, he says: "The mixture of the romantic with the rich, which still diversifies its aspect, and the singularly picturesque form of all its mountains, do not allow us to wonder that even Virgil should generally desert his native Italy for the landscape of Greece. Whoever has viewed it in the tints

found it agreeable to bathe, a little before Christmas, at Thebes, where a poet of the country (Hesiod) describes the cold to be so excessive as to freeze up the spirits of all nature, animate and inanimate, and to inflict upon man himself the miseries of a premature decay, it will not be supposed that the inclemency of Attica was by us severely felt."—*Journey, &c.*, letter 24.

* Clarke's Travels, P. ii. § 2, ch. 9.

† Notes to Childe Harold, canto ii.

of a Mediterranean spring, will agree in attributing much of the Grecian genius to the influence of scenery and climate."*

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND POPULATION.

THE limits of Greece are too indeterminate to admit of any very correct estimate of its territorial extent. Including the southern parts of Albania and Macedonia, as high as lat. 42°, it is about 400 miles in length by a mean breadth of 160; but the whole of Greece Proper does not extend in length above 225 miles. Malte Brun gives, as the result of a comparative examination of modern accounts and maps, the following table:

		Square miles.
Eastern and Western Hellas, including Epirus, Thessaly, and Livadia		14,915
Morea		7,227
Eubœa (Negropont) and the other Isles		3,806
Crete		4,613
		30,561
Macedonia	21,142	
Albania Proper	16,645	
		37,787
		68,348

Greece, including the peninsula and the islands, forms, according to this computation, not quite a seventh of Turkey in Europe, or, together with Macedonia and Illyricum, rather less than a third.†

The population of Greece has been very variously

* Essay on Anc. and Mod. Greeks, p. 52.

† "The extreme diminutiveness of Greece," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "may make some readers suspect, that they and the rest of the world have fixed their admiration upon a series of petty and insignificant actions, scarcely worthy of a detail, or of finding a

estimated, and the dreadful effects of the revolutionary struggle render it nearly impossible to ascertain with any accuracy the present numerical amount. While some writers estimate the whole population of European Turkey at twenty-two millions, others reduce it to eight millions. By some, the Greeks have been supposed to amount to between two and three millions, but the Greek population of Asia Minor and the Crimea has probably been included. The Hon. Mr. Douglas thinks that, adopting Hume's estimate of 1,290,000 as the total of ancient Greece, exclusive of Laconia,* the present inhabitants of the country in all probability greatly surpass their ancestors in number; but "this computation," he adds, "will include all the natives of that country, whether Mussulmans or Christians, of whom the pure Greek race assuredly does not compose *above a third*, though the

place among the histories of empires; but others will feel only an increase of esteem and respect for a people whose transcendent genius and virtue could give an interest and importance to events transacted upon so inconsiderable a spot of earth. Greece Proper scarcely contained more space than the kingdom of Naples formerly occupied on the continent of Italy; and Sicily is considered as large as Peleponnesus····A man might very easily, at a moderate pace, ride from Livadia to Thebes and back again between breakfast and dinner, particularly as he would not have a single object to detain him by the way; and the tour of all Bœotia might certainly be made in two days without baggage."—*Journey through Albania*, pp. 483, 275. The diminutiveness of Palestine has awakened similar feelings; but the ancient kingdom of Judæa was far more populous than Greece.

* "Hume has shewn, by very powerful arguments, the little faith that is to be attached to the extravagant accounts of the Greek population, to be found in Athenæus and other ancient authors. I am inclined to believe that ancient Greece was never a very populous tract. The vast ranges of barren mountains that intersect the whole country, together with the immense woods and marshes, still more considerable formerly than at present, must

proportion is very different in different provinces." * M. Beaujour states the total population of Greece at 1,920,000; but he includes Macedonia, to which is assigned 700,000. The remainder is thus distributed:

	Inhabitants.
Epirus	400,000
Thessaly	300,000
Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia	200,000
Attica	20,000
Morea	300,000
	1,220,000

But it is not a little remarkable, that the popula-

ever have been great obstacles to populousness; and we may perceive, in the importance attached throughout ancient Greece to the character of a citizen, (insomuch that the capital was often contemplated as the whole state,) a further proof that the population of the villages was comparatively insignificant. In Attica, where the number of δημοι is known, and where the people were noted for their attachment to a country life, there are now as many villages as in the time of its liberty. And as the people have no longer the same objects in flocking to the capital, the diminution of inhabitants in the cities cannot be taken as a criterion of a general decrease. . . . The plains of Messenia and Thessaly might be quoted as instances of population hardly equalled in any part of the world. In one view over the *Larissæ campus opimæ*, I have counted eight and thirty villages."—DOUGLAS *on the Mod. Greeks*, p. 44.

* In some parts of the Morea, (Messenia and Elis in particular,) as well as in all the large villages, the Turks outnumbered the Christians. In Attica and Bœotia, the Christians were supposed to be ten in eleven. In Thessaly and Epirus, the preponderance was very slightly in favour of the Moslems. The islands were generally free from the presence of a Turk; and even in Scio and Mytilene, they were few in comparison with the Greeks. Under the rapacious administration of Veli Pasha, the Morea was to a great extent exhausted of its Greek population by emigrations to Hydra and the opposite coasts of Asia Minor, and even to Albania. These fluctuations, occasioned by internal political changes, increase the difficulty of ascertaining the true state of the population.

tion of the islands should be wholly overlooked in this computation.* Col. Leake thinks, that, in the latter years of the reign of Ali Pasha, the population of Continental Greece, from Cape Tænarum to the northernmost limits at which the Greek language is in common use, was not much above a million. Mr. Waddington, one of our most recent authorities, professes himself to be strongly of opinion, that the whole number of "actual insurgents" is somewhat under one million, *including* the population of the islands, which he estimates at 250,000 souls. To Eastern and Western Hellas, he assigns 150,000,† and to the Morea, half a million.

In this estimate, Epirus and Thessaly are apparently put out of consideration, and only the "insurgent" Greeks are reckoned. Crete alone was formerly sup-

Mr. Hobhouse says, that the number of Greek mariners, actually employed at sea, is supposed to be at least 50,000.—*Journey, &c.* p. 600.

† Since the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, the province of Western Greece, according to Mr. Waddington's representation, has been for the most part confined to the walls of Missolonghi. "I am assured," he says, "that during the second siege, nearly 40,000 souls were collected in the city, and that this number comprehended the great majority of the villages and mountaineers, who had fled to the only place of security. We may then calculate the whole population of the province at 60,000. I am the more inclined to attach credit to this estimate, because my own inquiries in Attica, respecting the physical force of Eastern Greece, led me very nearly to the same result. Many fugitives from both these districts, are to be found, as soldiers or shepherds, in the cities or on the mountains of the Morea."—*Visit to Greece*, p. 172. This last remark may account for the alleged increase in the population of the Morea, stated by Dr. Clarke at 300,000, and by this Traveller at half a million. M. Pouqueville states the population of the Morea, exclusive of the Maino as, at 419,000; viz. 400,000 Greeks, 15,000 Turks, and 4000 Jews.

posed to contain a population of 280,000 souls, of whom 130,000 were Greeks.* If the total number of Greeks were the subject of inquiry, it would be necessary to include those of the more northern provinces of European Turkey, of Thrace and Wallachia, as well as those who have taken refuge under the empire of Russia, together with the Greeks of Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Syria. But the population of the country, whether Greek, Turkish, or Albanian, is the proper question; and the following, as a mean estimate, may perhaps be considered as an approximation to the fact:

	Inhabitants.
Eastern Hellas	80,000
Western Hellas	70,000
Morea	450,000
Crete and the Islands	350,000
	950,000
Epirus	400,000
Thessaly	300,000
Macedonia	700,000
	2,350,000

Of these, taking one province with another, it may be presumed, that about one third are Greeks; the other two-thirds being Albanians and Turks, with the exception of some few thousands of Franks and Jews.

The above general divisions of the country are those which have been adopted by the provisional govern-

* The Moslems in Crete, now become "an Egyptian province," are stated by Mr. Sheridan to be as 5 to 4, 150 to 120,000, and "the most daring and ferocious in Turkey."

† This allows, in Macedonia, 370 persons for every square league; about half the proportion which the population bears to the territorial surface in Spain, and not a third of that of Switzerland. In the pashalik of Salonica, however, which comprises all Lower Macedonia, and in the mousselimlik of Larissa, the proportion is 500 to every square league. Upper Macedonia is almost a desert.—See BEAUJOUR, *tom.* i. p. 128.

ment of Greece. Under the Turk e of Greece was latterly divided into four Lks, deriving their names from the seats nent. The pashalik of Tripolitza comprised the whole of the Morea; that of Egripo (Negropont), included that island, with Bœotia and the eastern part of Phocis; that of Salonica extended over the southern division of Macedonia; while Thessaly, Epirus, and part of Livadia, were included in that of Ioannina. Athens and Livadia had each its independent *waivode*, and Larissa was governed by a mousselim. It will, perhaps, be acceptable to the reader, to have the corresponding ancient and modern subdivisions more distinctly laid before him. We shall take them proceeding from south to north.

The Morea, or Peloponnesus.

Ancient Divisions.	*Venetian.*	*Turkish.*	*Chief Places.*
Achaia N.	Chiarenza.	Pashalik of Tripolitza.	Corinth. Patras.
Argolis, N.E.	Sacania.		Napoli di Romania.
Arcadia, Cent.			Tripolitza. Arcadia.
Laconia, S.E.	Zaccunia or Maina.		Mistra.
Messenia, S.W.	Belvedere.		Navarino. Modon Kalamata.
Elis, N.W.			Pyrgos.

Eastern Hellas.

	Modern.		
Attica.	Livadia.	Pashalik of Egripo.	Athens. Marathon.
Bœotia.			Livadia. Thebes.
Eubœa.			Egripo.
Locris (*Opuntii*).			Thermopylæ. Talanta.
Phocis.			*Delphi*. Suri.
Doris.		Pashalik of Ioannina.	Gavria.
Locris (*Ozolæ*).			Salona.

Western Hellas.

Ætolia. Acarnania.*	Karl-ili.	Part of Pashalik of Ioannina.	Messolonghi.	Lepanto.
			Vonitza.	*Actium.*

Epirus.—Albania. †

Thesprotia.	Tzamouria.	Ioannina.	Arta.	Parga.
Molossia.	Ioannina.		Ioannina.	*Dodona.*
Chaonia.	Liapuria.		Chimara.	Ericho.
Thessaly.	Sânjiak of Triccala.		Triccala.	Larissa.
Macedonia.	Pashalik of Salonica.		Salonica.	

MODERN TRAVELLERS IN GREECE.

HAVING taken this general view of the physical and political geography of these regions, we ought now to proceed to give the result of modern observation respecting the characteristic features of the population; but an account of their manners and local customs will naturally connect itself with the topographical details; and with regard to the moral and intellectual character of the Greeks, the testimonies of modern travellers are so much at variance, owing to the influence of political sentiment or personal bias, that it is difficult to form a just and impartial estimate. In fact, the most delicate and embarrassing part of our task, is to decide upon the degree of authenticity and correctness attaching to the conflicting reports of the host of modern travellers who have furnished us with accounts relating to Greece and its inhabitants.

The quaint narratives of Sir George Wheler and Dr. Spon, who travelled through Greece in 1675-6, are referred to by Mr. Douglas as containing perhaps

* Acarnania belongs to Epirus, in ancient geography, but is included in Western Hellas.

† Albania comprises part of Macedonia, Illyria, Chaonia, and Epirus. Delvinachi is the frontier village of Epirus and Albania Proper.

the best information we possess in our own language. The merit, however, of having first drawn the attention of English travellers to the ruins of Athens, is assigned by Dr. E. D. Clarke to De la Guilletiére, who visited Attica seven years before, and from whose work he accuses Wheler of borrowing without acknowledgement. Chandler's Travels are highly valuable as well as entertaining; yet, remarks Mr. Douglas, "after the description of Athens, in the second volume, much of which is borrowed from Stuart, he tells us little or nothing. Ill health and other causes compelled him to pass through the Morea in so much haste, as to be able to make but scanty observations, and the few he has given us are not always accurate, and are still seldomer interesting." Pococke visited some parts of Thessaly and Eastern Hellas, but his narrative, in this part, is unusually vague and meagre. Lord Byron, complaining of the deplorable deficiency of information on the subject of the Greeks, remarks, that Eton and Sonnini have led the public astray by their panegyrics and projects, while De Pauw and Thornton have debased the Greeks beyond their demerits. "It would be worth while," he adds, "to publish together and compare the works of Messrs. Thornton and De Pauw, Eton and Sonnini; paradox on one side, and prejudice on the other." With regard to Eton, Mr. Douglas remarks, that "it is vain to expect a correct estimate of the Greeks from an author whose every sentence shews his original intention to have been, the eulogy of the Russians and the satire of their enemies.* Neither is the pen which has undertaken his refutation, however excellent upon other topics, less pre-

* The emperor Paul," says Mr. Eton, "is a prince of the most scrupulous honour and the greatest integrity."—Pref. p. xix.

judiced in respect to the Greeks. Thornton, as has been observed by the author of Childe Harold, could scarcely form a correct judgement of that nation from a constant residence at Pera; and what little he has recorded, bears often the appearance of a wish to convict his antagonist, rather than of an impartial inquiry after truth."

"The French," continues this accomplished critic, "abound in writers upon Greece. Of these, the more modern, particularly Sonnini and Savary, have fallen into two great faults incidental to the degeneracy which seems to have taken place in the taste of most of their countrymen. A tedious superabundance of sentiment, lavished upon every thing that comes in their way, not to mention its intrinsic dulness, diminishes our confidence in the facts which they relate. We are still more disgusted, however, by their affected contempt for all established opinions and sound learning. Chateaubriand is only obnoxious to the first of these charges, and he amply redeems all the errors of his slight sketch of Greece, by his eloquent delineation of Palestine. Dr. Pouqueville, the French resident at Ioannina, has collected much curious information respecting the Morea. His account of the Albanians, though debased by the bigotry of a partisan, gave us our first knowledge of a people whom the genius of Ali Pasha has raised to a level with the greatest nations of the continent.* But the most useful, the

* "Pouqueville is always out," is the pithy remark of Lord Byron, in reference to his mistaking the lake of Ioannina for Acherusia. "It is a curious circumstance," adds his Lordship, "that Mr. Thornton who so lavishly dispraises Pouqueville on every occasion of mentioning the Turks, has yet recourse to him as authority on the Greeks, and terms him an impartial observer. Now Dr. Pouqueville is as little entitled to that appellation, as Mr. Thornton is to confer it on him."

most amusing, and the most accurate [illegible]er that ever visited those regions is Tournef[illegible] is to be regretted, that his tour was confined t[illegible] all a portion of the Levant."

Since the publication of these remarks upon preceding writers, the list has been greatly extended, and we can no longer complain of a dearth of information. In the years 1794 and 5, several parts of Greece were visited by Mr. Morritt, Mr. Hawkins, and Professor Sibthorp, valuable extracts from whose manuscript journals are given in the Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, edited by the Rev. Mr. Walpole.* In 1801 and 2, Colonel Leake, Lieut.-Colonel Squire, Dr. E. D. Clarke, Mr. Dodwell, and several other accomplished travellers, explored these classical regions. Sir Wm. Gell and the Hon. Mr. Craven travelled in 1804; Mr. Hobhouse and Lord Byron, in 1809-10; the Hon. Mr. Douglas, in 1811; Dr. Holland, in 1812-13; and the Rev. T. S. Hughes, in the following year. To the researches of these gentlemen, most of whom have published an account of their tours, we shall be chiefly indebted for our descriptive and topographical details. There now occurs a considerable interval, during which the attention of English philhellenists seems to have been diverted from the classic attractions of Greece by the interest of passing events nearer home. In 1821, the revolutionary struggle commenced; and now, within the past two or three years, the press has teemed with memoirs and journals relating to this unhappy country. Mr. Waddington's Visit to Greece in 1823-4, is characterised by its apparent fairness and impartiality. Mr. Bulwer passed his "Autumn in Greece" in 1824,

* 4to. London. 1817. Travels in Continuation of Memoirs. 4to. London. 1820.

and Colonel Stanhope visited the country, as agent of the Greek Committee, in the same year. A Picture of Greece in 1825 has been furnished by the journals of Messrs. Emerson and Humphreys and Count Pecchio; and the Journal of the Rev. Charles Swan comes down as late as September last. Some of these publications betray rather too evidently the warmth of the partisan, while others have been written under an opposite bias, the result of disappointment or personal disgust.* It will be our business, so far as possible, to elicit a consistent statement from their conflicting representations.

* "It is remarkable," observes Mr. Leake, "that travellers who visit Greece, generally return with an unfavourable opinion of the people. But it is not difficult to account for this. From a real or supposed want of time, or in consequence of the disgust and impatience usually produced by the privations and inconveniences of a semi-barbarous state of society, travellers are generally contented to follow the beaten route of Athens, the Islands, the Asiatic coast, Troy, and Constantinople: their journey is concluded before they have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to form any impartial estimate of the national character; and they come chiefly in contact with those classes upon which the long subjection of the nation to the Turks has had the greatest effect, such as persons in authority under the government, or otherwise under Turkish employ, servants, interpreters, the lower orders of traders, and generally, the inhabitants of those towns and districts in which the Turkish population has a great preponderance of numbers."—"Among the various foreigners resident in Athens," remarks Lord Byron, "French, Italians, Germans, Ragusans, there was never a difference of opinion in their estimate of the Greek character, though on all other topics they disputed with great acrimony. M. Roque, a French merchant of respectability, long settled in Athens, asserted, with the most amusing gravity: 'Sir, they are the same *canaille* that existed in the days of Themistocles!'—an alarming remark to the *laudator temporis acti*. In short, all the Franks who are fixtures, and most of the Englishmen, Germans, Danes, &c. of passage, come over by degrees to the same opinion, on much the same grounds that a Turk in England would condemn the nation by wholesale because he was wronged by his lacquey, or overcharged by his washerwoman."

In addition to the above-menti..... ks, the unfinished revolution has already fou... torians. Mr. Blaquiere has given, in a modest v... , a sketch of its origin and progress to the close of the third campaign. M. Pouqueville has put forth a history of Greece from the year 1740 to 1824, in four volumes octavo; and M. Raffenel, in three successive volumes, brings down the history of events in Greece to the close of the campaign in 1825. Our limits would not admit of our entering very fully into the florid recitals of these rival French writers, even could we place an implicit reliance upon their fidelity; but, as our readers will expect some account of the revolution, we shall endeavour to put them in possession of the leading facts, availing ourselves occasionally of all these works, as well as of the intelligent observations of Mr. Leake, in his "Historical Outline," recently published.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

To whatever circumstances we may ascribe the first insurrectionary movements in Greece, the determined and heroic spirit in which the struggle has been maintained, leaves no room to doubt that causes had long been in operation, to which the new position and character assumed by the Greeks must ultimately be traced. For more than nineteen centuries they had ceased to exist as a free people; or, if we consider them as Græco-Romans, Romaïks (to apply to them the name of their language), and date their political bondage from the time when it was sealed by the treaty between the Turks and Venetians in 1454, which secured to the latter the commerce, and to the former the territory of Greece,—still, three centuries

and a half of patient vassalage might seem sufficient to have extinguished every hope and every feeling allied to political independence. Indeed, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country had not ceased to be the seat of contest between the Venetians and the Ottomans; and all that the Greeks could hope for, was a change of masters, between whom there was not much to choose, the Latins being, even on religious grounds, the objects of nearly as great antipathy as the Moslems. When, however, in 1685, Francis Morosini, the general of the Republic, invaded the Morea at the head of an army of German mercenaries, the inhabitants of Maina declared for the Republic, and contributed to the defeat of a body of troops commanded by the capitan-pasha in person, which made the Venetians masters of that province. Napoli di Romania, then the capital of the peninsula, fell in 1686, and Athens was taken by them in the following year. By the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, the Porte ceded to the Republic all its conquests in the Morea, as far as the isthmus, together with the isle of Egina on one side, and that of Santa Maura on the other, while the fortifications of Lepanto, Romelia, and Prevesa, were to be demolished. This peace, however, was not of long continuance; and the reconquest of the Morea by the Turks in 1714, almost without resistance, reflected equal disgrace on the pusillanimity of the degenerate Italians, and the barbarity of the ruthless Ottomans.* Crete was lost in

* Corinth capitulated after five days' siege, notwithstanding which, the greater part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the remainder were sent prisoners on board the galleys of the capitan-pasha, to be beheaded before the port of Napoli, in sight of the Venetian troops on the ramparts. That place was taken by storm shortly after, and a general massacre of the inhabitants

the following year; and the treaty [illegible] 1718, in which the Republic was [illegible] consulted in the negotiations, finally [illegible] haughty and powerful state of all its vast dominions in the East, with the exception of the Ionian Isles, and the territories of Cattaro, Butrinto, Parga, Prevesa, and Vonitza, on the continent.

In the mean time, a new maritime power was growing up in the north of Europe; and the founder of St. Petersburgh was forming that infant navy which was destined to prove a more formidable enemy to the Ottoman than all the fleets of the Adriatic. To Peter the Great is ascribed the first conception of the project more earnestly taken up and pursued by his successors, the restoration of the eastern empire in the person of a Russian prince, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.* In the year 1769, the first war broke out between the Russians and the Turks, which, in its issue, proved so calamitous to the Greeks,

struck with panic terror the garrisons of the towns that yet held out. Malvoisie was given up by the Venetian commander, Badouer, without a blow. "We can no longer recognise," remarks Daru, "in this series of disasters, either the brave defenders of Candia, or that audacious navy which had so repeatedly destroyed the Ottoman fleets. Officers and soldiers, all were equally struck with terror; and the government shewed itself to be as devoid of activity and energy as of foresight. Candia had been defended during five-and-twenty years: the Morea was lost in a few months. And it was within less than half a century, that a government—a nation had thus degenerated."—*Hist. de la République de Venise, liv.* xxxiv. § 13.

* "Au nom de Pierre le Grand," says M. Pouqueville, in his flowery style, "le Hellade aperçut d'autres cieux et un nouvel horizon! Les insulaires de l'Archipel osèrent, nouveaux Argonautes, porter leurs regards vers la mer de Colchos: ils découvraient le labarum dans un lointain mystericux, quand le nouveau Constantin qu'ils attendaient, Pierre I., accablé par les Turcs sur

its only victims. To the astonishment of Europe, instead of attacking Turkey from its southern frontier, the Empress despatched an armament from the Baltic, consisting of twenty sail of the line, besides smaller vessels and transports, which had to circumnavigate Europe, and actually wintered at Leghorn, before it was brought into action. Intrigue had been actively employed by Russian agents in the interim,* in order to secure the co-operation of the Greeks. The delay of the expedition is ascribed to the indecision or indolence of Orloff, to whom Catherine had capriciously intrusted the command. The whole winter passed away ere it was determined in what part of Turkey to strike the first blow. The Greeks themselves decided the question. The result we give in the words of the Author of Anastasius, who has min-

les bords du Pruth, trop heureux d'obtenir sa liberté d'un visir, au prix de quelques-unes de ses conquêtes, les laissa sans avenir."—*Tom.* i. p. 4. That the "children of Pindus and Parnassus," as the Doctor calls them, sympathised with the Czar in this defeat, is, we suspect, an embellishment.

* In the reign of the Empress Anne, Russian emissaries had been sent into Greece by Marshal Munich, to sound the disposition of the natives, or as M. Pouqueville phrases it, *qui parlaient aux Chrétiens de patrie, de religion, et de liberté.* This was the secret prelude to the war already contemplated. A partial insurrection was the consequence; but the Greeks were abandoned to their fate at the peace of 1739. Among the emissaries employed by Munich, the Russian prime minister, was a Greek priest, who endeavoured to excite the popular enthusiasm by recalling to mind a traditional prediction, that the Ottoman Empire should be overthrown "by a fair nation named *Ros*, proceeding from the north, and united to them by the ties of religion." On the accession of Catherine II., a new agent was employed to sow the seeds of insurrection in Greece,—Gregory Papadopoulo, a native of Larissa, an artillery officer in the imperial guard of Russia, and a creature of Orloff's. In 1767, the false Peter III., at the head of his Montenegrins, declared war against the infidels, but was soon compelled to take refuge in the mountains. M. Pouqueville represents the court of

gled so much real history with [illegible], that it may vie in authenticity with the romances of the historian.

"A few turbulent *codgea-bashees* (heads of districts) of the Morea, fearing the lash of their Turkish governor, sent to the Russian commanders a forged plan of insurrection as one already organised; and, on the return of the deputation, employed the promise of Russian assistance thus fraudulently obtained, to produce the commotion which they had already described as on the point of breaking out. Their labour was assisted by the Turks themselves. Suspecting a plot against their tyranny, these pusillanimous oppressors acted like men who, from the very fear of a precipice, plunge headlong down it. In their panic, they massacred a whole troop of Zacuniote peasants, peaceably returning from a fair at Patras, whom they mistook for an army of rebels marching to attack them. The cry of revenge now resounded from all quarters; and

St. Petersburgh as acting on this occasion a very insidious part. "While it was sending arms, ammunition, and money to the Greeks, it requested the sultan to crush its rebellious subjects, and to deliver up Stephano Piccolo,"—the name of the adventurer. "In the meantime," continues M. Pouqueville, "Alexis and Theodore Orloff, who were residing at Venice, were using every effort to engage Greece in the interest of Russia. Assisted by the banker Meruzzi, a native of Yanina, they repeatedly forwarded to Suli, to Acroceraunia, and to the Morea, military stores, arms, and money, which were distributed from hand to hand by secret agents, till they reached the *Armatolis* of Pindus and Parnassus.' A worthy coadjutor of the ambulatory diplomatist, Papadopoulo, presented himself in an enthusiast named Tamara, who is said to have gone about throughout Hellas and the Morea, endeavouring to persuade the deluded natives that the august Catherine was about to restore them to political freedom. The correspondence between Voltaire and the King of Prussia, proves that that ambitious princess had no such liberal intention.—See POUQUEVILLE, *tom.* I. pp. 5, 22, 40.

when, ther fore, in the spring of 1770, the Russian fleet cast anchor in the bay of Vitulo, its commanders were eagerly received by the bishops of Lacedæmon and Christianopolis, followed by Greeks of all descriptions, who only begged as a favour, permission to enlist under the Russian banners. Fair as seemed this beginning, the understanding between the two nations was short-lived. The Greeks expected the Russians alone to accomplish the whole task of their deliverance. The Russians had laid their account with a powerful co-operation on the part of the Greeks. Each, alike disappointed, threw on the other the whole blame of every failure. Their squabbles gave large troops of Arnaoots time to pour from every neighbouring point of Roumili into the peninsula; and the Russian commanders, seeing all chance of success vanish in that unpromising quarter, sailed higher up the Archipelago, leaving the Moreotes to their fate, and carrying away no other fruits of the momentary contact of Greeks and Russians, than an increase of rancour between the two nations, — too nearly allied in faith, not to feel towards each other the most cordial aversion.

* M. Pouqueville gives the *words* of the altercation that took place between Alexis Orloff and Mavro-Michalis, the bey of Maina. His narrative agrees substantially with Mr. Hope's spirited recital, and he states, that he derived his information from M. Benaki, the Russian consul-general at Corfu. A number of Greeks who had taken refuge in the island of Sphacteria, were perfidiously abandoned by Dolgorouki, the Russian commander, and massacred by the Turks. M. de Vaudoncourt represents the Empress to have been deceived by her own agents, who, in order to flatter and gain favour, gave assurances that nothing more was necessary than for a squadron to appear on the shores of Greece, when the whole Greek population would receive their liberators with open arms. "All the memoirs presented to the Russian Government contained the same exaggerations; nor is it indeed astonishing that the Government

"The ferocious mountaineers of Albania who, under the name of Arnaoots, form a chief part of the forces of the Ottoman empire, and of the body-guard of its various pashas, present in their rugged yet colourless countenances, the greatest contrast to the regular features and rich complexions of the Greeks. In the faith of the two nations, the difference is less marked: the worship of the Arnaoots is generally determined by the master whom they serve; and many of those who, on the spur of pay or plunder, came to assist the Moreote Mussulmans against the Christians, themselves professed the Christian faith. Their total number was computed at about 20,000. When their work was achieved, they demanded their wages. The money was wanting, or at least the pay was withheld. This furnished them with a plausible pretence for disbanding on the spot, and paying themselves by pillaging the country. Some, after laying waste the villages, drove the inhabitants before them like herds of cattle through the *derwens* or defiles that guard the entrance of the peninsula, and thus regained, with their new slaves, their native mountains. Others remained stationary in the Morea: by installing themselves in the houses and lands of the Greek peasantry, they deprived the soil of its husbandmen and the Turks of their subjects; and at last, finding no more

should have blindly believed what was announced by men expressly sent out for the purpose of examining the state of things on the spot. It was not that the enthusiasm of the Greeks failed at that time to be carried to the highest pitch, or that they would have been unable to expel the Turks, if they had been furnished with the proper means; but the Russians brought with them neither arms nor warlike stores. As soon as they had effected their landing, instead of scattering money in the country, and thus giving some earnest of the promises they had lavished, their officers thought of nothing else but pillaging those they were come to defend.

[illegible] their violence against the Moslems themselves, and treated like the vanquished, those whom they had come to defend. Nine succeeding years had seen eleven different governors arrive, one after the other, with peremptory instructions to exterminate the banditti, and again depart without succeeding; some for want of sufficient force to repress their outrages; others, it is said, for want of sufficient resolution to resist their bribes. At length, in 1779, the famous Hassan Capitan-pasha received the sultan's orders to expel from the Morea the refractory Arnaoots." †

M. Pouqueville shall tell the sequel. "The principal corps of *schypetars*, reckoned at 10,000 men, were entrenched under the walls of Tripolitza. Hassan, not having been able to succeed in making them accept a paternal capitulation, resolved to subdue them by force of arms. He had been encamped during a month at Argos, when, on the 10th of June, 1779, he set out immediately after the mid-day prayer, and having marched during part of the night, appeared at day-break before Tripolitza. He immediately attacked the rebels, and routed them; and before the end of the day, he had erected before the eastern gate of the town, a pyramid of more than 4000 heads, of which I saw the remains in 1799. Those of the *schypetars* who escaped, were relentlessly pursued, and being tracked through the windings of the Œnian mountains, were exterminated at the bottom of a woody

* The name given to subjects of the Porte, not Mohammedans, who pay the capitation-tax, such as Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gipsies.

† Anastasius, vol. i. pp. 26—29. The Hassan Pasha alluded to is the same that effected the destruction of the Sheikh Dahher.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. i. p. 23, and *plate*.

gulley, which has since been known under the name of the Defile of the Massacre.*

When the treaty of Kainardji, signed in July 1774, put an end, for the time, to hostilities between the Empress and the Porte, an article was introduced, guaranteeing protection and immunity to such Greeks as had taken part in favour of the Russians during the war. No sooner, however, had the islands taken by the Russians been restored, than, with the most profligate disregard of this solemn stipulation, the Turkish Government, while it let loose the Albanians on the Morea, committed to the capitan-pasha the punishment of the islanders. It has been affirmed, we know not on what distinct evidence, that a hundred thousand Greeks, of both sexes, either perished by the sword or were carried into slavery, the victims of Turkish vengeance.†

In the year 1787, a war again broke out between Turkey and the allied powers of Russia and Austria, and again the Empress issued her manifestoes to the Greeks, calling upon them to co-operate with her in expelling the enemies of Christianity from their natal soil. On this occasion, however, the North of Greece was the scene of insurrection. A Greek of the name

* *Histoire de la Regen. &c., tom.* i. ch. 2.

† Mr. Eton states, that a deliberate proposal was made in the divan, to exterminate all the Greeks of the Morea in cold blood. "Nor was this," he says, "the first time that the massacre of the whole Greek nation had been seriously debated; it was, however, in the present instance, successfully opposed by Gazi Hassan. The chief argument which he used, and which alone carried conviction to his hearers, was: If we kill all the Greeks, we shall lose all the capitation-tax they pay. Even without such a provocation, Sultan Mustafa, predecessor and brother of Abdulhamid, on his accession, proposed to cut off all the Christians in his empire, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it."—ETON, p. 356.

of Sottiri was sent into Epirus and Albania to organise a revolt, and Suli was the head-quarters. The pasha of Ioannina was defeated by the insurgents; his son was killed in the encounter, and the rich armour of which he was despoiled, was transmitted by the hands of three deputies to her imperial majesty, accompanied with a memorial, imploring her succour, and denouncing as a traitor the Captain Psaro to whom the Russian Government had entrusted the distribution of the subsidy and ammunition intended for the Greeks.* Mr. Eton states, that the Venetians, still unwilling to offend the Porte, had thrown obstacles in the way, obstructing the communication with the Russians by means of the port of Prevesa. On the other hand, the Venetians were suspected by the Porte of having an understanding with the Muscovites, as it was in the Ionian Isles that Papadopoulo had matured the plan for the first rising in the Morea. More than a hundred thousand Christians are said to have taken refuge from the scimitars of the Moslems in those islands and in the territory of Naples, while vast numbers of fugitive Romeliots had found an asylum among the armatolis of the mountains of Agrafa. Sicily had been fixed upon as the station where the above-mentioned Captain Psaro was to establish magazines for the Russian armament that was to co-operate with the Greeks. But whether he was really a commissioned agent of Russia or an artful adventurer, seems very questionable. The Empress, it is pretty evident, whatever might be her ulterior views, had, at this time, no serious intention of undertaking the deliverance of the Greeks. The three deputies, after doing homage

* Eton, p. 364. If the engagement between the Suliots and Ali Pasha be referred to, the account is very incorrect: he lost no son on the occasion.

to the Grand-duke Constantine, as the future king of the Hellenes, were sent to Prince Potemkin, then with the army in Moldavia, whence they proceeded to Greece by way of Vienna, accompanied by Major-general Tamara. They were to prepare every thing, but to undertake nothing till they should receive directions from the court of St. Petersburgh. Things remained in this state till the campaign in Moldavia had ended, and Prince Potemkin had returned to the capital. Early in the following year, before Potemkin had rejoined the army, the preliminaries of peace between Russia and the Porte were already signed. Lambro Canziani, a brave Greek, who had fitted out a small armament at Trieste, by means of private subscriptions, and who, after his little fleet had been destroyed, had again sailed in a single ship to attack the Turks, was declared a pirate; being disavowed by Russia, he was suffered to be imprisoned for debts contracted in fitting out his vessel, and was released only by the contributions of his countrymen.*

The Empress Catherine died in 1796, and with her expired for the time the hopes of those who looked to

* The statements in the above paragraph are taken chiefly from Eton, the panegyrist of the Russian court; they may therefore be presumed to be substantially authentic. He gives at length the memorial of the Greek deputies, Pano Kiri, Christo Lazzotti, and Nicolo Pangalo. From the style, the French, rather than the Greek, would seem to have been the original of the document. That they were authorised to implore, as the wish of their nation, that the Empress would deign to give them her grandson Constantine as a sovereign, Catherine was too shrewd to believe, though Mr. Eton seems to give them credit for it. Their plan of operation was magnificent; but one is astonished to find any thing so absurdly visionary gravely reported. Whether they were knaves or enthusiasts, is not clear. The memorial was probably of foreign manufacture. The only humane part of the Empress's conduct was, the paying their expenses to Moldavia, and enjoining them not to act till they heard from her.

see another Constantine on the throne of Constantinople. In the mean time, another personage had risen into commanding influence and importance in the mountains of Epirus, who at one period bade much fairer to become the king of Greece, than any one who had appeared on the theatre of Europe since the extinction of the eastern empire. This was no other than the celebrated Ali Tepeleni, pasha of Ioannina. Before we proceed, however, to give a sketch of this extraordinary man's romantic and revolting history, with which the cause of the Greeks has been closely implicated, we must advert to other political changes, which, towards the close of the last century, produced a very material alteration in the character, condition, and resources of the Greeks.

Whatever regret we might have felt at the occupation of classic Greece by the barbarous Ottomans, or whatever an ambitious policy might have dictated to any of the powers of Christian Europe, had no internal changes taken place among the Greeks themselves, they must still have continued to be the passive, crouching slaves or helpless victims of their Frank or Mussulman masters. Their country had been made the scene of repeated conflicts between the soldiers of the cross and of the crescent; but, except at the instigation of foreign emissaries and under a foreign standard, the natives had made no attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke. In Greece, at all events, the crusades had no beneficial influence, but were fatal alike to learning and to liberty. But the same causes which gave the first impulse to European civilization in the tenth century, and to which the revival of letters and the first movements of freedom are ultimately to be ascribed, were now gradually preparing the Greeks, after a political extinction of nineteen centuries, again

to assume the form and rank of a nation.* Towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, Marseilles

* "Warton appears to have unconsciously approximated the true solution of the question, when he fixes on commerce as the real source of that influx, not of poetry and romance indeed, but of liberal ideas, productive industry, and wealth, to which the revival of learning must be ascribed. The shores of the Mediterranean still commanded and concentrated, at that time, the commerce of the world; and in the wake of commerce, Christianity, freedom, literature, and the arts, have uniformly followed. The Italian republics derived their riches and their greatness from the commerce of the Levant; and to the same cause the maritime capitals of Provence and Catalonia owed their commercial and political greatness. Barcelona was recovered from the Moors by Louis the Debonair, early in the ninth century. For seventy years after, it was governed by French viceroys, till at length, in 874, it was acknowledged as an independent earldom. From the earliest times, there appears to have been a close connexion between the Catalonian capital and Marseilles. In the former city, great numbers of Jews are said to have found shelter, bringing with them their well-known habits of mercantile enterprise. Refugees and adventurers of all nations would naturally be attracted to those free and populous cities which held out at once religious toleration and encouragement to industry. The effect of commerce upon internal trade and manufactures need not be pointed out. The manufactures of Barcelona were famous in the thirteenth century, and are probably more ancient, while those of Marseilles were equally, if not more considerable. It is remarkable, that the *Cathari* or Puritans, who began to attract attention early in the twelfth century, and whom there is good reason to identify with the Albigenses and Vaudois, are said to have been called in France, *Tisserands*, weavers, because numbers of them were of that occupation:—a singular coincidence, that the Protestants, the Hugonots of that day, should be distinguished by a name that recals the origin of our own silk-manufactures, for which we are indebted to the edict of Nantz. It is not, therefore, a mere hypothesis, but an historical fact, that the first buddings of literature, after the dreary winter of the dark ages, the first kindlings of intellectual and moral life, took place in the immediate neighbourhood of those great maritime cities, which furnished at once a vent and mart for the productions of industry, and an inlet to knowledge as well as to wealth, and every humanising influence."—*Eclectic Review*, April 1826, p. 315.

almost monopolised the commerce of the Levant. France was the only power in favour with the Divan; her consuls maintained throughout the dominions of the Porte her commercial ascendancy, and the French language was, in Greece as well as in Turkey, Anatolia, and Syria, the only medium of commercial intercourse. A great part of the internal commerce of European Turkey was still indeed in the hands of the Greeks. Notwithstanding the superiority which the Frank merchant enjoyed over the Greek native, in paying a single *ad valorem* duty of three per cent on imports and exports, while the *rayah* paid five per cent, in addition to repeated charges on moving his merchandise, and the illegal extortions to which he was subject,—the advantages which a native merchant always possesses, had gradually enabled the Greeks to drive the Frank traders from the fairs of Greece; and their competition is even said to have occasioned the decline of the European factories which had long flourished in the principal Turkish marts. But the immediate cause of their rapid transformation from a nation of pirates into active merchants, requires explanation. The following account is taken from the pages of an intelligent French writer.

"The foreign ministers to the Porte generally received a kind of diploma called a *barat* (berath), which secured to the bearer a special protection. He was treated as a subject of the power to whose ambassador the barat had been granted, and as such, was secured from all the risks of Turkish despotism. These barats were originally intended for subjects of the Porte employed in the service of foreign ambassadors and consuls. A great number of Christian merchants soon became anxious to procure them, to enable them to trade freely, and save them from being exposed to

any ill usage. The ambassadors of the great powers sold them as high as ten thousand piastres each: those of powers of the second rank, whose protection was less effectual, sold them at a lower rate. Thus was purchased the right of becoming a foreigner in Turkey, and of enjoying by this means the rights of man. Russia was eager in procuring an extraordinary quantity of this description of charters, and distributing them among the Greeks, to increase its influence over them. The Russian *baratarians* (berathlees) increased rapidly, and a part of the subjects of Turkey was thus transferred to a hostile court. The ignorant and indolent Divan was not sensible of this abuse till long afterwards, and even then, not till it was warned by powers jealous of Russia. In the year 1806, the Porte protested against it, and declared that it would recognise no baratarians but such as actually resided with the respective consuls. This declaration produced a long opposition from the foreign ministers, who derived a considerable portion of their income from the sale of these. At last the Porte, not to alienate in this manner a part of its subjects, and not to give up to others so considerable an advantage, resolved to take the regulation of the barats into its own hands, and to increase their privileges. New barats were issued, which secured to the holder the protection of the dragoman of the Porte, (who, though a Greek, possessed almost the power of a minister,) and of the cadi of every city in the Ottoman dominions; they secured him against the pachas, who were bound, on pain of being disgraced, to respect him; they conferred on him the right of carrying on trade with Europe, without paying any higher duties than other nations; they allowed him to unite with the other holders of barats, to choose deputies and a chancellor, to open

chambers of assurances to be judged by arbitrators, and to conform to the laws of commerce, instead of being subject to the Turkish jurisprudence. The purchase of these rights, which were only those of man, was made for a pretty moderate sum, and the Jewish, Christian, and Greek merchants made haste to obtain them; and the number of their holders has increased so much, as to form, in the midst of the Turkish empire, an independent and powerful corporation, which has at its disposal all the rich commerce of the East. The Greeks especially have made considerable advances in commerce, by becoming almost all of them baratarians. Their industry has thus given them a taste for, and courage to maintain their independence. The acquisition of barats has been to them, what the emancipation of the communes was to the French serfs in the twelfth century. Both obtained this emancipation by means of money; and it is always the need which governments have of men, that secures their liberty." *

The French Revolution had a further effect in extending the commerce of the Greeks, by placing in their hands the greater part of the carrying trade of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, which had formerly been enjoyed by the French and the Italians.† With the possession of Malta, the sovereignty and guardianship of the Mediterranean had passed into the hands of Great Britain. For several years before the present insurrection broke out, there were between 4 and 500 Greek ships employed in the commerce

* Thiers. "Pyrenees and South of France in 1822," p. 52.

† "The island of Hydra is inhabited chiefly by sailors and shipowners, who, at the beginning of the Revolution, when France was shut out of the Baltic, supplied her with corn from the Archipelago."—HOPE'S *Anastasius*, vol. i. ch. 7, *note* 3.

of the Black Sea alone. The extension of education and the increase of knowledge had kept pace with this rapid improvement in their political condition. Colleges with professorships in various branches of instruction were instituted at Kidonies (Haivali)* and Smyrna, at Scio and at Ioannina,† besides the smaller establishments at Patmos,‡ Salonika, Ambelakia, Zagora, Athens, and Dimitzana, in the Morea: some of these were of old date, but had recently been revived or increased. "And here," remarks Mr. Leake, after adverting to these facts, "the reflection may be made, that if Greece should achieve her liberation, she will be indebted for the return of civilisation and independence to the same peculiarities of geographical position and structure, to the same indelible features of nature, which raised her to greatness in ancient times. While her extensive sea-coast and numerous islands and harbours rendered her the country of maritime commerce, and were the original cause of the opulence which led to perfection in the enjoyments and arts of civilised life, the mountainous structure of the interior generated that free and martial spirit, which, however cruelly suppressed, has never been completely destroyed."§

Between the mountaineers of Greece, the Mainote pirates, the Albanian Moreotes, the Romeliot kelphts

* The college at Haivali was founded in 1803. For a history of this once flourishing town, and its founder Economos, see Mod. Trav., Syria and Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 176, &c.

† Ioannina was famous for its schools more than half a century before, under the celebrated Methodius; and modern Greek literature was cultivated there at a time when it flourished in no other part of Greece.

‡ About 1770, Daniel of Patmos had a school of considerable repute, which sent out several good masters.

§ Outline, p. 25.

and armatoli, and the sailors and merchants of Hydra and the other islands, there is, however, as wide a difference of character and sentiment, and almost as little disposition to coalesce, as existed between the ancient inhabitants of Athens and Sparta. Even the distinctions of national origin are less marked and less attended to, than those which arise from opposite modes of life and local habits;* and in the new Greeks, (as we might designate the Albanian Christians of Southern Greece and the Islands,) the country possesses, perhaps, its most effective population. The Fanariots, or Constantinopolitan Greeks, and the Greek clergy, may be added to the enumeration, as in some respects distinct and differing from all. It will be necessary to explain these distinctions.

The mountains of Greece have never been completely subdued by the Ottomans. While the Christian inhabitants of the plains either retired before the conquerors or became their vassals, the hardy peasantry of the mountains retained possession of their native soil, where they were joined by many of the lowlanders fleeing from Turkish tyranny. From thence they waged a predatory warfare, which was not confined to their oppressors. The depopulation arising from these circumstances, together with frequent visitations of the plague, has produced, in many of the most fertile parts of Greece, desolation and consequent insalubrity. And the effects would have been still more extensive, had not the vacancy been in part supplied by successive migrations from Albania and

* In 1818, there was a colony of Moreote refugees residing in a suburb of Haivali, who had been established there ever since the calamities brought upon their country by the Russians in 1770. Yet they preferred to live apart from the other Greeks, and retained a different dress. — See JOWETT'S *Christian Researches*, vol. i. p. 66.

Bulgaria, where local wars, Mussulman persecution, or redundant numbers on a very poor soil, had occasionally caused even greater distress than had driven the Greeks from their native lands. About two centuries ago, a large colony of Christian Albanians settled in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, and a small tribe passed over into the barren island of Hydra, where they founded the community which has since been so conspicuous for its commercial enterprise and opulence. The want of hands in the plains of Greece attracted great numbers of labourers during the harvest, the vintage, and the olive-crop, from the islands of both seas, who returned home at the end of the season with the produce of their well-paid labour.

The greater part of the peasantry in the plains of Northern Greece, and in the neighbourhood of the great Turkish towns, were unarmed; but, in the more mountainous parts, and generally throughout the Morea, there were few who did not possess a weapon of some kind. In case of any alarm of war with a Christian power, the Porte never failed to issue its decree for disarming all rayahs; but the Turks, not being very fond of venturing into the mountainous districts, were always willing to accept a small pecuniary compromise; and the sultan's commands, like many other of his decrees relating to his Christian subjects, ended in a contribution to the provincial governments. In some of the more mountainous parts, villages, and even whole districts, were left to the management of the primates (*proesti* or native magistrates), who were responsible for the payment of the ordinary contributions, and who generally farmed the taxes from the Turkish Government. In some parts, not even the kharadj, or mountain-tax, was paid. These village oligarchs are represented to have been,

in many cases, as oppressive towards the peasantry as they were contentious and jealous of each other; and the more powerful chieftains would often league with the pasha to plunder their fellow Christians. "These persons," says Mr. Leake, "being interested in the continuance of ignorance and Turkish tyranny, were, together with some of the higher clergy, the greatest obstacles to national improvement; for the latter class, having generally procured their ecclesiastical dignities at a considerable expense, were (except in the greater permanence of their offices) placed in a situation very similar to that of the Turkish governors of provinces and districts, whose object it necessarily was, to exact from the governed as much as they possibly could during their transitory authority."

The armatoli were originally a species of militia, an establishment of the Byzantine empire, whose most important office was to keep the roads clear of robbers, and to guard the mountain passes. The Ottomans found it necessary to maintain the same kind of police; and all Greece, from the river Axius to the Isthmus, was gradually divided into seventeen armatoliks. Of these, ten were in Thessaly and Livadia, four in Etolia, Acarnania, and Epirus, and three in Southern Macedonia. The Morea never contained any. The rank of a captain of armatoli was hereditary. The members of each band were called *palikàrs* (bravos or heroes), and the *protopalikàr* acted as lieutenant and secretary to the *capitanos*. In addition to the bodies of armatoli acknowledged by the Porte, all the mountain communities maintained a small body of palikars, professedly for the protection of the district; but more frequently they were employed against a neighbouring rival, or to withstand either Turkish or Albanian encroachments.

The *klephtai*, or robbers, (and they gloried in the name,) differed chiefly from the armatoli in preferring open rebellion and the adventurous life of marauders, to any compromise with their Turkish masters. In fact, the only distinction vanished, when, as often happened, the discontented or oppressed armatole became a klepht, or when it suited the Turkish pashas to include them under one common title. Owing to this, the terms came to be often used indiscriminately; and in Thessaly, the word klepht designated either or both. Their general character and habits are thus portrayed by an enthusiast in the cause of Greece, to whose hereditary talent we are indebted for a translation of some of the more popular ballads still current in the highlands, — the minstrelsy of the Grecian border.*

" The klephts were hardy to a degree scarcely credible. They had no fixed encampment, wandering in summer among the higher, in winter, over the lower mountainous regions. But they had always a spot for rendezvous and occasional sojourn, called *limeri*, situated near the armatolik from which they had been driven. When not engaged in an expedition, their chief resource for amusement was found in martial games, and particularly in firing at a mark. Constant practice in this led to a surprising degree of skill. By day-light, they could strike an egg, or even send a ball through a ring of nearly the same diameter, at a

* Sheridan's " Songs of Greece." London, 1825. One highly characteristic mark, Mr. Sheridan says, distinguished the klepht from a regular armatole: *this* was a worsted rope coiled round his waist, for the purpose of binding the Turks whom he might capture, who were generally kept for the sake of ransom; " though, on occasions when it was impossible to make prisoners, they were killed like wolves, without hesitation."

distance of 200 paces; and in the most pitchy darkness, they could hit an enemy, directed only by the flash of his musket. The activity of their limbs equalled the correctness of their eye. Niko Tzaras could jump over seven horses standing abreast, and others could clear, at one leap, three waggons filled with thorns to the height of eight feet. Their powers of abstinence were not less surprising. A band of klephts have been known to combat during three days and nights, without either eating, drinking, or sleeping.* Pain found their courage as untameable as thirst and hunger, although every klepht taken alive was inevitably subjected, before death came to his relief, to the most dreadful and protracted tortures. The klephts combined to a degree very rare among a rude tribe, an enthusiastic piety with a distrust of the

* The instance referred to in substantiation of this statement, is that of the famous Thessalian klepht, Niko Tzaras, who, on his road to join Prince Ipsilanti in Wallachia, at the head of 300 klephts, was stopped at the bridge of Pravi, on the banks of the Karasou, by 3000 Turks: he "broke through them, crossed the bridge, and entered Pravi, where his gallant band refreshed themselves, after a fast of four, and a fight of three days." This was in 1804 or 5: he perished about two years after in an affray, by the hand of an assassin who had been one of his own palikars.—SHERIDAN'S *Songs of Greece*, p. 63. Another remarkable story is that of Spiros Skyllodemos, of an ancient armatoli family in Acarnania. In 1806, he fell into the hands of Ali Pasha, who threw him into a deep dungeon, where he lay for many months, chained and immersed in mud and water. By means of a long sash and a file, he one night escaped from prison, but the gates of the citadel were closed. As his sole chance of escape, he buried himself to the throat in the forest of reeds which fringes the lake of Joannina, endured in this situation during three days and nights the extremes of cold and hunger; then, seizing a boat, crossed the lake and escaped by mountain paths into Acarnania. He was subsequently pardoned by Ali, and became *protopalikar* to Odysseus, when appointed by that pasha commander in Livadia.—*Ibid*, p. 52.

clergy, and of that union of church and state, the efficacy of which for the support of despotism and the rivetting of mental chains, was no where better understood than in Turkey, where the sultan was in fact the real head of the Christian, as well as of the Mohammedan hierarchy. Yet, in their wildest solitudes, in their most pressing dangers, they performed the ceremonies of their religion; and the captain who plundered a chapel or a votive offering, was as unrelentingly put to death as if he had insulted a female captive. Blachavas, with his *protopalikar*, left his beloved mountains, at the age of seventy-six, to visit the holy city on foot, and actually died at Jerusalem. Frequent as apostacy was for ages among the harassed inhabitants of the plains, never did a klepht hesitate to prefer captivity, death, and even tortures, to the denial of his Redeemer. Yet, they had the sagacity to perceive, that the clergy, who looked to the Turks for promotion, and whose corporate property the infidels always respected, must be suspicious friends, and often dangerous enemies to the revolted Greeks. The clergy of Greece have been her curse, alike under the Byzantine and under the Tatar systems of tyranny, and would equally continue to be so if the Scythians seized the country. Contemporaneous documents exist to shew, that the Russian cabinet fully expects to receive this assistance from the hierarchy of Greece. Next to their touching piety, the most striking qualities among the klephts were, generosity to their poorer and more timid countrymen, and especially to the herdsmen who shared the mountains with them; devoted love of their country in general, and of their own rugged haunts in particular; and tenderness in those domestic affections which formed a beautiful

relief to the stern and rugged parts of their character."*

Such were the klephts, with a view to the extirpation of whom, the Porte bestowed on Ali Pasha of Ioannina the important office of *Dervenji Bashi*, or Grand Inspector of the Passes of Northern Greece, — an appointment from which he dated his fortune and his power. Having succeeded in recommending himself to the Turkish Government as a fit and proper person to undertake to clear the roads of robbers and rebels, he soon made himself at once too useful and too powerful to be displaced. The steps by which he arrived at the height of his all but absolute power, must now be briefly traced.

Ali, whose surname was Hissas, was born at Tepeleni, a small town of the Toshke clan, situated on the left bank of the Voïssa, about the year 1748.† His family had been established in that place for several centuries; and one of his ancestors, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honourable profession of a klepht, procured for himself the lordship of Tepeleni, which he transmitted to his descendants. Ali's grandfather, Mouktar Bey, was deemed the

* Sheridan, pp. xxv.—xxxi. The character of the religion of the Greeks, and of klephtic piety, will be considered hereafter. The above remarks would seem to apply more particularly to the higher order of clergy, but the Writer's indiscriminate censure of the hierarchy is alike indiscreet and unjust. The Revolution has drawn forth many patriotic priests and prelates, and not a few of the order have been its victims. In fact, Greek priests are represented by Col. Stanhope as having been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution; many of them fought in the ranks, some as captains; and several members of the executive, as well as of the legislative body, are ecclesiastics.

† M. Pouqueville, indeed, makes Ali to have been 78 years of age in 1819, which would carry back his birth to 1741; but he does not give his authority.

greatest warrior of his age, and fell bravely fighting at the siege of Corfu, leaving three sons. Veli Bey, the father of Ali, was the youngest: though in early life a professed klepht and a fratricide, he is said to have been a man of humane disposition and extremely well disposed to the Greeks.* He held for some time the pashalik of Delvino, but was deprived of it by the intrigues of a cabal, and retired in chagrin to his native lordship of Tepeleni, where, harassed by the neighbouring beys and agas, and unable to make head against his enemies, he is stated to have died of grief and vexation at the age of forty-five, leaving five children.† The mother of Ali and of his sister Shainitza, was a woman of uncommon talents and undaunted courage, fierce and implacable as a tigress. "I owe every thing to my mother," said Ali, alluding to the education he received from her, and the ambitious projects with which she inspired him. At the death of his father, Ali was under fourteen years of age,—an obstinate, petulant, intractable child; but he was attached to his mother, and she was well able to assert her authority. So long as Veli Bey lived, Khamco had appeared only an ordinary woman; but now, with courage equal to her ambition, she renounced the spindle for the sword.

* This excellent person, as Mr. Hughes characterises him, having been expelled his paternal home by his two brothers, on the death of the father, followed for some years the profession of knight-errant of the mountains, till, having collected a sufficient sum to retire on, he suddenly appeared with his banditti before Tepeleni, and burned his two brothers in their own citadel. He then took quiet possession of the family title and estates, prudently renouncing his old trade for ever.

† M. Pouqueville says that he was carried off by a disorder, "*attribuée à des excès bachiques.*" He says nothing of his having filled the office of pasha of Delvino, and attributes his quarrels with his neighbours to his unsubdued klephtic propensities.

the veil for the helmet, and with a handful of faithful followers, defended the remainder of her possessions against the hostile clans, and effectually checked their encroachments. At one time, she was taken prisoner, together with her daughter Shainitza, by the inhabitants of Gardiki, who are said to have treated their captives with almost incredible brutality: if authenticated, it would go far to extenuate the dreadful retribution with which, forty years after, the town was visited at the hands of Ali. After enduring this barbarous treatment for more than a month, they obtained their liberty,—it is said by ransom; at all events, Khamco was reinstated at Tepeleni, where she still continued to maintain her authority, till Ali grew old enough and powerful enough to take the burden of government off her hands.*

* In attempting to combine the various accounts of Ali's early life in a consistent narrative, we are met at every step by irreconcileable contradictions or discrepancies. The Rev. T. S. Hughes, who appears to have taken considerable pains in collecting authentic materials, states, that Vely Bey left *two* widows and *three* children, attributing to Khamco, Ali's mother, the poisoning both of her rival and of the elder son. M. Pouqueville (whom the compiler of the Life of Ali Pasha, 8vo. 1823, has copied) states, that Vely left *five* children, but that the mother of the elder two died before him. He imputes to Khamco the poisoning of the elder brother, and says, that the idiocy of a second was believed to have been caused by her hand. According to M. de Vaudoncourt, on the contrary, whose narrative bears stronger internal marks of authenticity, the brother was made away with at the time that Ali seized the reins of authority from the hands of his mother, and the suspicion of fratricide attached to Ali. "The partisans of Ali Pasha," he says, "assert, that Ali's mother caused him to be poisoned, in order to secure to her own son the remains of his father's inheritance, and free him from a dangerous rival. This report is, at least, most prevalent throughout the whole of his states. His enemies, on the contrary, affirm, that it was he himself who stabbed his brother, having persuaded the multitude that he was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with their enemies. It is thus also that the story is related in the Ionian Islands." M. Pouqueville,

Ali's first exploits, undertaken, as it should seem, without the sanction of his mother, were more daring than successful. Before he had attained his sixteenth year, he had acquired as much celebrity as the fabled offspring of Jupiter and Maia, and in the same honourable calling. He plundered all his neighbours, till he found himself possessed of means sufficient to raise a small number of partisans; and now commencing operations on a bolder scale, he undertook an expedition against the town of Chormovo. He was beaten, and re-entered Tepeleni a fugitive, where he had to encounter the indignant taunts of his mother, who bade him, coward as he was, go join the women of the harem. Again, however, he took the field, and having commenced hostile operations in the *sanjiak* of Avlona, was taken prisoner. Kourd Pasha, into whose hands

too, kills *one* of Ali's brothers at this period. Again, with regard to the alleged treatment of Ali's mother and sister at Gardiki, Mr. Hughes tells us, that the people of that town secretly attacked Tepeleni by night, and succeeded in carrying them off; that their subsequent escape was effected through the generous aid of an individual Gardikiote, named Dosti, "whose turn it was to receive them into his dwelling;" he escorted them in safety to Tepeleni, "where they found the indignant Ali *just preparing* (after the lapse of a month!) "to attempt their liberation with a large body of troops he had collected;" further, that, on discovering the flight of their captives, the people of the town pursued them, but in vain, and on their return, set fire to Dosti's house. M. Pouqueville's version of the story is, that Ali was taken prisoner with his mother and sister; that it was by means of an ambuscade; and that their liberation was effected by a Greek merchant of Argyro Castro, who ransomed them for 22,800 piasters (about 3,700*l*.). The atrocious treatment they are said to have met with, the most improbable as well as revolting part of the tale, is, strange to say, the only point in which the two stories agree. M. de Vaudoncourt, without adverting to the circumstances alluded to, simply says: "It was about this time that she (Ali's mother) was taken prisoner by the inhabitants of *Goritza*, when her ransom absorbed the greater part of the treasures she had been able to save."

he had thus fallen, was an old man of mild and humane character. Struck, it is said, with the youthful beauty, the graceful manners, and the natural eloquence of the young klepht, he satisfied himself with reprimanding him, and, after a friendly detention, dismissed him with presents.*

It must have been about this period that, at the head of thirty palikars, he entered into the service of the pasha of Egripo. From this engagement, though it could not have been of long duration, he reaped sufficient wealth to enable him, on his return to his native mountains, to re-commence operations as a klepht on a grander scale. After some successes near Tepeleni, he turned his steps towards the passes of Pindus, and pillaged some hamlets of the canton of Zagora; but being overtaken and defeated by the vizir of Ioannina, he was made prisoner a second time. And now, we are told, the neighbouring beys, and more especially

* M. Pouqueville's account of this transaction is as follows:—"*On s'attendait qu'Ali Tébélen, dont les compagnons d'armes furent vendus, serait puni du supplice reservé aux brigands; mais quand Courd pasha vit à ses pieds un jeune homme avec lequel il avait des liens de parenté, il eut pitie de ses égarements, et retint sa colère. Ali était dans cet âge où l'homme intéresse. Une longue chevelure blonde, des yeux bleus, remplis de feu et brillants d'esprit, une éloquence naturelle, achevèrent de gagner le cœur du vieux visir, qui le garda plusieurs années dans son palais, où il lui prodiguait ses bienfaits, en tâchant de le ramener dans le sentier de la probité. Enfin, touché par les prières de Khamco, qui redemandoit sans cesse son cher fils, il le lui rendit, en les prevenant l'un et l'autre, qu'ils n'auraient plus de grace à esperer s'ils osaient troubler l'ordre public. Ils promirent donc de rester tranquilles, et ils tinrent parole aussi long-temps que Courd pasha vécut.*" Mr. Hughes makes both the wife and the daughter of Kourd Pasha fall in love with the young hero; and adds, that in a war which broke out between Kourd and the pasha of Scutari, Ali so distinguished himself and gained on the affections of the soldiery, that Kourd's *hasnadar* (treasurer) advised his master either to put him to death, or make him his son-in-law. Kourd preferred the *middle course* of honourably dismissing him with presents.

Selim, pasha of Delvino, urged the necessity of inflicting summary justice on the incorrigible marauder. The vizir, however, had his reasons for not obliging them in this matter. He knew that he had less to dread from Ali than from the beys of Argyro-castro and Premeti, while Selim's Venetian connexions rendered him equally an object of suspicion; he therefore was not sorry to afford them fresh occupation, and he turned Ali loose again, who, it is said, gave him no further cause for inquietude during the rest of his days. Nevertheless, collecting the remains of his scattered troops, he again ventured to take the field, but was beaten afresh near the sources of the Chelydnus; and so complete was the rout, that he was obliged to seek for refuge alone on Mount Mertzika. Here he was reduced to pledge his scimitar in order to procure barley for his horse, no longer able to carry him.

On returning again to Tepeleni, a fugitive, he was assailed by his mother with harsher reproaches than ever. When, with great difficulty, he appeased her, and obtained further supplies, they were accompanied with the injunction not to return again but either as a conqueror or a corpse. "With the money thus obtained, Ali immediately collected 600 men, and directed his march through the valley of the Chelydnus towards Mertzika and Premeti. His first battle was again unsuccessful, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Having encamped the remnant of his troops in the vicinity of a deserted chapel not far from Valera, he entered into the solitary pile to repose, as well as to meditate on his bereft situation. There, he said, (for it was from himself the narrative was obtained,) reflecting on that fortune by which he was persecuted, calculating the enterprises he was still able to attempt, and comparing the weakness of his means with the

forces he had to combat, he remained a long time in a standing posture, mechanically furrowing up the ground with his stick, which the violence of his sensations caused him frequently to strike with vehemence. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound which issued from it, recalled his attention. He bent down, and examined the hole he had unconsciously made, and having dug further, had the happiness to find a casket. The gold which it contained, enabled him to levy 2000 men, and having been successful in a second battle, he returned to Tepeleni a victor. From this period, fortune never abandoned him." *

* Vaudoncourt, p. 226. Mr. Hughes tells the same tale, with some slight variation. M. Pouqueville says, the whole story is a fiction, invented by a Greek named Psallida, and that Ali himself told him so. "*Cela donne une physionomie miraculeuse à ma fortune*," was his indignant remark. It may be true, nevertheless. In Mr. Hughes's narrative, however, Ali is represented as having dated the commencement of his good fortune from a still more romantic circumstance. He had, it seems, got married, and having raised fresh levies, was determined to make one last desperate effort against his ancient foes. In this expedition he was accompanied by his mother and his bride. The confederate beys of Argyro-castro, Gardiki, Kaminitza, Goritza, Chormovo, &c. opposed him with an overwhelming force, and the Tepelenites were totally routed. The chiefs of Argyro-castro and Gardiki had returned home, when Ali resolved on the bold and decisive manœuvre of going alone by night to the camp of the other confederates, and placing his life and fortunes in their hands. The hazard he ran was not so great as might at first appear, since a voluntary suppliant is sure of obtaining protection from an Albanian chieftain; but Ali aimed at something more than securing his own safety. He sought to win them over to his cause, by representing that his enemies were in fact theirs; that the absent chiefs were already too formidable, and that they sought his destruction, only to be enabled the more easily to place the yoke on their necks. And so well did he succeed in rousing the jealousy of the beys, that they not only determined to spare his life, but to range themselves under his standard. Ali's mother, who, on discovering his flight, had, we are told, given way to transports of alarm or vexation, met him returning at the head of the troops who had

And now it was, as it should seem, that Ali resolved to take the management of affairs into his own hands. Having gained over the principal chiefs of Tepeleni, he took possession of the fortress, and confined his mother thenceforth to the harem. She died soon after.* The state of his coffers being, however, unequal to his ambitious projects, he resolved to have recourse to his old profession. Having secured the whole of the defiles leading across the chain of Pindus into Thessaly and Macedonia, he pillaged and ransomed travellers and caravans, levied contributions on the villages, and sacked several defenceless places, till the ravages committed awakened the attention of the divan, and the *dervenji-pasha* was ordered to march

fought against him. By the support thus obtained, he secured an honourable peace, and secured his future fortune. On reaching Tepeleni, he took possession of the place as its master.

* Her death, Mr. Hughes says, has been ascribed to Ali's jealous policy but without foundation. M. Pouqueville, indeed, gives a most horrific account of her death. "*La moderne Olympias, atteinte depuis long-temps d'un cancer utérin, fruit honteux de sa dépravation, termina sa carrière, après s'être défaite par le poison du dernier des frères consanguins d'Ali Pacha. Telle fut la fin de sa vie, dont elle employa les derniers moments à se faire relire son testament, monument digne des furies. Cet acte prescrivait à Ali et à Shainitza, d'exterminer, dès qu'ils le pourraient, les habitans de Cardiki et de Cormovo, dont elle avait été l'esclave, ainsi qu'eux; leur donnant sa malediction s'ils contrevenaient jamais à ce dessein.... La personne de qui je tiens ces détails, ajoute, que, suffoquée par une hydrothorax, et rongée par un ulcère devorante, elle expira dans des transports de rage, en vomissant d'horribles imprecations contre la providence éternelle.*" This is sufficiently dramatic. Ali, it is added, did not arrive at Tepeleni till an hour after his mother had expired; he bedewed her remains with his tears, and joining hands with his amiable sister, swore to accomplish the dying injunctions of his mother. That part of her will, however, which directed that a pilgrim should be sent to Mekka, to present an offering at the tomb of the Prophet for the repose of her soul, was never performed, because the law requires that the property so offered should have been legitimately acquired!!

against him. The office was at this time held by no other person than Ali's old friend Kourd Pasha, who soon found it advisable to attempt to settle matters by negotiation, as there was little prospect of accomplishing it by force of arms. He invited Ali to a conference, at which the latter displayed his usual address, and the old vizir was induced to accept of his services in the warfare he was prosecuting against the rebel pasha of Scutari. The effective aid which Ali rendered, secured the success of the expedition, and his conduct was represented in the most favourable light at Constantinople.

Supported by this powerful alliance, Ali now came to be held in high consideration, and the pasha of Argyro-castro granted his daughter to him, by whom he had his two eldest sons, Mouktar and Veli.* His ambitious projects soon began to develop themselves. The towns of Kaminitza and Goritza first fell under his power: they were taken and pillaged. His next attempt was a daring one. The old pasha of Argyro-castro, Ali's father-in-law, had died, and the elder son had been assassinated by his brother. Ali hastened to allay the civil war this murder had given rise to; but the inhabitants, aware of his designs, united against him, and he was compelled to withdraw.† About this period, he is stated to have

* His marriage must have taken place long before this, if, as M. de Vaudoncourt states, he was only twenty years of age when he married.

† M. Pouqueville gives a totally different account. In the first place, he states, that Ali was about twenty-four when he married Emina, the daughter of Capelan the tiger, pasha of Delvino, who resided at Argyro-castro; this said Capelan, urged on by his worthy son-in-law, is represented as having secretly favoured the Montenegrins, while Ali gave secret information of his disloyalty to the

entered into a war with the town of Liebovo (or Libochobo), which, after an ineffectual resistance, submitted to his arms. Lekli, Giates, and some other places were subdued in the same manner. He now determined to attack the strong place of Chormovo, on the inhabitants of which he had vowed vengeance. Internal dissensions favoured his project. The inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, endeavoured to propitiate him by submission; but Ali, having decoyed the chief citizens to a conference, had them treacherously seized, while his troops fell upon the defenceless inhabitants, massacred a great number, and razed the town to the ground. The women and children were sold into slavery. One individual particularly obnoxious to Ali, named Papas Oglou, or Krauz Prifti (son of a priest), is stated to have been impaled and roasted alive by his orders: the executioner was a black slave, his foster brother. By this execrable act of

Porte. Capelan was consequently sent for to answer for his conduct, and his son-in-law strongly urged him to obey the summons; he lost his head of course, but the pashalik was given to Ali of Argyro-castro, and the traitor was disappointed. The insurrection of Stephano Piccolo took place in 1767; and, if this account be correct, Ali must have been born before 1747, or he could not have become Capelan's son-in-law by that time at twenty-four years of age, and have acted subsequently the part here ascribed to him. M. Pouqueville goes on to state, that a marriage was brought about between the new pasha of Delvino and Shainitza, Ali's sister; but the pasha in vain endeavoured to conciliate the good-will of his brother-in-law by benefits. Not having been able to persuade his sister to poison her husband, Ali found means to persuade the pasha's brother Sollman to turn assassin, on condition of marrying the widow! Again, however, Ali was disappointed of obtaining the vacant pashalik, which was given to Selim Bey, whose treacherous assassination by his dear friend Ali, is not very consistently made to follow close upon the breaking out of the war in 1768. According to this statement, Ali must have got rid of three successive pashas of Delvino in about a twelvemonth!

vengeance, he spread a terror of his name throughout the neighbouring tribes.*

These expeditions had made him master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus in front of Argyrocastro, which he held under observation, while the inhabitants on their side established a sort of redoubt, and a post of 500 men on the bridge below the city. He is said to have even made attempts at this time on both Ioannina and Arta, but was repelled. Shortly after, by means of his emissaries at Constantinople, he procured a commission for attacking Selim, pasha of Delvino, who had fallen under the displeasure of the Porte for having delivered up to the Venetians the fortress and territory of Bucintro. Resorting to his favourite measures of deceit, he appeared before Delvino with only a small band of troops, under pretence of flying from his enemies. Having gained the confidence of the unsuspecting Selim, as well as of his son Mustafa, he was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested, and succeeded in carrying off his prisoner in the precipitate retreat which he was obliged to make, in order to escape from the indignation of the inhabitants. He obtained a large sum as a ransom for his captive, but this was the only fruit of his perfidy.

* This act of diabolical cruelty, which reminds us of the crusaders, seems to be the best attested part of the narrative. Vassily, Mr. Hobhouse's attendant, (who appears to have been a native of Chormovo, although the name of the place is not given,) told him, that he had many a time gone down with the men of the village, and broken Ali's windows with shot when he durst not stir out of Tepeleni. "Well," he was asked, "and what did Ali do to the men of your village?" "*Nothing at all;* he made friends with our chief man, persuaded him to come to Tepeleni, and there roasted him on a spit: after which, we submitted."—HOBHOUSE'S *Albania*, letter xi.

In the mean time, Kourd Pasha having fallen into disgrace,* a new *dervenji pasha* had been appointed, who, either actuated by the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, or influenced by more substantial inducements, named Ali as his lieutenant. Instead of clearing the roads of banditti, Ali commenced a trade in licenses, which he sold regularly to the klephts, receiving over and above, a per centage on their booty. This traffic did not last, however, above six months, though Ali is said to have cleared 150,000 piastres by the job. The country, as the natural consequence, having become quite impassable, the *dervenji pasha* was recalled, and paid the penalty of his head, while his crafty lieutenant bought himself off.

So high did Ali's character, however, now stand for bravery, or so well was his money laid out at Constantinople, that, on the breaking out of the war with Russia, he obtained a command, at the head of his Albanian corps, in the army of the grand vizir, Jusouf. "His conduct during the war," we are told by M. de Vaudoncourt, "was brilliant: his military talents, and the valour of his soldiers, inured by twenty years of war and victory, obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But his attention was not withdrawn from his ambitious projects. Hitherto, he had no government, no title, and he wished to be a sovereign, whatever was the sacrifice. Under the pretext of obtaining the

* Kourd Pasha is styled by Mr. Hughes and M. Pouqueville, vizir and pasha of Berat. M. de Vaudoncourt says, he was vizir of Avlona; that, on his disgrace, the *sanjiak* of Avlona was dismembered, several districts passing under the control of the vizir of Scutari, while others were united to the *sanjiak* of Elbassan, whose pasha was created a vizir, and fixed his residence at Berat.

release of Mahmoud, one of his nephews, who had been taken prisoner by the Russians, he entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. The correspondence soon became active, and took a direction favourable to the interests of Russia, who would have been able at that time to rely on Ali Bey in case of a fresh expedition to the Mediterranean. The correspondence between Ali and the Russian Government lasted till he had become master of Ioannina, as well as of nearly all Albania, and had no longer any direct interest in aiding the designs of that power." *

The war being ended, Ali had gained sufficient credit at Constantinople to have himself nominated to the government of Triccala in Thessaly, with the rank of a pasha of two tails. The situation of this place was particularly adapted to his views. It commands the passage of merchandise from Ioannina to Constantinople; and whoever possesses the country has it in his power to intercept all supplies of corn from the fertile plains of Thessaly, upon which the provinces of Western Greece frequently depend for their subsistence. Here he established himself as absolute master over all Thessaly, except Larissa, which is an independent jurisdiction. The people of Ioannina, particularly the Greek merchants, who feared his exactions, beheld with the more alarm their formidable neighbour, inasmuch as complete anarchy then pre-

* Vaudoncourt, p. 234. The Author himself saw at Ioannina a watch set in diamonds, which Potemkin presented to Ali after the treaty of peace had been signed, "in testimony of esteem for his bravery and talents." Mr. Hughes says, that Ali had conceived strong hopes of being acknowledged sovereign of Epirus when his friend should be seated on the throne of Constantinople; that the correspondence which Potemkin held with Ali and many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, became known to Catherine, and probably precipitated the fall of the favourite.

vailed in that city. The turbulent and powerful beys were not only in rebellion against the pasha, but were engaged in the fiercest contests with one another, so that it was frequently unsafe for a person to stir out into the streets. The most atrocious murders were committed in open day, till the very bazar became deserted. At length, the death of the pasha afforded Ali the golden opportunity he had been watching for. We give the sequel in the words of Mr. Hughes, with whose narrative the statement of M. de Vaudoncourt substantially agrees.

"When Ali thought affairs were ripe enough for his presence, he collected a considerable number of troops, passed the chain of Mount Pindus, and made his appearance on the plains to the north of Ioannina. This manœuvre caused great consternation in the city: the beys, in imminent danger, stifled their enmity towards each other, joined their forces together, and advanced to meet the invader. In a great battle which was fought at the head of the lake, they were beaten and driven back into the city by Ali, who encamped before it with his victorious troops. Not being strong enough to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success. He had already gained a considerable number of adherents amongst the Greeks in the city, and especially in the district of Zagori: these by bribery and large promises he engaged to enter into his views and send a deputation to Constantinople, to solicit for him the pashalik. They acted as he requested; but the opposite interest proved too strong for them at the Porte, and they were made the bearers of an order to their principal to retire immediately to his own government and disband his troops. One of the deputies, most attached to his interest, rode forward night and day, to give him

early information of the failure of their mission, and on this occasion Ali executed one of those strokes of policy which have given him such advantage over the imbecility of the Ottoman Porte. After a short consultation with his friend, he dismissed him to return and meet the deputies, who waited a few days on the road, and then proceeded straight to Ioannina. The beys, to whom its contents had been already intimated, advanced as far as the suburbs to meet the firman. It was produced, and drawn out of its crimson case; when each reverently applied it to his forehead, in token of submission to its dictates. It was then opened, and to the utter consternation of the assembly, it announced Ali, pasha of Ioannina, and ordered instant submission to his authority.

"The forgery was suspected by many, but some credited it; whilst others, by timely submission, sought to gain favour with the man who they foresaw would be their ruler: in short, his partisans exerted themselves on all sides, the beys were dispirited, and whilst they were irresolute and undetermined, Ali entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace. His chief enemies in the mean time sought their safety by flight, passing over the lake and taking refuge in the districts of Arta, Etolia, and Acarnania.

"Ali's first care was to calm the fears of all ranks; to the people, he promised protection; to the beys who remained, rich offices and plunder; his friends were amply recompensed, and his enemies reconciled by his frankness and engaging affability. In the mean time he put a strong garrison into the castron or fortress, and thus acquired firm possession of the pashalik before the imposture of the firman was discovered. It was now too late to dispossess him of his acquisition: his adherents increased daily; a numerous and

respectable deputation, led by Signore Alessio's father, carried a petition to Constantinople, and seconding it with bribes to a large amount, ultimately prevailed in establishing his usurped dominion. Thus, according to custom, despotism succeeded to the turbulence of faction, and the people not unwillingly submitted to the change."

Soon afterwards, Ali, doubtless by the same potent agency—gold, obtained from the Porte the important office of dervenji-pasha of Rumelia: whether he had a lieutenant, is not stated, but if he had, he took good care that he should not trade in licenses to the klephts. This office not only augmented his revenue, but gave him an opportunity to create an influence in many provinces of the Turkish empire. His next step was to pick a quarrel with his neighbour, the Pasha of Arta, and to annex his territories, as well as the whole of Acarnania, to his own dominions. Then, in order to establish a free communication between Ioannina and his native territory, he attacked and took possession of the strong post of Klissura, following it up by the reduction of Premeti, Ostanizza, and Konitza, which secure the whole course of the Voïussa, from its source in Mount Pindus, to Tepeleni.*

* Klissura is situated at the entrance of the narrow defile anciently called the *Fauces Antigonææ* or *Stena Aoi*, where, in the first Macedonian war, Philip stopped the advance of the Roman legions till the key of his position was betrayed to Flaminius by a shepherd. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5. The mountains forming the defile are now called, those on the north side Trebechina and Mejourani, those on the south Melchiovo. The defile is about ten miles in length from Klissura, (which, from the remains of Cyclopean masonry observable there, Mr. Hughes supposes to be the site of Antigonea,) to the junction of the Aous with the river of Argyrocastro above Tepeleni. The precipices on each side are tremendous, being not much less than a thousand feet in perpendicular height. Premeti, which some persons have taken for Antigonea,

Soon after this, Ibrahim Pasha, of Berat, who had formerly rejected his alliance, gladly accepted the proposal to affiance his three daughters to the two sons and nephew of Ali, who himself espoused the rich widow of a pasha with a considerable dowry in land.

The accession of Ali Pasha to the government of Ioannina is stated by M. Pouqueville to have taken place towards the end of the year 1788. In the following year the Sultan Abdulhamid died, and was succeeded by Selim III., who, on his exchanging the imprisonment of the seraglio for the throne, confirmed Ali Pasha in all his honours and appointments. The situation of the Turkish empire was at this period most critical. The plan for the seizure of the Ottoman territories is said to have been arranged in the personal interviews between the Emperor Joseph and the Russian Czarina, during their journey to the Crimea, in 1787,* and they were carrying on their preparations for opening the campaign with an attack along the whole line of the Turkish frontier in Europe,

is about twelve miles higher up the Aous or Vioussa. Hughes ii. p. 119. M. Pouqueville states that the bey of Klissoura at this time was Mourad, Ali's own nephew; and he gives a very minute account of his assassination by his uncle, who pretended to have been attacked by him. Mr. Hughes says, "I have read, in an account which pretends to be genuine, that Ali shot his favourite nephew in one of the apartments of his palace at Litoritza. But mark the difference! I once spent an hour in that very apartment with Ali's chief physician, waiting for an audience. This gentleman, in whose arms the young bey expired, gave me the particulars of his death, which was the consequence of a fever: he informed me that the vizir was so doatingly fond of the youth, that he could scarcely be induced to quit his bed-side, and so inconsolable at his loss, that he had never once entered into the room from that time to the present. And this relation was amply confirmed to me by others." Hughes, vol. ii. p. 108.

* Thornton cites a curious passage from the letters of the Prince de Ligne (dated Baktcheserai, June 1, 1787). "*Leurs majestés*

when the Porte anticipated them in the declaration of war. It is stated by M. de Vaudoncourt, that Greek officers in the service of the Emperor, accompanied by engineers, had gone over the coasts of Albania, the Morea, and the gulfs of Lepanto and Avlona; that they had made plans of the fortified towers of Navarino, Modon, and Patras, and reconnoitred the isthmus; that by means of a Greek archbishop, whom he had allured to Pesth, and of Greek merchants settled at Trieste and Fiume, he had opened communications with all parts of Greece; that he kept up a large number of emissaries in Albania, who had extended themselves as far as Ioannina and even Larissa; that at Ragusa, the Emperor had forty-four vessels, placed under the name of a merchant, which in a few days could be equipped as frigates; that, in a word, the Austrian Government at that time had neglected nothing to obtain the support of the Greeks, who, in fact, began to consider Joseph II. as their future liberator, and to feel towards him the same attachment they had always entertained for Russia.*

impériales se tâtaient quelquefois sur les pauvres diables de Turcs. On jetoit quelque propos en se regardant. Comme amateur de la belle antiquité, et d'un peu de nouveautés, je parlois de rétablir les Grecs; Catherine, de faire renaître les Lycurgues et les Solons. Moi, je parlois d'Alcibiade; mais Joseph II., qui étoit plus pour l'avenir que pour le passé, et pour le positif que pour le chimère, disoit, Que diable faire de Constantinople?"—See also COXE'S *Life of Catherine II.*, vol. iii. p. 291.

* "Under the pretence of furnishing Hungary with cultivators, he sought to induce Greeks to fix their residence there. He not only favoured the emigration of whole families, seeking to flee from the oppression of their masters, but he also spread decoyers in the most distant provinces of his dominions. Another not less efficacious mean was his edict of toleration, issued in 1782. He therein formally promised the Greeks who might come to establish themselves within his states, to admit them to all civil and military dignities, according to their merits. A great number of Greeks flocked there from all parts. Many formed establishments

But if ever there was any cordial union between the two imperial confederates who planned, at this time, the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, the death of that emperor terminated the dangerous alliance. The mutual jealousy by which each power was actuated, prevented their union in any common effort; and the war was prosecuted by Austria, as much for the sake of checking or thwarting its too powerful rival, as with any view to the conquest of Greece. Thus it was that their united attack on a tottering and debilitated empire produced nothing but the capture of Oczakow and Belgrade, followed by separate treaties of peace.* By the treaty of Yassy, Russia added to her vast dominions only the steppe between the Bogh and the Dniester.

Ali Pasha received orders to join, at the head of his contingent of troops, the Turkish army on the banks of the Danube. According to M. Pouqueville, he had seen only the smoke of the German bivouacks, when he re-entered his winter quarters at Ioannina,

in Trieste and Fiume; others were admitted into the military service. The Archbishop of Patras, Parthenius, who had been one of the most ardent in stirring up the Morea in favour of Russia, in the year 1770, and who had been obliged to take refuge at St. Petersburgh, was allured to Pesth, where Joseph made a handsome provision for him, and whence he carried on an active correspondence with Greece. In 1782, two Albanian captains penetrated to Maina, and entered into negotiations with that republic, offering succour in warlike stores and money, and promising to transport field-pieces there by a sea conveyance."—*Vaudoncourt*, pp. 24—31.

* The reduction of Orsova, in April 1790, was the only military event of importance that took place on the part of the Austrians after the death of Joseph II. The insurrection in the Low Countries, the transactions on the Prussian frontier, and the influence of Great Britain, compelled the Emperor to enter into an armistice, and finally to conclude a separate peace with the Porte, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.

bringing home with him, instead of captives, some hundreds of Servians and Bulgarians, peaceable subjects of the Grand Seignior, whom he formed into two little colonies at Bonila and Mouchari, in the interior of Epirus. This appears to have been in 1789. Whatever were Ali's views at this time, the death of his friend Potemkin, and the unexpected turn of affairs in Europe, appear to have decided him on identifying his interests with those of the Porte. But his correspondence with Potemkin had got wind, and his enemies at Constantinople were endeavouring to make use of the circumstance, to undermine his influence in the divan. Fertile in expedients, he found means to counteract these plots, and to allay the coming storm; principally, it is asserted, by the good offices of the French minister at the Porte, whose protection he obtained through the means of the consul at Prevesa.*

It does not appear, that the long-protracted contest between Ali and the little republic of Suli had any political causes for its origin. M. Pouqueville represents the Suliots to have been instigated to hostilities by Ibrahim, the vizir of Berat, and the agas of Thesprotia; but he seems to think that their minds were inflamed by the flattering statements brought back by the Greek deputies from St. Petersburgh. It is not, however, at all likely, that they would have attempted a rising at so inauspicious a crisis, contrary to the express injunctions of the Russian Government. It may be true, that at Suli, the rebellion was planned under Lambro Canziani, that was to have liberated the Greeks from

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 118. Vaudoncourt, p. 238. The latter tells an improbable story of Ali's writing to Louis XVI., and receiving from the French minister an insulting reply, declining his proposals, on which he turned his rage on the French consul at Arta.

the Ottoman yoke;* and Sottiri may have endeavoured to engage the mountaineers of Epirus in the visionary plans of a revolution to be undertaken under the faithless auspices of Russia. But the Suliots were genuine klephts; and nothing was more inevitable than that their proceedings should clash with the official duty and private interests of the dervenji-pasha, in which capacity the Vizir of Epirus had most legitimate grounds for waging warfare against them. It seems that the first force which was sent out against these mountaineers, was defeated with great slaughter, and pursued to the very plain of Ioannina. This is said to have taken place before Ali joined the army of the Danube, and must apparently have happened in the time of his predecessor. In the spring of 1791, the Suliots, who had been for some time quiet, issued from their retreats, and ravaged Amphilochia. "Pillaging alike friends and foes," says M. Pouqueville, "they carried their imprudence so far as to embroil themselves with the chiefs of the armatolis, and even with the Turks of Thesprotia. All commercial intercourse was interrupted in Lower Albania. The defiles were no longer passable without numerous escorts, which were often defeated by these audacious mountaineers. They even ventured to spread themselves over Pindus, and only withdrew to their own country at the approach of winter, at which season the snows render the rocky heights of Epirus uninhabitable." It seems pretty clear, that, in his attempt to restrain and punish these marauders, Ali was supported by the Greek armatolis, whom he is stated to have taken into his pay, but who had themselves suffered from the incursions of the klephts. In his first serious expedi-

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 122. Eton. p. 364.

tion against the Suliots, it is expressly mentioned, that to the forces of the agas of Chamouri, and a corps of auxiliaries furnished by Ibrahim, pasha of Berat, were joined the armatolis of Agrafa, headed by Demetrius Paleopoulos, his brother-in-law Anagnostis Canavos, and Hyscos of Karpenitza. Altogether, the army is stated to have amounted to 15,000 men.* At the head of this formidable force, Ali set set out from Ioannina on the 1st of July, 1792. To conceal his designs, he began his march in the direction of Argyro-castro, but he had scarcely proceeded twenty miles when he halted and encamped. A copy is given by Mr. Hughes of a letter which he is said to have sent to Botzari and Tzavella, two of the most distinguished Suliot leaders, requesting them to join his army at the head of their palikars, and promising them double pay. Suspicious, as it should seem, of his real intentions, Tzavella only obeyed the summons at the head of seventy palikars. All of these

* Pouqueville, vol. i. pp. 51, 90. This Demetrius Paleopoulos, a native of Karpenitza in Ætolia, is celebrated as a man of distinguished bravery and talent. In the heroic age, says M. Pouqueville, he would have been a Theseus. At it was, he was only a klepht, till promoted by the Porte to be a vaivode of his native district. He had attached himself to Ali as far back as 1786, when they met at Triccala, and their fathers are said to have been intimate. On the occasion of the Suliot war, this Greek patriot took the lead against the klephtic republic. Nicolas Cojani, Boucovallas, Stathos, his son-in-law, Euthymos Blakavas, Zitros of Olosson, Macry-Athanasios, and Macry-Poulios of Greveno, Christakis of Prevesa, and Andriscos, the companion in arms of Lambro-Canzianis, — are mentioned by Pouqueville as maintaining on this occasion an armed neutrality. A pretty clear proof that the cause of Suli was not then considered as identical with that of Grecian liberty. The number of the troops which were sent against Suli, is stated by M. Perevaux, "the historian of Suli," at 28,000 men. Mr. Hughes says, "about 10,000, all tried Albanian troops." This, all were not.

were now seized and bound, except one, who escaped by swimming the river Kalamas, and gave the alarm at Suli. When Ali made his appearance in that district, therefore, he found the Suliots fully prepared to give him a warm reception. Having ordered Tzavella to be brought before him, the wily Pasha now offered him the amplest reward if he would procure the submission of the republic, holding out the horrible alternative of being flayed alive. Tzavella represented, that his countrymen would never treat while he remained a prisoner, but he offered his son Foto as a hostage, if Ali would let him return to Suli, to endeavour to bring about a negotiation. His proposal was accepted, and as soon as he had regained the mountains, and consulted the other captains, he sent back a letter of defiance, in which, anticipating the sacrifice of his son, he swears to revenge him.* Foto, however, was not put to death, but subsequently obtained his liberty. The Pasha now prepared to attack Suli by force of arms; but at this crisis, the campaign had well nigh been terminated by the death of their enemy. A detachment of these brave mountaineers, to the number of 200, having learned that Ali was encamped with his body-guard at some little distance from the main army, marched out with the determination to take him alive or dead; and but for the timely information conveyed to Ali by a traitor, they would probably have succeeded. Ali, now infuriated to the utmost, put his troops immediately in motion.

The four villages which formed the principal seats of this martial clan, occupied a sort of natural citadel in the heart of the Cassopæan mountains, consisting of a small plain about 2000 feet above the bed of the

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 130. Pouqueville, vol. i. p. 99.

Acheron: a grand natural breast-work descends precipitously to the river, while behind towers a lofty range of mountains. "The Acheron (Kalamas) after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters this chasm at the gorge of Skouitias, so called from a small village of that name. A narrow path, which winds through the dark woods on the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably adapted to stop the progress of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called Tichos, and near it was the first Suliot village, called Avarico. From this point, a gradual ascent leads to the deserted site of Samoniva, thence to Kiaffa (a word signifying a height), and lastly to Kako-Suli, the capital of the republic. Near the spot where the mountain-path leaves the side of the Acheron, to wind up the precipices between Kiaffa and Kako-Suli, a conical hill overhangs the road, called Kunghi, on which stood the largest of the Suliot fortresses, named *Aghia Paraskevi* (Saint Friday).* At this point, another small river, flowing from the Paramithian mountains, joins the Acheron, which, descending the romantic defile of Glyki, enters the great Paramithian plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the Acherusian lake, into the Ionian Sea, near the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre."†

The Suliots, being obliged to retreat before superior numbers, were closely pursued by Ali's forces down

* *Paraskeve* and *Kuriake* (Friday and Sunday) are among the common names given to Greek girls.

† Hughes, vol. ii. p. 121. The name of Suli is probably a corruption of the ancient Selli; (HOMER, *Iliad*, lib. xvi. 233,) but no vestiges of any ancient cities have been discovered within the district of the Suliotes. The distance of Suli from Joannina is 14 hours; from Prevesa, 13; from Arta, 14; from Parga, 8; from Margarita, 6; from Paramithia, 8.

the valley of the Acheron, but, at the pass of Klissura, they made a stand. And here the Albanian troops were assailed by such volleys of musketry from the fortress of Tichos, and from behind the rocks which form the defile, that the passage became nearly choked up with the slain. The ammunition of the Suliots at length beginning to fail, they were compelled to retire towards Kiaffa. This also was soon found to be untenable, and, followed by the Pasha's army, they retreated towards Kako-Suli. The great fort of *Aghia Paraskevi*, which commands the *Tripa*, a deep chasm between Kiaffa and the capital, was at this time so thinly garrisoned, that Suli would have been lost but for an act of female valour, which well deserves comparison with that of Telesilla and her Argives. "The heroine Mosco, (the wife of Tzavellas,) arming all her female warriors, rushed out of the town sword in hand, stopped the retreat of husbands and brethren, headed them in a valiant attack upon the assailants, now breathless from their pursuit of the fugitives up these steep acclivities, and in a moment turned the tide of war. The Albanians in their turn retreated and fled; the garrison of Paraskevi, reinforced by a number of fugitives, made a sally to increase their confusion; heaps of stones were rolled down upon the flying foe, who were again intercepted at the fort of Tichos, and almost annihilated. Hundreds of dead bodies were rolled into the bed of the Acheron, whose torrent was encumbered with the slain.

"Arrived at this tower, Mosco discovered the body of her favourite nephew, who had been killed in the first attack on this position. Animated with a desire of vengeance at the sight, she kissed the pale lips of the corpse, and calling on the Suliots to follow,

she led them, like a tigress bereft of her whelps, against those troops who remained about the Pasha in the upper regions of the valley. Terrified by the fate of their companions, these took immediately to flight, and were pursued by the victorious Suliots as far as the village of Vareatis, within seven hours of Ioannina: they lost all their baggage, ammunition, and arms, which were thrown away in the flight, besides an immense number of prisoners, whose ransom served to enrich the conquerors. Ali himself killed two horses in his precipitate escape, and when he arrived at his capital, he shut himself up in his harem for several days. About 6000 men are said to have been slain and taken prisoners: the remainder, having been dispersed over the woods and mountains, did not collect together at Ioannina for several weeks. This battle occurred July 20, 1792." *

Ali now saw that the conquest of Suli must be given up for the present, and he is said to have made peace on most degrading terms, ceding to them possession of their acquired territory as far as Devitziana, and paying a large sum as ransom for his captive troops, besides restoring the palikars whom he had trepanned, and Foto Tzavella among the rest.

During the ensuing four or five years, Ali appears to have kept quiet, directing his attention to the improvement of his capital, the construction of roads for the facilitating of internal commerce, and the extirpation of the robbers who infested all parts of the

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 132. M. Pouqueville says, that Ali escaped in disguise, having exchanged clothes with Paleopoulos; and that the greater part of those who rallied round him were armatolis, who had formed his body guard; those who perished in the defile, were chiefly Moslems.

country. His subjects had to complain of his oppressive *avanias;* but it seems to be admitted, that, at this period, he did not display that severity of character which subsequently broke out into so many acts of wanton cruelty; and his despotism was on the whole a beneficent one to the country. In the meantime, French revolutionists were busy about Ali, flattering him with the hope of being enabled to throw off the yoke of obedience to the Porte, and to assume the independent sovereignty of Epirus; and when, in 1797, he saw the Venetians driven from the Ionian Islands and their continental dependencies, in pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the French flag waving on the shores of Epirus, he eagerly entered into secret negotiations with General Bonaparte, then at the head of his victorious army in Italy. The benefits which he drew from this alliance, were substantial and immediate. He gained permission to sail with his flotilla through the channel of Corfu, in spite of former treaties; and he surprised and captured the two independent towns of Aghio Vasili and Nivitza, on the coast opposite to that island, massacring the inhabitants in church one Easter Sunday, while engaged in divine service. Soon after this, he took possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta, as well as of the excellent harbour of Porto Palermo, where he built a large fort, thus drawing a cordon round the pashalik of Delvino. His agents at Constantinople made a merit of these acts, by representing them as done solely for the advantage of the Porte and the subjugation of infidels, which Ali did not fail to confirm by paying tribute for every place he conquered. Still further to raise his credit at Constantinople, he headed his contingent of Albanian troops, and joined the Grand Vizir in his campaign against the

rebel pasha of Widin, Paswan Oglou.* He was engaged in this expedition when he received intelligence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, and the approaching rupture between France and Turkey. Foreseeing that the Ionian Islands would probably again change hands, he hastened back to Ioannina, leaving his son Mouktar in command of his troops, that he might be in readiness to avail himself of any events that might be converted to his own advantage. In fact, he did not wait long before he commenced operations by seizing on Prevesa, the strongest and most important of all the ex-Venetian possessions on the continent. The alleged detention of one of his brigs sailing into the Gulf of Arta, was made the pretext for attacking his former allies. The unfortunate Prevesans had scarcely time to send their families and moveable property to the neighbouring islands; and many, discrediting the report of the Pasha's approach, neglected that precaution. The place was ill-prepared to make any defence. The French garrison capitulated after a short resistance, and the Prevesans being easily routed, their city was given up to pillage.† Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Bucintro subsequently fell into his hands, and Parga and Santa

* An anecdote, highly characteristic, is related of him at this period. The grand vizir, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his conduct, requested his attendance in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bow-string than half the victims who had been honoured with that Turkish martyrdom, went, but had the precaution to surround the vizir's tent with 6000 of his Albanians. As might be expected, his reception was courteous, but the conference was short.

† The bishop of Prevesa is said to have been an active agent in forming a party at Prevesa in favour of Ali; but, disgusted with his atrocious cruelties, he afterwards deserted him. Upwards of 300 Prevesans are stated to have been massacred, by Ali's orders, in cold blood.

Maura narrowly escaped; the former, through the determined conduct and bravery of the inhabitants, the latter, through the timely interposition of a Greek captain in the Russian service, who arrived off the island just in time to intercept Ali's flotilla. No failure in his schemes, it is said, ever annoyed him so much as this disappointment.

In March 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the independence of the Seven Islands was guaranteed under protection of the former power, upon payment of an annual tribute of 75,000 piastres to the Porte: the continental dependencies were all annexed to the dominions of the Sultan, except Parga, which resolutely maintained its independence. When the Russian forces had retired, Ali, unwilling to abandon his project, still indulged the hope of being able to seize on Corfu and Santa Maura, the possession of which would have consolidated his power on the adjacent part of the continent. Under pretext of sustaining the pretensions of the nobility, he excited the first commotions that broke out in those islands, of which he availed himself to represent to the Divan, that the only means of restoring tranquillity, would be to allow him to garrison Corfu, Parga, and Santa Maura. His representations and his gold would probably have prevailed at Constantinople, had not the Ionian senate defeated his intrigues by throwing themselves in the arms of Russia. This measure, which overturned all his projects, did not fail to increase his jealousy against that power, and he was thenceforth its implacable enemy. Anxious to extend his foreign relations, he now availed himself of the appearance of a British squadron in the Ionian Sea, to open a correspondence with the admiral; but it does not appear

that his negotiations led at this time to any definite result, and he soon reverted to his French connexions.

It was some compensation for the disappointment of his schemes, that the ambitious Vizir now received the public thanks of the Sultan for his eminent services, together with a present of the *kelick-caftan* (a fine ermine pelisse) and a sword decorated with brilliants. To complete his elevation, he was made *Rumelie-valisee* or viceroy of Romelia. Bound by the duties of his office to visit the provinces confided to his jurisdiction, he did not fail to turn to good account the discharge of this obligation. Being charged to collect the arrears of contributions due to the imperial treasury, as well in money as in kind, he increased them, it is said, in the proportion of three to five, reserving two-fifths as his per-centage for the trouble of collecting. He took up his residence for some time at Monastir, a large town about a day's journey west of the lake of Ochrida, which he pillaged in the most shameless manner, carrying away nineteen waggons laden with valuable effects. It is calculated that, besides money and other articles, 20,000 sheep were, by this visitation, added to his property; and the sum total of the exactions wrested from these provinces has been estimated at 10,000,000 of piastres.

The victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg, by which Dalmatia and Illyricum were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, recalled the attention of Ali towards France. As Russia still continued in hostility with Napoleon, and had just seized on Cattaro, Ali thought that a favourable opportunity was now afforded for attacking that power in the Ionian Islands. He accordingly sent a secret agent to Bonaparte, to solicit that a French consul might be sent to reside at his capital; and M. Pouqueville was selected for the

office, with the title of consul-general, while his brother was appointed vice-consul under him at Prevesa. The French minister at the Porte at this time governed the divan. Through his interest, Ali procured the pasha-lik of Lepanto for his elder son, Mouktar, and for Veli, his younger son, that of the Morea. In return, he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture between Turkey and Russia. Hostilities having commenced, he engaged to push the war so vigorously against the Russians in the islands, that they should be unable to annoy the French army in Dalmatia, provided that he were supplied with artillery and engingers. At the commencement of 1807, he appeared to be on the point of obtaining the object of his wishes. Fifty artillery men, several officers, together with ordnance and military stores, were sent out to him in a gun-boat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples, while Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer sent out by Marshal Marmont, remained with Ali to super-intend operations. Under his direction, additional works were thrown up round Ioannina, Prevesa was fortified, and the siege of Santa Maura was begun. Notwithstanding a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, who excited a general insurrection of the Tzamouriots and Parathithians, it was prosecuted with vigour. The explosion of a powder-magazine having dismantled one of the forts, a landing-point was left uncovered, and orders were given to construct a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to turn it to advantage. Indeed, every thing was ready for the arrival of a corps of 10,000 Albanians, when the peace of Tilsit most opportunely put a stop to hostilities. Ali would fain have prosecuted his operations; but the French officers refused to consent, and Santa Maura was saved. Napoleon was sufficiently informed

that all Ali's selfish views centered in the occupation of the Septinsular republic, and Mehemet Effendi, an Italian renegade despatched by Ali to the emperor, used every exertion to obtain a promise from Napoleon, that at least Santa Maura and Parga should be ceded to his master. The integrity of the Ionian Republic was, however, one of the bases of the negotiations resolved upon at Tilsit, and his agent could accomplish nothing. Parga, of which he endeavoured to gain possession, placed itself under the protection of the Ionian Government.

As soon as Ali saw the islands occupied by French troops, his friendship with Napoleon was at an end. He now again turned to England, and requested that an accredited agent might be sent out to him from this country. In the autumn of 1808, a British agent had a secret conference with the Vizir at Prevesa, at which the plan of operations was concerted. Ali engaged to second, by all his influence, the attempts of Sir A. Paget to bring about a peace between Turkey and Great Britain; and to him it is stated to have been entirely owing, that the point was carried. At that moment, the insurrection of the janissaries and the death of the Grand Vizir had thrown every thing at Constantinople into such confusion, that Mr. Adair was about to quit his station in despair, when Ali wrote to him to urge his remaining to wait the event. So important, indeed, were his services deemed by the British cabinet, that, by way of acknowledgement, a very fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the then newly-invented Congreve's rockets, were sent him on board a transport, while Major Leake, who had the care of the artillery, was ordered to remain to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident. The expulsion of the French from

Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, and the occupation of those islands by the English in the autumn of 1809, confirmed his determination openly to espouse the interests of Great Britain. He now opened his ports to our merchants and cruisers, and granted supplies, on most liberal terms, for our navy and the army in the Spanish Peninsula. By this means, he secured a powerful ally against the hour of need; and when, in 1813, the Divan, instigated by Andreossy, the French minister at the Porte, had, as it appears, well nigh determined on his destruction, the representations of the British ambassador had no small influence in averting the storm from the dominion of so useful an ally.*

We must now go back a little, to give the sequel of the history of Suli. On his return to Ioannina, after his expedition to Romelia in 1800-1, Ali determined to recommence operations against this little republic, to which he was more particularly incited by its intimate connexion with Parga and Corfu. Botzari, one of the most distinguished leaders, had been, in the mean time, bought over to his interests, and the Pasha was led to believe that Suli would surrender on the first attack. He was, however, wofully mistaken. Foto Tzavella survived, and together with the Amazon Mosco, a martial calayer or monk, named Samuel, of wild, enthusiastic character, and some other leaders of

* M. Pouqueville asserts, that Ali actually received orders to quit Ioannina, and to retire to Tepeleni; and he gives a long conversation which he alleges to have passed between the Vizir and himself on the occasion of his departure. The French had then just entered Moscow. But no sooner had the tragical twenty-ninth bulletin of the grand army spread through Greece the news of Napoleon's disasters, than Ali returned to Ioannina. "*A son attitude, on aurait imaginé qu' il avait aussi triomphé de ces armées vaincus par le climat.*" vol. i. p. 395.

kindred spirit, still defied his power. Ali took the field with about 18,000 men: the number of Suliot palikars never exceeded at any time 3000.* But numbers, far from being of avail in such a field of action, only served to create confusion and embarrassment. The Albanian troops, on endeavouring to penetrate the defile of Glyki, were overwhelmed with huge stones poured down from the overhanging precipices, and with volleys of musket-balls from unseen marksmen. Foto Tzavella, at the head of about 200 chosen palikars, is stated to have routed with great slaughter a detachment of 3000 Albanians, while his own loss did not exceed twenty men. The total loss, in killed and prisoners, on the part of Ali, in various successive attacks, exceeded in numbers the sum total of the Suliot army. Botzari was himself repulsed in a treacherous attempt to lead a party over the mountain of Raithovuni; and his death, a few months after, was supposed to be the effect either of chagrin or of poison administered by his own hand.

Despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, Ali turned the siege into a blockade, resolving to trust to famine and treachery. But his troops began to desert; and while the Suliots, according to a Parghiot historian, lost in nine

* Before their first war with Ali Pasha, the Suliots possessed sixty-six villages, "all conquered by their arms;" but the republic consisted of the four stations, Kako-Suli, containing 425 familles; Kiaffa, 60; Avarico, 55; and Samoniva, 30; total 570. The settlement is said to have originated with a few goatherds about the middle of the seventeenth century. In the notes to Sheridan's Songs of Greece, among which will be found several relating to Suli, it is stated, that the Suliots never reckoned more than 1,500, and seldom above 1000 muskets. The population is set down at 5000 souls. But little dependence can be placed on Greek statements.

months but twenty-five men, Ali lost, by defection and in various skirmishes within the same period, nearly 4000. In the desperate emergency to which the besieged were sometimes reduced, many stratagems were resorted to for procuring provisions, among which the contrivance of Gianni Striviniotti deserves particular mention. "This man, having received intelligence that the Turks had lately procured a large supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered together with them into the stalls where they were shut up. In the dead of the night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends who were in waiting to receive them. The Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives."

About this time, Ali was called off by orders from the Porte to lead his contingent against Paswan Oglou, and the Suliots availed themselves of his absence to lay in stores both of provisions and arms. On his return, he again had recourse to a false and treacherous proposal of peace, on the conditions of being allowed to build and garrison one tower within their district, and of their banishing the brave Foto Tzavella from the Suliot territory, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity. It does not appear that the former condition was complied with; and yet, the folly and infatuation which a compliance with it would have displayed, would not have been greater than the Suliots were actually guilty of in "requesting the secession"

of their bravest captain, whose highest panegyric was conveyed by the insulting proposal. Ali's ambassadors on this occasion were, as usual, two traitors who had deserted their country's cause; and by dint of threats and promises, they prevailed. Foto, on finding himself forsaken by his deluded followers, set fire to his dwelling, declaring that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the dwelling of the Tzavellas; he then buried his sword, and left his countrymen "much in the same state," remarks Mr. Hughes, "as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians." After this act of folly and baseness, one really feels a diminished interest in the fate of the republic.

Whether a peace was or was not nominally concluded, or whether the Suliots were still in a state of blockade, is not very clear; but in May 1803, the Suliots made a vigorous attack upon an Albanian fortress at Villa, which served as the principal magazine for Ali's army. This they succeeded in taking, and destroyed by fire and sword nearly the whole garrison. So daring an achievement could not but inflame their implacable enemy to the utmost height of fury. He issued proclamations, calling upon every Mahommedan throughout his dominions to avenge this slaughter upon the heads of the infidels, and an immense army was again brought into the field against this small band of mountaineers. Treachery opened to the invaders the otherwise impenetrable passes, and the Suliots, worn down at length by war and famine, and strictly blockaded, were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation, which Ali never meant to fulfil. The treaty was ratified on the 12th of December, 1803, by which the whole population was to be allowed to emigrate and settle wherever they might please. Men, women, and children being

gathered together, they separated into two bodies; one taking the direction of Parga, the other that of Prevesa. Both parties were waylaid by the troops of the perfidious tyrant: the former fought their way through, but the latter all eventually perished. A party of about a hundred women and children, being cut off from the rest, fled, it is stated, to a steep precipice near the monastery of Zalongo; there, the children were first thrown over the rocks by their mothers, and then the matrons, joining hand in hand, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by native songs, whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance till they approached the edge of the cliff, from which they one and all threw themselves headlong. Another small detachment, having been taken captive, was subsequently released and allowed by Ali to settle at Vurgareli at the foot of Mount Tzumerka; but this was only a treacherous respite: they were afterwards extirpated by a detachment of Albanians, except a few that escaped into Acarnania. The scattered remnant of the tribe took refuge, some at Santa Maura, others with the Albanian beys; but the greater part retired to Parga and Corfu, to subsist on charity, or to enrol themselves in the service of their protectors. A number of them subsequently entered into the Russian service, and formed a regiment in the Albanian battalion. After the peace of Tilsit, this corps passed into the service of the French under Colonel Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco, his *mother*, both held commissions for some time, but resigned them from disgust at ill-treatment. The former passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the destroyer of his country, and was received into his service. Mosco, who accompanied him, married a second husband, and was living in the capital at the

time of Mr. Hughes's visit. Their native mountains then formed the strongest post in their conqueror's dominions, and a splendid fortified serai adorned the highest top of Kiaffa as a monument of his base triumph.

The history of Ali Pasha now becomes interwoven with a complicated series of intrigues and counter-intrigues on the part of Russian, French, and English agents, which it is very difficult to develop. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pasha of Berat had written to the French Government, entreating to be taken under its protection, and offering the exclusive commerce of the port of Avlona, as well as proposing to admit some French artillery-men into that fortress. The expedition of Ali against Berat, was not undertaken, therefore, without a plausible pretext. The vizir of Ioannina had good reason to dread the machinations of the French in that quarter; and notwithstanding M. Pouqueville's pathetic and sentimental exclamations against the cruel treatment of the venerable Ibrahim, who, as being in the French interest, must needs have been one of the very best of men, there can be no doubt that, had not Ali seized upon Berat, his own dominions would soon have been invaded from that quarter.* The citadel of that town,

* "*J'ignore de quel artifice son perfide antagoniste se servit, pour le porter à s'adresser au gouvernement Français, qu'il priait de le prendre sous sa protection, parceque le divan l'abandonnait à un ennemi qui était vendu au ministère Britannique.*"—POUQUEVILLE, tom. i. p. 310. It is impossible to read this Writer's highly-embellished narrative, without being continually disgusted with his gross unfairness, or without the suspicion that he has drawn very largely on his invention. "His main design," as Mr. Leake justly remarks, "appears to have been, as a true disciple of the Napoleon school, to throw blame and odium upon England and Englishmen." The British Septinsular government, he politely entitles the "Pandemonium of Corcyra;" and he is indignant that the

planted on a lofty hill on the right bank of the Apsus, had hitherto been deemed impregnable; but so effectively plied were the newly-invented rockets under the direction of the English ~~engineer~~ officer (Major Leake), that Ibrahim was obliged to capitulate upon condition of retiring with all his suite and treasure to Avlona. "Ali, in his carriage," (we borrow the account from Mr. Hughes,) "surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge; he then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction, but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought it proper, however, to send a despatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign, that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pasha being not only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions from his attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had deemed proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent very large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured, not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who yielded immediately to his request of conferring the government upon his son Mouktar. The three tails, however, were not taken, as is usual on losing a pashalik, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high estimation both at Constantinople and in his own dominions.

ashes of Nelson should repose at *Westminster*, (a specimen of his accurate information,) chiefly because he addressed a complimentary letter to "the hero of Epirus," and fell in love with Lady Hamilton. This high-toned morality disappears, however, from his pages, when the English are not the objects of his virtuous animadversions; and he dispenses the crown of martyrdom on all the victims of Ali's tyranny with more than catholic liberality.

"This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Upper Albania; for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the standard of their former chief. Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower, Usuff Araps, Ali returned speedily to his capital, to take every advantage of the success of the British in the Ionian Sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura by our troops, he encamped opposite that island with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island. These he pressed vehemently after its surrender, but, being unable to substantiate them, he deceived our commanders by cunningly gaining permission to build barracks for his soldiers; instead of which he threw up two strong fortresses, each commanding an entrance into the *Dioryctos* or channel, and one of them even the castle of Santa Maura.

"But, though Ali could neither gain from his British allies the possession of Santa Maura, nor persuade them at this time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might himself occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to shew any sign of ill-humour at present: he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could afford him such material assistance as England. He was placed in a most advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it. Five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French; the former courting his assistance, the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances, he played his cards ad-

mirably. He encouraged us to blockade Corfu, under promise of co-operation, while he took advantage of its distress to introduce provisions secretly for his own gain and profit.* Forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and Ibrahim Pasha, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of the Adriatic,† he very easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises; while those hardy and warlike tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own valour *had been seconded by the powers which possessed the Ionian Isles*, finding their succours thence cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of extermination. The Chimarriots, descendants of the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, whose very trade was war, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand with very little intermission for three successive days, after they had expended all their ammunition. Ali, however, had gained possession of their principal village, called *Vouno*, by his old art of bribery, and

* "*Il m'aida également, en les trompant* (the English), *à procurer des approvisionnements, des signaux de reconnaissance aux assiégés: et il offrit même, si je voulais engager notre general à évacuer la citadelle, de l'occuper et de faire cause commune avec nous contre les Anglais.*"—POUQUEVILLE, tom. i. p. 321. The French Consul claims great merit for rejecting these proposals, and for permitting things to take their course. The fact is, that the French would have gained nothing by surrendering the island to Ali; and if the crafty vizir really made this proposal, he could have entertained no very high opinion of the Consul's sagacity.

† Whether they were *forged* letters, as Mr. Hughes asserts, may be questioned. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pasha had transmitted proposals to the French Government; and Mr. Hughes, in the latter branch of this same sentence, speaks of an actual correspondence between the Chimarriots and the French and Russian authorities in the Ionian Isles.

falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greate part of them to pieces. The country then surrendered and the Vizir, having garrisoned its strong holds, car ried to Ioannina 250 hostages for the peaceable con duct of the inhabitants.

"In 1810, Ali escaped the greatest danger witl which he had hitherto been threatened. This was no thing less than a plan of operations concerted betwee the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, t attack him by a force from the island of Corfu, and a the same time by a large corps under Marshal Mar mont from Dalmatia. Nothing but the success of th British armies in Spain, which called Marmont' army to that quarter, preserved Ali from destruction The French, however, never totally gave up th plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfi alone but for the intervention of a British fleet.' Poor Ibrahim Pasha had been implicated in the forma tion of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resis the attack of his irritated and powerful adversary Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, while tw English frigates blockaded the port against the intro duction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled in disguise, with a few of his principal followers and took refuge in the mountains of Liaberi or Lia puria. There, he was soon after betrayed, and was con ducted by his conqueror in a species of mock triumpl to the city of Konitza, whence, after the lapse of year, he was conducted to Ioannina, and confined

* M. Pouqueville takes credit for originating the plan that "wa destined to rid the earth of one of its most cruel devastators. "*Le secret fut promis à celui qui vivait sous le glaive de Damocles sa être assis à son banquet. Les moyens demandés furent agrées par sultan, au mois de juillet* 1810. *Sans préciser le temps où il les me trait à execution, la perte d'Ali et de sa race sanguinaire fut erigée maxime par le sultan.*"

close prisoner in a solitary tower, where this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, might be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon.

"The Pasha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapuria, Argyro-castro, and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering round them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains between Argyro-castro and Delvino. He then entered and took possession of the latter place, making prisoners two sons of Mustafa Pasha, whom he sent to Ioannina, and confined in a convent of the island. Two others made their escape to Corfu, where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the Vizir's. Mustafa himself had retired to Gardiki. The great city of Argyro-castro next surrendered after a short conflict, upon condition of becoming a *chiflik*; and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell entirely under the Vizir's dominion." *

No place now remained for him to conquer, but Gardiki, which had first offended him, and upon which he resolved to pour the vial of his wrath. This place, the population of which was entirely Mohammedan, surmounted a fine conical hill, surrounded with an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, the Gardikiotes prepared for the most vigorous defence. For a long time, operations went on slowly. Ali's own generals discovered a reluctance to execute his vindictive intentions, upon which he despatched a confidential officer, at the head of a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, with

* Hughes, vol. ii. pp. 187—191.

instructions to act promptly in combination with all the other Greeks in the army. They, he well knew, would exterminate a Mohammedan tribe with the greatest alacrity; and as the Turkish generals did not dare interfere, the city was soon given up to all the horrors of assault. Very few persons escaped. Those who were reserved as prisoners, were afterwards, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, massacred in cold blood in the presence of Ali, their bodies being left unburied, to rot upon the place of execution, which was a large khan near the commencement of the Gardikiote territory. The gateway of the area was then walled up, and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, "Thus perish all the enemies of Ali's house." It is stated, that every individual victim underwent a personal examination by the Vizir himself, previously to the order being given for the execution, and that some few were in consequence spared, probably on its being found that they were unconnected with the old inhabitants. On the same day, seventy-two Gardikiote beys and other prisoners of distinction, who had been conveyed to Ioannina, and treated with a delusive show of clemency and respect, were all strangled. From the khan, Ali marched to Gardiki itself, which he laid in ruins, placing it under an anathema, and prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man. The property of its citizens he had already converted to his own use; and as they were great merchants, he is stated to have kept an accurate account of all the debts due to them, and to have exacted the most punctual payment. "Every Gardikiote that was subsequently discovered within the dominions of Ali, was arrested and put to death, when his corpse was sent to augment the mouldering heap of his unfortu-

nate countrymen at the khan of Valiarè. The Vizir was grievously offended with his son Vely, who refused to put to death some Gardikiotes in his service, or surrender them up."

This crowning act of atrocity took place on the 15th of March, 1812. Mustafa, Pasha of Delvino, died soon after in prison at Ioannina, not without suspicion of having been starved to death.* A few months after this, Ibrahim Pasha disappeared: it was the general belief at Ioannina, that he too had been put to death, and the French consul despatched a courier with the intelligence to Constantinople. A *capigi-bashee* of the highest rank was consequently sent to Ioannina, with orders to investigate the affair. On his arrival, Ali expressed the greatest astonishment, and directed the officer of the Porte to be conducted to Ibrahim's apartment, where the object of his visit was found surrounded with every comfort, and professing to be perfectly happy in the society of his daughters and their children. The *capigi-bashee* was dismissed with magnificent presents, and, on his return, gave a most favourable report of Ali's conduct. This attempt to draw down on him the vengeance of the Porte, only turned therefore to his advantage; but Ali was not ignorant of the danger to which he had been exposed, or of the quarter in which it had originated.†

In the mean time, the battle of Leipsig had totally

* M. Pouqueville states, that his fate was the same as that of Toussaint Louverture. In his anxiety to blacken the dark character of Ali, he forgets that he was himself at this time the agent of Toussaint's murderer.

† Mr. Hughes considers the whole to have been a manœuvre of Ali's, having for its object to sound the feelings of the Divan, prior to his venturing on the murder of Ibrahim. This does not appear, however, to be more than a probable surmise. If it was so, the French consul was clearly outwitted.

changed the aspect of political affairs in Europe, and Ali saw himself on the point of being relieved from any dangers arising from French influence in the Divan. Foreseeing that the French possessions in the Ionian sea would fall into the hands of the British, he resolved to be before-hand with us in seizing upon Parga,—"that single, solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was illuminated by the rays of liberty." "Having failed," says Mr. Hughes, "in the alluring temptations which he held out to M. Pouqueville and General Denzelot (the commandant at Corfu), he determined upon one of those prompt movements which are so habitual to him, and for which he had been some time prepared, feeling little doubt that, if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct or to appease resentment. Unauthorised, then, by his Government, which, at this time, was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved an overwhelming force against Parga, in the month of February 1814; at the same time ordering his flotilla to sail from Prevesa for the purpose of aiding in the siege, and of intercepting all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands. These directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach. On the 28th of February, Ali's troops carried by assault Aja and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into slavery. Here a small fort was erected, and the army advanced upon Parga. The French garrison retired into the citadel without any show of resistance, the only opposition being made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out

with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied by women and children, who handed ammunition, and loaded the muskets of their husbands and parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary; for the Parghiots, having the advantage of ground and shelter, effectually checked the Vizir's troops; especially his cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway leading to the city, so that they were obliged to retreat, after losing several of their companions, among whom was a near relation of Ali's, the commander of the Albanian forces.*

In spite of this victory, the Parghiots had sufficient cause to tremble; and they had additional reason for alarm when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison.† In this dilemma, they despatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately taken possession of the little island of Paxo, requesting to be received under British protection..... With the utmost secrecy, a plan was organised for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress without exciting suspicion; a signal was given by ringing a bell to the conspirators, who, rushing forward, disarmed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy: he was a Cefalonian in the French service, and commissary of police, who, thrusting his head out of a window, with loud exhortations to blow up the magazine, was in-

* Athanasius Macrys.

† M. Pouqueville pretends, that Colonel Nicole had not been in correspondence with Ali, but his own statement makes against him.

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stantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, the Hon. Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops, sent off the French garrison, under terms of capitulation, to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814.

"Under the powerful ægis of Great Britain, Parga remained for about three years comparatively happy, increasing both in wealth and population, although the mention of its name was omitted in the treaties of Vienna and Paris, which consigned to English protection the Septinsular Republic.....But Ali Pasha's ambitious mind could not rest quietly when disappointed in a design which lay nearest his heart; and his gold proved in this, as in many other instances, all powerful at Constantinople. Parga was demanded by the Porte as the price of her acquiescence in our occupation of the Ionian Isles; and a secret treaty consigned over to Mohammedan despotism the last little spot of ancient Greece that had remained unpolluted by her infidel conquerors. An article, however, was inserted in this treaty, which provided that every person who emigrated should be remunerated for the loss of his property." *

* Hughes, vol. ii. pp. 200—204. We have purposely refrained from going into the delicate question relating to the policy and humanity of ceding Parga to the Porte. Mr. Hughes stigmatises the transaction as unjust, cruel, and impolitic; and his account of Sir Thomas Maitland's conduct gives almost as unfavourable an idea of his character, as the caricature portrait inserted in M. Pouqueville's History does of his physiognomy. The statements of Colonel de Bosset and the French consul have met with a very insufficient and equally suspicious reply from a party writer in the Quarterly Review, whose illiberal aspersions on the Parghiots are disproved by every respectable authority. The pretence urged in justification, that Ali Pasha had nothing to do with the negotiation, that it was ceded to the Porte, is a paltry subterfuge.

On the 10th of May, 1819, the unfortunate inhabitants, resolved not to live under Turkish despotism, prepared to evacuate their native soil; and when Ali Pasha reached the walls, he found the city silent and deserted. The whole population had embarked, voluntary exiles, for the Ionian Isles. Still, he exulted over the barren conquest, which made him the master of continental Greece "from the Attic boundary of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum."

But the career of this modern Herod was now drawing to a close.* The accidental destruction of his palace at Tepeleni by fire, is stated to have led to the discovery of the immense wealth concealed within its walls, exaggerated accounts of which reaching the ears of the Sultan Mahmoud, excited the cupidity, while it offended the pride of that monarch. Ali, however, might yet have been permitted to die in his bed, and the Porte would have been contented to become his heir, had it not been for the secret measures taken by his implacable enemy, Ismael Pacho, whom Ali's emissaries had repeatedly attempted to assassinate. Having gained over Khalet Effendi, who had formerly been in the interest of Ali, but whom the avaricious Vizir had imprudently ceased to salary, Pacho resolved to make use of his powerful influence in the Divan, to execute his long-cherished scheme of vengeance against the family of Tepeleni. Ali heard with dismay, that the object of his hatred and fear was nominated a *capigi-bashee*; and the next intelligence was, that his son Veli was dismissed from the government of Triccala to the pashalik of Lepanto. It was evident, either that

* In 1819, Ali himself was, according to M. Pouqueville, seventy-eight years of age. Of his family, there were living, Mouktar, beglier-bey of Berat, aged fifty; Veli, vizir of Thessaly (Triccala), aged forty-six; Salik, pasha of Lepanto, aged 18.

his gold had lost its charm at Constantinople, or that it had not been of late so liberally distributed as formerly; and there is some reason to believe that his avarice paved the way for his downfall. It was, however, now too late to intrigue, and Ali resolved to intimidate the Divan by one of those bold strokes which he had often found to succeed. Two Albanians were despatched to Constantinople with orders to destroy Pacho Bey. The attempt was made, but their intended victim escaped; and one of the culprits being pursued and overtaken, after confessing that they had been employed by Ali Pasha, was hung before the gate of the imperial seraglio.* The Divan now thought it high time to take strong measures; and in a council specially summoned, the sentence of *fermanly* was pronounced against the old Pasha, by which he was placed under the ban of the empire, unless within forty days he should appear at the golden threshold of the gate of felicity, to answer to the charge of high treason. His old enemy, Ismael Pacho Bey, was nominated pasha of Ioannina, and appointed to the command of the expedition that was directed to proceed against this too formidable subject. And to give the greater effect to these decided measures, a bull of excommuni-

* M. Pouqueville tells us, that Ali sent *three* assassins; that they all fired at Pacho Bey, as he was on his way to the mosque of St. Sophia, but that he was only slightly wounded; and that all three were seized in the very act, and executed. An anonymous but more credible account, given in a private letter, states, that the chamberlain was fired at while looking out at his window; that the assassins scampered off at full gallop, and that one only was overtaken at a village about sixty miles from Constantinople. In this account, the promotion of Pacho Bey, who had previously been sentenced to death, through the machinations of Ali, is ascribed to the influence of the viceroy of Egypt, to whom he had fled for protection.—See HUGHES'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 221.

cation and anathema was issued against Ali by the mufti, the primate of Islam.

These events took place in the month of February, 1820. March, however, passed away without the army having been put in motion; and an interval occurred, which might have been turned to good account, had Ali possessed talents and energy equal to the occasion. But he seems to have halted between a desire to be reconciled to the Grand Seignior, and the determination to defend his possessions; and thus divided, he took no effectual or decisive steps to accomplish either. His mind does not appear to have been enfeebled by age, so much as by avarice and distrust, which infallibly attend the last stage of a despot's career, neutralising or paralysing the passion of ambition itself. Ali's avarice had raised up his most formidable enemies, and it now withheld him from making the sacrifices which might yet have propitiated the Divan, or defeated its measures. On the other hand, he had reason for distrusting his Mohammedan subjects, well knowing that their religious scruples would restrain them from openly resisting the imperial *firmahn*, backed as it was by the anathema of the mufti. Under these circumstances, Ali had no alternative but to call the Armatolis to his aid, and to put arms into the hands of the Albanian and Greek Christians, with the promise of liberal pay and ample booty. At the same time, he despatched emissaries to the Montenegrins and Servians, to excite them to a simultaneous revolt. It is even said, that he dissembled so far as to profess an intention to embrace Christianity; that he talked of emancipating the Greeks as a nation, and driving their Ottoman tyrants beyond the Bosphorus. The Armatolis rose in a mass at his call, and dispersing themselves over the mountain roads and defiles,

performed with alacrity his orders in intercepting all couriers, plundering the caravans, and putting a stop to all intercourse with the western provinces. But it does not appear that Ali placed much reliance on these guerilla bands; and his object seems to have been, to intimidate the Porte by this manœuvre, rather than to repel invasion. The time had been, when the Divan might have been compelled by these means to come to some amicable arrangement; but in vain did the primates now represent that Ali alone was capable of repressing these disorders: the stratagem, if such it was, did not take. The Turkish authorities had recourse, indeed, to a very dangerous and impolitic expedient for counteracting these operations. Suleyman Pasha, on entering Thessaly as seraskier, addressed a proclamation to the ecclesiastics, civil primates, and other persons in authority, authorising the people to take up arms against Ali. It has been supposed, however, that this measure was either an unauthorised act of the Turkish commander, and disapproved of by the Porte, or that it was the result of intrigue, perfidiously devised by Suleyman's Greek secretary, Anagnostis, who issued the proclamation in his own language only. However this may have been, or whether Suleyman had really entered into any correspondence or not with the rebel Vizir, he was suddenly recalled, and, in his way to Constantinople, was met at Salonika by the fatal *capigi-bashee*, who came for his head. The pashalik was given to Mohammed Drama Ali, the father-in-law of Ismael Pacho.

And now the war against Ali appears to have been undertaken in earnest; and while Ismael Pacho received orders to hold himself in readiness to march on Epirus, a Turkish squadron appeared in the Ionian

Sea. Elated by some trifling successes, and deceived by hollow protestations of fidelity and the semblance of enthusiasm in the people of Ioannina, Ali appears to have been lulled into a fatal security. Could he have depended upon his troops, indeed, his situation would have been by no means hopeless. All his fortresses, twenty-five in number, had been put into a state of complete defence, and he was amply supplied with warlike stores. But the beys and warlike chieftains of Albania who might yet have rallied round his standard, had been exterminated; and all faithful Moslems eagerly longed to be delivered from the infidel; while the Greeks, who were for the most part little disposed to confide in his professions, were again looking to Russia for deliverance, and the despot of Epirus was the enemy of Russia. On former occasions, Ali had been able to play off the Greeks against the Moslems and the Moslems against the Greeks; and holding the scales between contending foreign factions, he had been indebted alternately, more perhaps than he was aware, to Russian, French, and English co-operation, in defeating his enemies. But alike selfish and faithless, he had betrayed all his allies by turns; and left to himself, the colossus fell as by his own weight. The armatolis of Thessaly submitted to Mohammed Drama Pasha without a blow. Vely, at the approach of the Turkish army, abandoned Lepanto, and took the road to Ioannina, sending away his harem and all his moveables by sea to Prevesa. Avlona and Berat opened their gates to the Pasha of Scutari; and when the Capudan-bey, having seized the port of Panormo and the fortresses of Delvino and Butrinto, appeared before Parga, young Mehemet Pasha, Ali's grandson, embarking with about thirty followers in a felucca, surrendered at dis-

cretion. Finally, as soon as Pacho Bey had entered the defiles of Anovlachia, Omer Bey Brioni, Ali's seraskier and favourite general, together with his lieutenants, Mantho (who had been one of the Vizir's private secretaries) and Alexis Noutza, primate of Zagori, went over, with their divisions, to the invading army. Thus Ali, who had reckoned upon 17,000 men, suddenly found himself without generals and without an army.

Ali's means of defence, however, were still formidable, and he had prepared for the worst. His castle and vast fortress on the lake of Ioannina were fortified with 250 pieces of cannon, and by means of a small squadron of gun-boats, he still commanded the navigation of the lake. Hither, therefore, he now retreated with his remaining adherents, while Ioannina, after being pillaged, was set on fire in order to prevent its affording shelter to the enemy. The ruins of the capital were yet smoking, when Pacho Bey, on the 20th of August, made his public entry, and set up his three-tail standard as pasha of Ioannina and Delvino. From the bastions of his castle, Ali might hear the acclamations of the Turks saluting his successor, and the cadi reading the sentence of deposition and anathema: a brisk fire from the guns and mortars of his fortress was his comment upon the proceedings. Ali's garrison was about 8000 strong, all firmly attached to him; and the castle on the lake to which he had retired, was provisioned for four years. The Turkish army, on the contrary, had brought neither heavy artillery nor engineers for commencing the siege in form; and their provisions, had begun rapidly to diminish, exciting symptoms of discontent and even mutiny, before mortars and cannon arrived. The approach of winter rendered Ismael

Pasha's situation still more critical. Already the early snows began to cover the summits of Pindus, and the different hordes of Macedonia and Thessaly had disbanded for the purpose of reaching their homes. Discontent soon found its way among the Albanian militia, unaccustomed to the tardy operations of a siege; and dissensions broke out between the Moslems and the Christians. In order to procure fuel, the Turks were obliged to rummage among the ruins of the town; provisions, too, had become scarce, as the convoys were generally attacked by the banditti headed by Odysseus, who, after a pretended desertion to Ismael, had disappeared, and collected a band of klephts or armatoles in the mountains. The total consumption of their harvests and the devastation of their villages, made the inhabitants regret even the government of Ali. In the mean time, seditious movements in the northern provinces occasioned fresh alarms, and the Rumelie-valisee, Achmet Pasha, received orders to quit Epirus for the banks of the Danube. More than 5000 bombs had already been thrown against the castles of Ali, without producing any considerable effect; and the Sultan, growing impatient, addressed a *hatti shereef* to Ismael Pasha, blaming the inefficiency of his plans for reducing the rebel Vizir.

Ali, in the mean time, greater in adversity than he had ever shewn himself in the day of his power, maintained an unshaken firmness and tranquillity, and set his enemies at defiance. He seemed, indeed, to have triumphed not only over his years, but over his passions. When informed that his sons Mouktar and Vely, who held the fortresses of Argyro-castro and Prevesa, had capitulated to his enemy, on the faith of

the deceitful promises of the Porte,* he told his followers, that thenceforth the brave defenders of hi cause were his only children and heirs. The aged Ibrahim Pasha and his son, he set at liberty to gratify his troops; and when they next demanded an advance of pay, he immediately raised it to about 4*l.* a month, saying, "I never haggle with my adopted children: they have shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing in comparison with their services." Having exact information as to the state of the besieging army, he insultingly sent Ismael Pasha some sugar and coffee, and even offered to sell him provisions. His communication with the interior was secured by the gunboats which still commanded the lake; by this means he was able to obtain better intelligence than the seraskier himself, and to disperse his emissaries in all directions. So well did they execute their commission, that the Suliots entered into the service of their ancient enemy, on condition of receiving 2000 purses, and being reinstated in their strong holds. Joining the armatoles under Odysseus, and 800 Zagorites under Alexis Noutza, (whose desertion seems also to have been a mere feint,) they gave a new character to the contest; and the winter of 1820 had hardly expired, when Ali found himself unexpectedly supported by a general insurrection of the Greeks. It is possible, that he might even imagine himself to be the prime mover of a revolt to which he only furnished the stimulus of opportunity, and perhaps gave the sig-

* The proposals made were, that Vely should be nominated pasha of Acre, and Mouktar and Salik were to be appointed to *sanjiakats* in Anatolia. Both of them subsequently fell by the hand of a *capiji bashi*, on the very doubtful charge of holding a secret correspondence with their father.

nal; and he talked of planting the Greek standard upon the walls of Adrianople. If this was not mere bravado, the subsequent defeat of the insurgents, by Khourshid Pasha, must have convinced him that no Greek army was likely to come to his relief.

Ismael Pasha had been superseded as seraskier by this general in the spring of 1821, but Khourshid's presence was soon required in other quarters, and it was not till November, that he re-appeared before Ioannina with a powerful reinforcement, and made preparations to carry the fortresses by storm. In the July of this year, Ali's castle on the lake had taken fire from accident, and almost all his magazines had been destroyed. Owing, it may be presumed, to this disaster, he began to be straightened about December for necessaries. Disease and desertion had reduced his garrison to 600 men; and now his chief engineer, a Neapolitan adventurer named Caretto, went over to the enemy, and perfidiously instructed the besiegers how to direct the fire of the batteries with the greatest effect. The island of the Lake was taken towards the close of December, by a small flotilla which the Turks had at length fitted out. Treachery opened to Khourshid the gates of the fortress of Litaritza soon after this; and "the Old Lion" was at length reduced to take refuge, with about sixty resolute adherents, in the citadel, to which he had previously transported provisions, all his remaining treasures, and a tremendous quantity of gunpowder. The sequel is as differently told as every other part of Ali's eventful story. The following account, given by Mr. Waddington, is stated to be derived from the official communication verbally made by the Reis Effendi to the first interpreter of the Britannic Embassy, for the information of his Excellency Lord Strangford.

"Khourshid Pasha, informed of this arrangement, sent his silikdar to Ali, to propose to him to surrender at discretion, to restore the part of the citadel which he possessed, and to consign his treasures to that officer; for such appeared, in the extremity to which he was reduced, to be the only rational determination which remained for him to adopt. He added, that he knew a report had been spread, that Ali had resolved, in case he should be thrown into despair, to set fire to the powder, and to blow up himself with his treasures, and all those who surrounded him; but that this threat did not frighten him, and that if Ali did not decide immediately, he would come himself and apply the torch. Ali Pasha replied to the silikdar, that he was well assured that in his situation there was no other choice, and that he was determined to surrender as soon as he should be assured of his life.

"The silikdar undertook to carry his answer to his master; and returned soon afterwards to inform him, in the name of Khourshid Pasha, that the fulfilment of this request depended exclusively on the Sultan; that the Pasha would willingly give him his good offices with his Highness, but that he could not do it with any hope of success unless Ali should previously deliver up all he possessed; that he proposed to him consequently to effect the surrender of the fort, of the treasures, of the stores, &c. &c., and to retire and await the arrival of the resolution of the Sultan in the small island on the lake near the citadel.

"Ali Pasha asked time at first to reflect on the decision which he should make; at last, after several conversations with the silikdar, he consented to leave the citadel, and he retired into the island with all his little troop, with the exception of one of his trusty

friends, with whom he agreed on a signal which would instruct him whether he was to set fire to the powder, or give up all that was intrusted to his care to the officers of Khourshid Pasha.

"The silikdar received Ali Pasha in the island, at the head of an equal number of men with that which accompanied the Vizir; they paid him all the honour due to his rank, and, after having been treated for several days by Khourshid Pasha with the greatest respect, Ali had confidence enough to order the surrender of all that he had left in the citadel. They immediately made haste to transport the powder into a place of safety.

"Directly afterwards, Ali Pasha requested that one of his officers who commanded a small party of a hundred men in the environs of Ioannina, might be permitted to join him in the island. Khourshid Pasha consented to this, but sent at the same time a detachment, composed of an equal number of men, to keep Ali's troops in awe.

"Different pashas of inferior rank had been several times to visit Ali. On the 13th day of the moon Djemaziul Awwel, (the 5th of February,) Mohammed Pasha, governor of the Morea, offered to procure for Ali every possible comfort, naming particularly provisions. Ali replied to this offer, that he desired nothing more than a supply of meat; he added, however, that he had still another wish, though his unwillingness to offend the scruples of religion forbade him to give utterance to it. Being pressed to name it, he owned that it was wine which he wished for, and Mohammed Pasha promised that he should receive it. The conversation continued for some time in the most friendly manner, till, at last, Mohammed Pasha rose to take leave. Being of the same rank, they rose at the

same moment from the sofa, according to the usual ceremony, and before leaving the room, Mohammed Pasha bowed profoundly. Ali returned the compliment, but, at the instant of his inclination, Mohammed executed the will of his sovereign, and put him to death by plunging a poniard into his left breast. He immediately quitted the apartment, and announced that Ali had ceased to exist. Some men of Mohammed's suite then entered, and divided the head from the body. The former having been shewn to the Sultan's troops as to those who had embraced the rebel's part, a strife followed, in which several men were killed. But the minds of the people were soon calmed, and all discord was appeased by shouts of 'Long live Sultan Mahmoud and his Vizir Khourshid Pasha.'"*

* M. Pouqueville must be allowed to kill Ali in his own way, and it will be confessed, he does it with more dramatic effect; but he omits to mention his authorities. "It was five o'clock," says the Historian with his accustomed precision, "when the Vizir, who was sitting opposite to the entrance gate, saw arrive with gloomy countenances, Hassan Pasha, Omer Briones, Mehemet, Khourshid's selictar, his *kafetangi*, several officers of the army, and a numerous suite. At their appearance, Ali rises with impetuosity, his hand on the pistols in his girdle. 'Stop! what do you bring me?' he exclaims to Hassan in a voice of thunder. 'The will of his Highness; do you know these august characters?'—shewing him the brilliant gilded frontispiece which adorned the firmah. 'Yes; I reverence it.' 'Well, then, submit to fate; make your ablutions; address your prayer to God and the Prophet: your head is demanded by'— 'My head,' replied Ali, furiously interrupting him, 'is not to be given up so easily.' These words were no sooner uttered, than they were followed by a pistol shot, which wounded Hassan in the thigh. With the rapidity of lightning, Ali kills the *kafetanji*, and his guards firing at the same moment on the crowd, bring down several *tchoadars*. The terrified Osmanlis flee from the pavilion. Ali perceives that he is bleeding: he is wounded in the breast. He roars like a bull. They fire from all parts on the kiosk, and four of his palikars fall at his side. He no longer knows where to make head. He hears the noise of assailants beneath his

Thus fell a man who, for nearly sixty years, had braved every danger and dared every crime, and who, for half that period, had virtually ruled the greater part of Continental Greece and Epirus. With regard to his character, there cannot be two opinions: it was one of pure, unsophisticated evil, with scarcely a redeeming quality; one of those rank productions of the hot-bed of Turkish despotism which are remarkable only for their enormous growth; not differing otherwise, in a moral point of view, from the vulgarest specimen. Ali Tepeleni, Djezzar, Kutchuk Ali, Mohammed Ali, have all risen to power by the same profligate means; and their biography consists of a repetition of the same crimes or intrigues. The horrible political system of which they were component parts, the government of which they were the legitimate and

feet: they fire through the wooden floor which he treads. He has just received a ball in his side; another, fired upwards from below, hits him in the vertebral column; he totters—catches at a window—falls on the sofa. 'Run,' he cries to one of his *tchoadars*; 'go, my friend, and despatch poor Vasiliki' (his favourite wife), 'that the unhappy woman may not be outraged by these wretches.' The door opens: all resistance is at an end. The polikars, who have ceased to defend the tyrant, throw themselves from the windows. The *selictar* of Khourshid Pasha enters, followed by executioners. Ali was yet full of life. 'Let the justice of God be accomplished,' said a cadi; and the executioners seizing, at these words, the criminal by the beard, drag him under the peristyle; there, placing his head on one of the stairs, they had to strike repeatedly with a notched cutlass before they could effect his decapitation."—*Histoire, &c.* tom. iii. pp. 374—6. M. Pouqueville's sentimental reflections on the agonies which Ali is represented to have suffered, and on the warning which his fate reads to tyrants, we have not thought it necessary to give. If his authority may be relied on, the head of Ali preserved something so imposing and terrible, that the Turks could not help gazing on it with a sort of stupor; Khourshid rose when it was brought him, bowed thrice, and kissed the beard of the deceased hero; and the lamentations of the warlike Epiriotes, were eloquent and unparalleled!

patronised depositaries and ministers, must be considered as, in fact, the parent of all the evil. Estimating Ali with a reference to the habits of his country, the system of his education, and the principles of his religion,—comparing him with his predecessors and his rivals,—there was nothing in his character out of nature, nothing enormous but his power. And if we consider the state of social disorder to which his strong government succeeded, the multitude of petty tyrants and brigands which he swept away to make room for the foundation of his empire, the number of smaller reptiles which this arch-serpent swallowed up, we shall be disposed to adopt Mr. Hughes's conclusion, that his government was on the whole a blessing to the inhabitants.

Nothing could be worse, that Traveller remarks, than the implacable feuds between fierce and independent tribes, and the perpetual civil dissensions which desolated the western pashaliks prior to the consolidation of Ali's power; and so lawless were the natives of the wild mountains, to such an extent did brigandage prevail, that agriculture was neglected, commerce languished, the very arts of civilization began to disappear, and the whole land presented one unvaried scene of poverty and wretchedness. But, under Ali, though all were subject to one mighty despot, no petty tyrants were permitted to exist, and protection was given equally to the Turk, the Greek, and the Albanian against the aggressions of each other. Religious toleration was freely granted, and the regularity of monarchical power had in some measure succeeded to the factions of aristocracies and republics. "There exists at present," says Mr. Hughes in 1819, "a security in these dominions, which we should seek for in vain elsewhere where the baneful influence of the

Crescent extends. A police is organized, robbers are extirpated, roads and canals are made or repaired, rivers are rendered navigable; so that the merchant can now traverse the Albanian districts with safety, and the traveller with convenience. Agriculture, in spite of all obstacles, improves; commerce increases; and the whole nation advances, perhaps unconsciously, towards higher destinies and greater happiness." *

The author and main spring of these improvements may have been licentious,—he was a Moslem; cruel and pitiless,—he was born and bred a brigand; faithless and perfidious,—he was a compound of Turk and Greek, and all mixed castes inherit the vices of both sides; besides, he had Turks and Greeks to deal with. In a word, totally devoid of religion, he was restrained by no conscientious scruples, no moral principles. But he must be admitted to have possessed at least a capacity for greatness; and he deserves to rank, in this respect, not with the Djezzars or Domitians of the earth, but with the Herods and the Napoleons.

The fall of Ali was the occasion of high satisfaction and triumph to the Porte. The exhibition of his head at the imperial gate in February 1822, and the triumphal conveyance into the capital of part of his spoils, excited a high degree of popular enthusiasm at a critical moment. Only a small part of the Pasha's gold, however, found its way into the imperial treasury; and the Porte gained but little in the substitution of one Albanian for another in the government of Epirus, when it bestowed on Omer Vrionis the pashalik of Ioannina and Arta, as the reward of his

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 215. Some further anecdotes relating to Ali Pasha's personal character and habits will be given in the description of Ioannina. It is in a political point of view chiefly, that the historian has to contemplate him.

treachery. "Ali Pasha," remarks Mr. Leake, "may have thwarted the execution of all the measures of the Porte which tended to reduce his authority, and, in general, those which did not originate with himself; he may have transmitted a larger sum to Constantinople in the shape of presents to persons in power, than in that of tribute to the imperial treasury; and, in the latter respect, he may never have sent as much as would satisfy the wishes of Government; nevertheless, it is probable that the Porte, during his reign, was more truly master of Greece than it had ever been before, and that it derived, upon the whole, as much revenue from the country; while it is certain, that, by leaving Ali to oppose the armed Greeks to one another, and to suppress the spirit of revolt by the military strength of Albania, she most effectually secured herself against the consequences of foreign intrigues among the Christian subjects of European Turkey;—that the concentration of power in Ali's hands was the best protection which the empire could possess, on a frontier where it was (at one time) endangered by the increase of the power of France, not less than the north-eastern side was menaced by the encroachments of Russia.....Affairs, in fact, became less favourable to the future influence of the Porte over Albania, after his fall, than they had been under Ali, or than they would have been under the government of his sons." *

It appears pretty certain, that the rebellion of Ali Pasha determined, more than any other known event, the period of that extensive insurrection, for which things had long been in a course of preparation; and it seems equally clear, that the explosion was prema-

* Outline, pp. 34, 62.

ture. Other circumstances had concurred to excite that fermentation, which led to the first irregular movements in the cause of Grecian independence.

An association of Greeks, styling itself the Society of Friends (ἡ ἑταιρεῖα φιλικὴ), had been formed in the dominions of Austria and Russia, about the year 1814, in imitation of the revolutionary societies then prevalent in Italy and Germany. The liberation of their country, which had long been the cherished object of the Greeks settled in those countries, was the project to which the members of the Hetaria bound themselves by oath to devote their lives and fortunes.*

* The object of the Society is thus expressed in the Romaic document cited by Mr. Waddington, from whose volume these particulars are taken: "The Hetaria consists of native Greeks, patriots, and is named the Society of the Friendly. Their object is the purification of this nation, and, with the aid of Heaven, their independence." The principal oath, or form of adjuration, contained the following clauses: "In the presence of the true God, spontaneously I swear, that I will be faithful to the Hetaria in all and through all. I will never betray the slightest portion of its acts or words; nor will I ever in any manner give even my relatives or friends to understand that I am acquainted with them. I swear, that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or into any bond of obligation; but whatever bond, or whatever I may possess in the world, when compared with the Hetaria, I will hold as nothing. I swear, that I will nourish in my heart irreconcileable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers, and favourers; and I will exert every method for their injury and destruction." [Then, after two or three clauses binding the members to acts of friendship and mutual assistance, and referring to the introduction of others into the society, it proceeds.] "I swear, that I will ever so regulate my conduct, that I may be a virtuous man; I will incline with piety towards my own form of worship, without disrespectfully regarding those of foreigners; I will ever present a good example; I will aid, counsel, and support the sick, the unfortunate, and the feeble; I will reverence the government, the tribunals, and the ministers of the country in which I may be residing. Last of all, I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country (ὦ ἱερὰ καὶ αθλία πατρίς),—I swear by thy long-endured tortures,—I swear by the bitter tears which for

Its members were divided into three classes (ζαλμοι); *blamides* or chiefs, *systemeni* or coadjutors, and *hiereis* or priests. The three classes had distinct signs and private means of communication by the position of the hand and fingers, as in free-masonry; and each class had a separate cipher; though they appear to have possessed also a common method intelligible to all. The facility afforded for the admission of new members was very great, as any one member, with the privity of a second, had the power of admitting a candidate whom he deemed qualified. The requisite qualifications were, that he be a true Hellene, a zealous lover of his country, and a good and virtuous man; that he be a member of no other secret society; and that his desire to be *catechised* into the Hetaria proceed from no other motive than pure patriotism. The funds of the Hetaria are believed to have been very considerable, derived principally from the sum paid by every member on his admission. They were deposited in the hands of Greek merchants at Odessa, and were for the most part consumed by the calamitous expedition of Ypsilanti. In fact, there seems to be little doubt, that the focus of the Hetaria was in the southern provinces of Russia, and that the numereus Greek residents there, formed by far the majority of its members. Few, if any Athenians, Mr. Waddington says, were Hetarists, and some of the principal Hydriotes, though frequently invited to become members, refused to give any countenance to the society.

so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children,—I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen,—that I consecrate myself wholly to thee; that henceforth thou shalt be the scope of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, thy happiness the recompense of my labours."

With regard to the immediate originators of the society, and the author of the catechism and oath, we have at present no certain or specific information. It seems that an association of *seven* individuals had been formed as far back as the year 1792, of whom the celebrated Riga, styled the Modern Tyrtæus, was one,* the object of which was to prepare the minds of the people for a new effort in favour of emancipation; but whether the Hetaria was in any way connected with that association, does not appear. In a memoir on the origin of the revolution, written in Greek, referred to by Mr. Waddington, it is stated, that Prince Mavrokordato, the ex-hospodar of Moldavia, conceived and executed, during his exile in Russia, as early as the year 1802, the project of forming a society of Greeks for the purpose of instructing and enlightening his countrymen. This society, it is stated, had no immediate political view: its only ostensible object was the education of Greece. Prince Mavrokordato died in 1814; and the direction of the society falling into the hands of less patient politicians, it changed its name, its nature, and principles, and became such as the *Hetaria Philike* has been described. Four persons, whose names are not mentioned, are represented

* This accomplished Greek, whose name is still held in the highest honour by his countrymen, was born in Thessaly about the year 1760, and finished his education in Italy. He subsequently made the tour of Europe. On his return home, he devoted his whole soul to the endeavour to rouse the spirit of freedom in his countrymen. In addition to his odes and songs, which are to be heard in every part of the country, he had commenced translations of the Travels of Anacharsis, Marmontel's Tales, and some other French works. He was also the first person who published a map of Greece with a nomenclature in the vernacular tongue. The seizure of Riga on the Austrian territory by Turkish emissaries, and his execution at Belgrade, with the connivance of the Imperial Government, is an indelible stain on the cabinet of Vienna.

as having then assumed the direction of it, who drew up the statutes and the formula of the terrible oath to be subscribed by the members. "The more active chiefs of the Hetaria sustained the ardour of the society by repeated promises of Russian protection; their sincerity, however, was sometimes doubted, and a Moreote named Galabi, or Galeotti, was sent to St. Petersburgh to ascertain the real state of the case by a personal conference with Capo d'Istrias. That minister immediately undeceived him as to any hope of assistance from Russia, and Galabi returned to inform his countrymen; but he had scarcely set foot in the Morea when he died."*

The first operations of the Hetaria were conducted, apparently, with little prudence, since in 1815, Ali Pasha obtained possession of a copy of the catechism, which he sent to General Campbell, (at that time commander of the forces in the Ionian Isles,) for his inspection. Fortunately, the Vizir mistook the origin of the document, attributing it to some private machinations of the Philo-music society, an association purely literary, and which was fortunate enough to obtain the patronage of crowned heads.

In the year 1819, Count Capo d'Istrias visited Corfu, his native island; and his journey, whatever was its real object, excited intense interest and sanguine expectation on the part of the Hetarists, who regarded him as their great patron and protector, and were ready to hail his appearance as the hour of their

* M. Pouqueville, who affects to know all about the Hetaria, says, that it was founded in 1814 *at Vienna*. Mr. Blaquiere states, that its head-quarters were at St. Petersburgh. The latter statement is no further correct, we imagine, than as Capo d'Istrias was looked to as its patron. As to the former, the reader will recollect Lord Byron's remark—"Pouqueville is always out."

redemption and the signal for revolt. So sudden an explosion, however, would not have coincided with the views of the wily politician. To allay the effervescence thus unintentionally excited, and to prevent any premature insurrectionary movements, he drew up a very singular document, entitled, "Observations on the Means of meliorating the Condition of the Greeks." In this paper, which has been supposed to be intended as a land-mark to direct the blind and irregular movements of the Hetarists, the Writer labours more especially to inculcate the necessity of an entire devotedness to the Greek Church, and of doing nothing except through the medium and with the concurrence of the priests.* The publication of this document had for the time its intended effect. Every thing remained tolerably quiet till the period of the rebellion of Ali Pasha, which took place about a year and a half after Capo d'Istrias's visit to Corfu. "A new fermentation

* "*Quelques soient les chances des evenemens, soit que la situation actuelle de notre patrie ait à se maintenir inalterable pour des longues années, soit que la Grèce ait à subir une crise, il est toujours d'un grand intérêt;* 1e. *Que la Nation soit entièrement devoué à son Eglise, et que par là, le peuple de chaque contrée soit porté naturellement à reconnaitre et à cherir les chefs qui se trouvent avoir le plus travaillé à son bonheur.* 2e. *Que les Pasteurs soient, autant que faire se pourra, les organes de ce grand résultat.* 3o. *Que l'instruction publique soit identifiée à celle du Clergé, que l'une ne puisse jamais se détacher de l'autre, moins encore être en divergence.*" "*Fils de notre Sainte Mère Eglise, nous sommes tous frères,*" is the first sentence in this document. But why confide education exclusively to the hands of an illiterate and degraded priesthood, which is admitted to require almost entire re-organisation? "For this plain reason," remarks Mr. Waddington, "that, in any matter of political importance, the Greek priesthood were quite sure to be the machine of the only power in Europe professing the Greek religion. Here it is, then, that we discover the ambiguous features of the political Hetarist. Under the well-disposed drapery of the patriot of Greece, it is here that we recognise the minister of Russia."

was then perceived throughout Greece, and all the springs of the Hetaria were once more put in motion. Agents or members of that body, styling themselves apostles, pressed down in swarms from the banks of the Danube, the Dniester, and the Dnieper, and proclaimed by their presence the approach of the crisis which they were hastening by their exhortations. The sedative which had proved formerly of so much avail, was again administered; and during the winter of 1820-1, written copies of the "Observations" were once more distributed. But the disease had increased in violence, or the medicine had lost its efficacy, and the voice of moderation and policy was lost in the explosion of the Greek Revolution." *

The time originally fixed by the Hetaria for carry-

* Waddington, p. 1. These "Apostles" (as they were styled by their employer), were known to the lower classes, Mr. Blaquiere says, only under the denomination of philosophers. Their appearance in Greece coincided with the first movements of Ypsilanti. "They went about," says Mr. Blaquiere, "circulating reports that the Sultan had declared his resolution of transporting all the Greeks into Asia Minor, and establishing Turkish colonies, drawn from that portion of the empire, in their place; that Prince Alexander was abetted and supported by Russia, and that he was marching at the head of a large force upon Constantinople. Some of them affected to imitate the language and gestures of the old Grecian orators; and a ludicrous scene occurred at Spezzia, where an apostle, who had proposed Demosthenes as his model, mounted a rostrum, and freely indulged in such reproaches as that great master of his art used not unfrequently to address to his countrymen; but the Spezziots, less accustomed to such harangues, and by no means so gifted with patience as the Athenians, pulled the modern censor from his pedestal, and rewarded his frankness with a sound drubbing. On the whole, however, these emissaries produced a great effect; their reports were greedily swallowed by the people, while the Greeks, influenced by their characteristic ardour, neither lost a moment in deliberation, nor in waiting for more correct information of what was passing elsewhere, but rushed at once into the enterprise."—BLAQUIERE, p. 96.

ing its great enterprise into execution, is said to have been the year 1825. The quarrel between Ali and the Porte, the seditious attitude of Servia, and the discontents in Wallachia and Moldavia, which, in February 1821, had broken out into open acts of violence, were the circumstances which led to the firing of the train. On the 7th of March, 1821, Alexander Ypsilanti, then a major-general in the Russian service, and son of a former Greek governor of Wallachia, entered Moldavia with a Greek corps, and, in concert with Michael Sutzo, the reigning viceroy, issued a proclamation calling on the Christians to take up arms, and promising them, in not very ambiguous terms, the support of Russia. This, he was not only unauthorised to promise, but, if the Greek authority cited by Mr. Waddington may be relied upon, he knew would not be afforded. It is stated that, not long after the first deputation from the Morea had waited on the Russian minister at St. Petersburgh, Ypsilanti had allowed himself to be called to the direction of the Hetaria,* and having obtained a two year's leave of absence from his military duties, had fixed his head-quarters at Kischenow, where he took measures to organise the insurrection. The Moreotes, however, still distrustful, sent two other deputies to ascertain the real posture of affairs; one to St. Petersburg, the other to Kischenow. "The latter became the dupe of Ypsilanti, and returned to the Morea with a fictitious ukase, in which the Emperor was made to hold language the most favourable to the Greeks and the most hostile against the Porte. Camarina, the other deputy, repaired direct

* "*Il se declara l'organ officiel de cette puissance occulte; il créa des Ephoris, ou commités dirigeants sur divers points de la Grèce; il leur recommanda l'emploi de tous les moyens propres à séduire les Grecs, à organiser l'insurrection.*"—WADDINGTON, p. lv.

to St. Petersburgh. There he had an interview with Count Capo d'Istrias, who, not content with giving an express verbal disavowal of Ypsilanti's enterprise, put into the hands of the Moreote deputy, circular letters for the primates of the Peninsula, in which he pointed out the abyss into which the attempt was likely to precipitate them. But Camarina was to share the fate of Galabi: just as he was about to embark at Galatez to cross the Danube, he died by the hand of an assassin, and his death again intercepted that intelligence respecting the true state of the case, which the Moreotes had twice attempted to obtain. Ypsilanti then attempted to excite the Servians to revolt; but his papers were intercepted by the Turkish authorities at the passage of the Ada on the Danube, and discovered his designs. The emperor Alexander, moreover, who was then at Laybach, having immediately disavowed the proceedings of Ypsilanti and Sutzo, the issue of the attempt could not long be doubtful. After some acts of cruelty on both sides, the expedition ended in the evacuation of Yassy by Ypsilanti, and of Bukarest by Theodore, chief of the Vlakho-Moldavian insurgents, whom Ypsilanti shortly afterwards seized and put to death.* He himself, after a single encounter with the Turks, which exhausted his resources, was compelled to flee into the Austrian dominions, where he was immediately seized by the government, and thrown into a dungeon."

Thus, then, it would seem that the insurrection was immediately produced by the artifices and false representations of Ypsilanti, who made use of the machinery

* M. Pouqueville says, that Theodore had betrayed to the Grand Vizir the projects of Ypsilanti and the Hetarists, in the hope of obtaining for himself the government of Wallachia.

of the Hetaria for the accomplishment of his schemes. A Russian subject, whose activity in exciting revolutionary movements in Greece during the autumn of 1820, can be sufficiently proved, is supposed to have been either his agent or his dupe. What were Ypsilanti's motives for thus rashly embarking in so desperate an enterprise, in direct opposition to the advice of the Russian minister, can only be matter of surmise. Was he in the confidence or in the pay of the Vizir of Ioannina? It seems to be nearly certain, that Ali Pasha had at least information of his designs. "Only assist me *till March*," he said to the Suliots, "and the Sultan will then have enough upon his hands." In March, Ypsilanti issued his proclamation. At another time during the siege of his castle, the Vizir declared, that in a few months he would shake the empire, and that those who attacked him should tremble even in the heart of Constantinople. "Execrable city!" he exclaimed; "before he dies, Ali shall yet behold thy palaces in ashes." *

That a grand plot was formed at Constantinople for the burning of the city and the murder of the Sultan, Mr. Waddington says, is not at all generally doubted; and the contemporaneous seizure of all the Turkish fortresses in the Morea, was another part of the same extensive conspiracy. The existence of some such conspiracy is established by the fact, that the principal merchants of the Islands had, as early as the October preceding, recalled the greater part of their vessels, which were detained in port in condition for immediate service. And it was the detection of this plot by the Turkish Government, that is said to have forced the conspiracy into action before it was ripe, or the

* Pouqueville, tom. ii. p. 163.

arrangements necessary for its success had been completed. The prematurity and failure of Ypsilanti's expedition, are attributed to this circumstance.* Nothing, however, can justify Ypsilanti's disingenuous concealment of the unfavourable disposition of the Russian court, and the false information by which he deceived his fellow patriots. The only probable explanation of his conduct is, that being as vain as he was ambitious, and having committed himself by holding out the idea that he was countenanced by his own Government,—a supposition which he knew to be essential to his success,—he could not brook that the truth should be discovered; he therefore resolved at all hazards and by all means to drive on his projects, in the hope that, if successful, he should be able to justify his conduct.†

* Waddington, pp. vi. lxviii. M. Raffenel, in his "poetical History of the Revolution," (as Mr. Waddington justly characterises it,) affirms that the Porte received its first information of the meditated revolt, from the British ambassador, Lord Strangford. The fact is, that his Excellency did not reach Constantinople till the 21st of February, and Ypsilanti was issuing proclamations at Yassy on the 6th of March; an interval which would not have allowed of the requisite communications. Ypsilanti's letters to the Servians had indeed been intercepted by the Turks some weeks prior to Lord Strangford's arrival. Such a conspiracy, however, had it come to his Lordship's knowledge, it would have been hardly consistent with his diplomatic character not to reveal. M. Raffenel belongs to the same school as M. Pouqueville. An amusing specimen of his learning and accuracy may be given in his etymology of the word Hetarists, which he writes *Ætheristes*. "It would be difficult," he says, "to give the exact sense which the Moldavians attach to this word: they intend to express by it all the purity of their intentions?—the sublimity of their enterprise. *It is the Greek word* ÆTHER *in all its force.*"

† M. Pouqueville gives the following portrait of Ypsilanti: "Destitute of talent (*dépourvu de talens*), but educated, according to the custom of the soi-disant princes of the Phanal, by preceptors who had taught him to speak correctly several languages, he was

Transitory as were the effects of this rash and ill-conducted enterprise in the Dacian provinces, it had the greatest influence, in connexion with the rebellion of Ali Pasha, in exciting the insurrection in Greece. The example of resistance was set, towards the end of March, by Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, who, having been summoned to the capital, had proceeded as far as Kalavryta, when, finding the people, together with a body of armatoli, well disposed to his views, he openly raised the standard of independence. This was immediately followed by a similar manifestation at Patras; but there, the attempt had no other effect than to cause the destruction of the town, while the castle, being strongly garrisoned, remained in the possession of the Turks. The Mainotes, descending from their rugged mountains, speedily occupied the plains of Laconia and Messenia. Before the end of April, a senate had assembled at Kalamata, and the fleet of Hydra had proceeded to the little island of Psara, which, strong in its fortified rock and numerous ships, had been among the first to set the example of

learned without possessing that masculine knowledge which is the result of well-directed study; a poet without inspiration; amiable without urbanity; a soldier without being warlike, although he had lost the right arm at the battle of Culm. But what especially characterised Alexander Ypsilanti was, the vanity common to the Phanariots, their spirit of intrigue, the ambitious end of which terminated in becoming hospodars of the brutish nations of ancient Dacia, and a feebleness of character which shewed itself in his suffering himself to be ruled by persons unworthy of his confidence."—*Histoire*, tom. ii. p. 307. What persons are alluded to, the Historian does not explain. Mr. Waddington says, that proofs were presented at the congress of Verona, of a correspondence of some extent between the Greek patriots and the Carbonari, and that the revolution of Naples was hailed by the misguided Hetarists as the beacon of liberty.

insurrection, although situated on the advanced posts of the enemy.

In the mean time, orders had been transmitted by the Porte to all the pashas, instantly to disarm all the Greek population; and the signal for a war of extermination was given by Sultan Mahmoud and his janissaries at Constantinople. On the 22d of April, being Easter-day, the greatest of the Greek festivals, Gregorius, patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek Church, acknowledged and appointed by the Porte, and who had recently issued his anathemas against the insurgents, was seized and hanged before the patriarchal church in which he had been officiating; and, as a consummation of ignominy in the eyes of the Greeks, his body was delivered to Jews to be dragged through the streets. This murder was accompanied or speedily followed by that of several other ecclesiastics of the highest rank, in the capital and other parts of the empire, as well as by that of many other Greeks of every class.* The motive for these atrocious proceedings, was probably the hope of terrifying the Greeks into submission; but they excited more indignation than terror, and only tended to make the insurrection universal. The destruction of several

* Mr. Blaquiere says, that the number of Greeks *sacrificed* during the first three months of the contest, is estimated at 30,000; but this must be intended to include those who fell in different conflicts, and even then is doubtless an exaggeration. The murder of the patriarch was preceded by that of Prince Morousi, "one of the most enlightened and patriotic men possessed by Modern Greece." Three archbishops are stated to have been hung at the very threshold of the church, besides the primate, who was upwards of seventy years of age. He is stated to have been a man of unaffected piety and simplicity of manners; and it is no slight testimony to his worth, that he is said to have died poor.

Greek churches heightened the exasperation of the Christians, and a general conviction prevailed, that these proceedings were but a prelude to an intended extermination of the whole nation. The priesthood of the islands of the Morea, thinking themselves to be peculiarly marked out for destruction, did not hesitate to increase the ferment by their spiritual influence, and to inspire the rebellion with all the energy and malignity of religious warfare. Hence, neither the reverses in the Dacian provinces and the overthrow of the Hetarists, nor the failure of the conspiracy at Constantinople, prevented the prosecution of the warfare in Greece, where the fond persuasion that Russia was on the eve of a rupture with the Porte, contributed to sustain the enthusiasm and exertions of the insurgents.

Hydra, Psara, and Spezzia were able to enter upon the naval campaign with a force of between eighty and ninety vessels, of the average bulk of 250 tons and the average strength of 12 guns. Fifty or sixty of a smaller class, and many others still smaller, were supplied by the other islands. In the latter end of May, the inferiority of the Turkish marine in skill and enterprise, was shewn in the loss of one of their two-decked ships of war, which, having been separated from the Turkish squadron near Lesbos, was burned by a Hydriot fire-ship. Soon after Midsummer, not only in the Morea, but throughout a great part of Northern Greece, as far as Salonika, the Turks had retired into the large towns and fortified places, all the mountains and open country being either in the hands of the Greeks or exposed to their incursions. Agents had been sent to Europe for the purchase of arms and ammunition; many volunteers, Franks as well as Greeks, had arrived in the Morea; and

some generous contributions of money and stores had been received, both from foreigners and from opulent Greek merchants settled in different European seaports.

The native Greeks who took the lead in the Peninsula were, Petros Bey, since better known under the name of Mavromikhali, who had been nominated Bey of Maina by the Sultan; Constantine Kolokotroni, in person an Ajax, who, like his father, had long been a *capitanos* of armatoli in the Morea, and had held military rank in both the Russian and the English service; Demetrius Ypsilanti, who, like his brother Alexander, was an officer in the Russian army; and Alexander Mavrokordato,* also of a distinguished Fanariot family. Demetrius, who reached Hydra in June from Trieste, bore a commission from his brother, appointing him general in chief of all the forces in Greece. He was received by the Hydriots with discharges of artillery and other demonstrations of joy. Among his followers were a younger brother of Prince Cantacuzene and an individual named Condiotti, who had been *valet de chambre* to Count Capo d'Istrias. On proceeding to the Morea, Ypsilanti assumed the command of the patriot army before Tripolitza, which was readily conceded to him, under the idea that he had brought with him large sums of money and a quantity of military stores. But this illusion soon vanished; and as soon as the disastrous issue of his brother's expedition became known, little disposition was shewn to defer to his authority. Condiotti soon withdrew, not without having incurred suspicion of being one of those who had embezzled part of the sums raised by the Hetarists. Affendouli, another deter-

* Mavrokordato joined the army in August.

mined partisan of Russia, went to Crete, and obtained the command of the insurgent troops in that island, but was subsequently obliged to flee, being driven away as an impostor.

Demetrius, however, is generally represented to be a high-minded and honourable man, courteous, humane, and disinterested.* He was now not more than twenty-two years of age; and his situation, alike delicate and arduous, called at once for more than the energy of youth, tempered by the counsels of age. "Ypsilanti," says Mr. Blaquiere, "had two import-

* Mr. Waddington, who found him living at Tripolitza in 1823, in perfect privacy, characterises him as "an honest, well-meaning, disinterested patriot," but, unfortunately, possessed of "neither wealth, talents, nor physical power sufficient to qualify him for any eminent situation, civil or military; and the magic of his name had nearly passed away." "His violent personal jealousy of Mavrokordato will prevent him, I fear," adds this writer, "from any cordial co-operation with a person whose energies are proved by every collision to be so far superior to his own." Count Pecchio thus describes him. "He is bald, short in stature, and of a slight form; but if nature has not gifted him with a military presence, I was assured that he had always shewn himself intrepid in war. He adopts the European habits, and speaks French well." "Though considered deficient in energy," says Captain Humphreys, "he possesses tried personal courage, great judgement and discrimination of character, sincere patriotism, disinterestedness, and integrity, little common in Greece; and though by descent a Fanariot, is not addicted to intrigue. His predilections appear Russian; but I believe no Greek has the welfare of his country more sincerely at heart. His shyness is much to his disadvantage in his intercourse with strangers, but to his intimates he shews an amiable character; and I have observed, the officers and dependents of his suite have never left him in his retirement." "His greatest fault, perhaps," says Mr. Blaquiere, "is that of not possessing sufficient energy, and being too mild for the circumstances in which he was placed, and the men with whom he had to act····Although no man had deeper reasons for hating the Turks, yet he constantly interposed to save them from insult and ill-treatment when vanquished; and by example as well as precept, endeavoured to check the excesses inseparable from such a war."

ant objects in view: one of these was, to establish a general and central government for all Greece; the other, to put the army upon a regular footing, and to assimilate it to the troops of Europe. Both the above designs met with numberless obstacles; the first would have destroyed the influence of many interested individuals, who were at the head of different states of the confederation, and the second was calculated to lessen the power of the military chiefs. The captains and ephors therefore joined in opposing them, and in other respects created such difficulties as to render the situation of the Prince exceedingly irksome. In the meanwhile, two events occurred, which, though favourable to the cause of independence, tended, by their consequences, to exasperate Ypsilanti still more. The strong fortresses of Malvasia and Navarin surrendered to the patriots in August. The former, situated on the eastern coast of Laconia, is a place very difficult to reduce, being built on a rock washed on every side by the Egean sea, and communicating with the continent only by a bridge. Defended in this quarter by a strong treble wall, it is inaccessible at every other point, containing within itself sources of excellent water, and a small patch of cultivated land, sufficient to support a garrison of fifty or sixty men. Below this impregnable citadel, is a port and suburb, where most of the inhabitants reside. The Greeks had kept it closely blockaded both by sea and land, since the month of April; Cantacuzene arrived in the camp about the middle of July, and took the command. Famine had already made dreadful havoc amongst the Mahometans, who, after prolonging their existence by the most unnatural aliments, were at length reduced to feed on human flesh, eating their prisoners, and even their own children. Nor was this a solitary in-

stance, as most of the strong holds in the Peloponnesus presented similar examples. To such extremities will men go, in obedience to the great and irresistible law of self-preservation. But while the majority of the population was thus suffering, the governor, shut up with two hundred soldiers in the citadel, enjoyed abundance, and gave himself no trouble about the fate of his countrymen in the lower town. These last were disposed to famish rather than trust to the mercy of the peasants and Mainotes, who were investing the place; but the arrival of Prince Cantacuzene having inspired them with some degree of confidence, they ventured to open a negotiation. Full protection was stipulated for their lives, moveable property, and th honour of their families; it was also agreed, that they should be transported in Greek vessels to the coast of Anatolia. On the faith of these assurances, a part of the inhabitants got into the castle by stratagem, seized and disarmed the governor and his troops, and on the 3d of August, opened the gates to the besiegers.

"Prompted by those feelings of irritation and revenge which have been so often betrayed under similar circumstances, and impressed with a notion that the garrison was not entitled to the benefits of a capitulation entered into with the inhabitants of the town, the Greek soldiery, strangers to discipline, fell on the former, of whom numbers perished. To the credit of Cantacuzene, it should be added, that he displayed equal prudence and firmness on this occasion, interposing his authority with such effect, as to save a number of lives; and he eventually succeeded in putting a stop to the excesses, though not without considerable risk from his own soldiers, who conceived they were only retaliating the countless murders previously committed by the infidels. Considering the relative situ-

ation of the parties now opposed, and the nature of the war, it could hardly be expected that the minor articles of the capitulation should be very scrupulously observed. The Turks were, however, shipped off in three Ipsariot vessels, and landed on a small island close to the Asiatic coast, whence they reached the continent. Though the Greeks have been reproached for this act, they can scarcely be blamed for not entering an Ottoman port, well knowing that such a step would have been attended with certain death.

"Navarin, which also surrendered soon after, was the theatre of another tragedy, to which none but wars between slaves and their task-masters ever give rise. Well fortified, and possessing one of the finest harbours in Europe, this city is built in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Pylos. It was ably defended by the Turks, who made several vigorous sorties, but at last, every kind of sustenance being exhausted, after devouring even their slippers, they were forced to capitulate. Ypsilanti had sent one of the best and most distinguished of his friends, Tipaldo the Cephalonian, to conduct the siege. Tipaldo was a man of virtue and abilities, who, after practising as a physician in Bessarabia with great success, abandoned the rising prospect of wealth to take his part in the national war. He manifested great spirit, at the head of some Ionians, in the various actions which were fought under the walls, and it was his presence that chiefly induced the Turks to treat about a surrender; for such was their obstinate resolution, that they had placed barrels of gunpowder under their houses, with the intention of blowing up the town, when a longer resistance should become impossible: the same terms were granted here as at Malvasia. It was while the siege of both these places had been carrying on, that the news of the

patriarch's murder, and that of the Greek clergy at Adrianople, together with the profanation of the Christian churches throughout the empire, spread through Greece: the fury of the troops, worked up to madness, was therefore vented on the garrison, of whom a considerable number were sacrificed. Tipaldo endeavoured in vain to arrest the heart-rending spectacle: the infuriated soldiery answered his exhortations by citing some act of personal suffering or oppression, and directing his attention to the recent massacres of the capital and other places.

"These disorders, joined to the opposition he experienced in other respects, roused the indignation of Ypsilanti, who determined to withdraw until a clearer understanding could be established. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he inveighed bitterly against the cruelties and indiscipline of the Peloponnesians, and giving up the command, proceeded to Leondari. The primates and captains being, however, alarmed at this step, sent a deputation to the place of his retreat, and persuaded him to resume his functions as generalissimo." *

In the mean time, Samos and most of the islands in the Archipelago had followed the example of Hydra; and the presence of Ottoman garrisons, reinforced from Anatolia, alone kept Lesbos, Rhodes, and Scio in subjection. Ten thousand Syrian troops were also transported into Cyprus, and the horrible atrocities committed there, without an attempt at a rising on the part of the inhabitants, formed a counterpart to those of the capital.† In the month of June, the

* Blaquiere, pp. 125—130. Cantacuzene quitted Greece altogether in disgust in October, and repaired to Italy.

† The number of Christians who perished in Cyprus, is estimated, somewhat too roundly, at 10,000.

Greek marine, emboldened by their successes, are believed to have been meditating an attack on Smyrna, when intelligence was brought them that Kydonies (Haivali) was menaced by the Turks. The contest which followed, by which that opulent and flourishing town was reduced to a heap of cinders, forms a melancholy episode in the history of the Revolution.*

The capture of Navarin and Malvasia was followed by the investment of Tripolitza, of which Ypsilanti undertook the superintendence. This place, which is of modern origin, is built on the southern edge of a long and elevated plain, surrounded with the bleak and rugged mountains anciently known as Mount Mænalus, about half way between the ancient Arcadian cities of Mantineia and Tegea. "The town," Mr. Blaquiere says, "is irregularly constructed, mostly of stone, with narrow, dirty, and crooked streets, having on the whole a very mean appearance. With respect to the fortifications, they consist of a wall of masonry nine feet high, six feet thick at the bottom, three at the top, and furnished with a double row of ill-contrived loop-holes: at about two-thirds of its height from the ground, runs a narrow and inconvenient banquette, which can only be ascended by flights of steps, placed at unequal distances for this purpose. Instead of bastions, there are demi-towers at different points, where cannon are placed, the rest of the wall being only defended by musketry. A citadel has been constructed west of the town, and on a somewhat more regular plan, with casements whose roofs are bomb-proof; but as these are open at the sides, and the whole interior space is extremely small, it is in-

* For an account of this interesting colony and its catastrophe, see Mod. Trav., Syria, &c., vol. ii. pp. 175, 194.

capable of defence, if regularly attacked. The artillery, composed of thirty pieces of brass, and partly of old iron guns, many of them honeycombed, was mounted on loose blocks of wood, instead of carriages, and but very indifferently supplied with ammunition or shot. Besides these disadvantages, another rocky eminence, commanding the town and citadel, within little more than two hundred yards, completely screens the approaches of a besieging army."

Besides its own population of about 25,000 persons, Tripolitza now contained an influx of Turks from all quarters; especially fugitives from Londari, and almost the entire population of Bardunia, (a part of Mount Taygetum,) consisting of a colony of Mohammedan Albanians, resembling the Mainotes, their neighbours, alike in their warlike disposition and predatory habits. In addition to these, the town was garrisoned by between 3 and 4000 men, half of them Albanians, under the command of the *kihaya* (lieutenant) of Khourshid Pasha. The Greeks were at first very inferior in numbers, and many of them were scarcely armed; they had no cavalry, and their artillery consisted only of five or six cannon and two mortars, managed by a few European adventurers. The hopes of the besiegers depended on cutting off the supplies of the town; but their opponents had a formidable cavalry, and so long as the Turkish horses were fit for service, the Greeks did not attempt to occupy the plain. As the ground is entirely parched up in autumn, and the only forage consisted of vine-leaves, the Mussulman cavalry were gradually ruined, and the Greeks were enabled to render the blockade closer, by posting themselves in the hamlets round the town. Frequent skirmishes were brought on by the attempts of the Turks to penetrate into the vineyards, and on one

occasion, a detachment, who had made a sally on a foraging expedition, fell into an ambuscade on returning, and were defeated by Kolokotroni with the loss of a hundred men. Provisions soon began to get scarce, and the besiegers having cut the pipes that conveyed water to the town, the distress both of the garrison and the other inhabitants became excessive. An epidemic disease committed great ravages; and symptoms of mutiny were discovered among the Albanians. Towards the middle of September, the besieged were led to cherish some hopes of relief by the intelligence of the arrival of the Turkish fleet, which, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Kalamata, and throwing supplies into Mothoni and Koroni, had been joined at Patras by some Algerine ships and by the Capitan-bey, who had been employed on the coast of Epirus against Ali Pasha. This hope of succour, however, was soon dissipated. Ypsilanti having proceeded to occupy the Arcadian passes towards Patras, no attempt was made from that quarter to relieve Tripolitza. One cause of this inactivity on the part of the Turkish commander, was the failure of an attempt, made in the early part of the month, to penetrate from Thessaly into Bœotia. The Turkish forces had been met by the insurgents at Fondana, in the pass leading from the head of the Maliac Gulf over Mount Cnemis into Phocis, and had been obliged to retreat with considerable loss. No hope remained, therefore, of any co-operation by way of the Isthmus.

At length, the Ottomans began to make some indirect overtures for a capitulation; but the absence of Ypsilanti and of the Europeans who accompanied him, having put an end to any thing wearing the semblance of a regular army, it was impossible to arrange any

terms in which the besieged could place confidence; nor were they agreed among themselves. In fact, there seems to have been an end to all discipline and concert on both sides. While the *kihaya* was treating with an officer of Ypsilanti's staff, left behind for that purpose by the Prince, the Bardouniots were negotiating with the Bey of Maina, and the Albanians with Kolokotroni. The latter soon came to an understanding: it was agreed that they should be allowed to return to Epirus, to enter the service of Ali Pasha. On the 1st of October, the Bardouniots, to the number of 2,500, came out and surrendered to the Mainotes. Several rich Turks and Jews purchased the promise of a safe conduct from Kolokotroni and Mavromikhali; but these chiefs, though they received the price of their engagements, were not able to execute them. "On the 5th of October, some of their followers, having discovered what was passing, and being resolved not to be defrauded of their expected plunder by the selfish avidity of their leaders, assaulted the walls on the northern side, and were speedily followed into the city by all the besieging army." *

* Leake's Outline, p. 54. Mr. Blaquiere's account of the transaction is as follows: "On the 5th of October, a *verbal* capitulation is said to have been agreed upon; but scarcely was it concluded, when a fortuitous circumstance rendered the compact of no avail, and brought on a terrible catastrophe. A few Greek soldiers, having approached the gate of Argos, entered into conversation with the Turkish sentinels, and began as usual to barter fruit. The Turks were imprudent enough to assist them in mounting the wall, with a large basket of grapes, in exchange for which they gave their arms; but no sooner had the Greeks gained the summit, than they hurled down the unguarded Mahometans; opened the gate, the only one that was walled up, to their comrades, and displayed the standard of the cross above it. When this emblem was perceived from the camp, it acted like an electric shock; the whole Christian army instantly rushed from all sides to the assault, and

For two days, the town was given up to the unbridled fury and vengeance of a savage soldiery. Every kind of excess which a thirst for plunder, the wantonness of cruelty, and the lust of revenge could instigate, was perpetrated by the victors. "The Arcadian peasants, naturally fierce and ungovernable, and who had long suffered every species of outrage and indignity from the haughty Moslems of Tripolitza, shewed themselves both cruel and relentless towards their fallen oppressors; while the Mainotes, less greedy of blood than of spoil, secured the largest share of booty. About 6000 Turks are said to have perished, and some thousands were made prisoners, while numbers escaped to the mountains. The loss of the Greeks was never very exactly known, but was estimated at 500 killed and wounded. The Albanians, to the number of fifteen hundred, marched out of the town as the Greeks entered, without the least hostility passing between them, and were escorted by 500 of Kolokotroni's troops to Vostizza, whence they crossed over to Romelia. On finding themselves, however, on the other side, out of danger, the remainder of their march was marked by the greatest excesses."

the disorder, once begun, could not be stopped, for the Turks immediately opened a brisk fire of cannon and small arms upon them from the citadel and ramparts. The principal Greek officers, who certainly could not have restrained their men, were drawn away by the torrent: Colocotroni was one of the last to hear what was passing, and as he would not deign to follow the steps of any other captain, he determined to force a passage for himself, so that his troops suffered severely. After the gates were broken down and the walls scaled, a furious struggle was maintained in the streets and houses; but the Peloponnesians, flushed with victory and spurred on by vengeance, were irresistible; and before sunset, all opposition was quelled in the blood of the unfortunate Moslems. The citadel, where a large body of Turks had taken refuge, having held out till the following evening, surrendered at discretion."

The barbarous conduct of the conquerors of Tripolitza has been very unfairly adduced by the enemies of the Greeks, in order to throw discredit on their cause. Mr. Blaquiere asks: "What means did they possess of guarding the Turks as prisoners, or of sending them out of the country? A scarcity bordering on famine had already overspread the land. Patras, Corinth, Modon, Coron, and Napoli were still in the hands of the enemy; a formidable Turkish fleet was at sea, and an Algerine squadron was cruising among the islands of the Archipelago." It may be questioned, however, whether considerations like these weighed with the victors. It is a more direct exculpation of the leaders in the cause, that Ypsilanti was absent; that there existed, in fact, neither concert between the chiefs, nor discipline among the troops; that the besieging force consisted in great measure of a lawless peasantry, who had long smarted under oppression; and that the war in which they were engaged was, on the part of the Turks, a war of extermination.* The Greek chiefs are stated most sincerely to have lamented the excesses committed on the occasion; excesses, nevertheless, execrable as they were, that have attended, in a thousand instances, the progress

* Many were the fathers and husbands, we are told, who were drawn to Tripolitza for no other purpose than to be avenged for the robberies and nameless injuries that had been perpetrated by Turkish troops. "The palace of the bey at Tripolitza, was one of those which afforded the greatest facility for defence to the Turks. When the assault commenced, 700 of the infidels shut themselves up here, and continued to fire on the Greeks from the windows, until the latter were obliged to set it on fire to dislodge their opponents. Such was the horror in which this edifice was held, that the Greek peasantry rased the walls to the ground, rather than suffer the sight to offend their eyes, and remind them of those terrific scenes of which it had been the theatre."

of the disciplined troops of the Christian powers of Europe.

On the 15th of October, Prince Demetrius, having hastened back on receiving intelligence of the fall of Tripolitza, made his public entry into the capital. "Nothing," says Mr. Blaquiere, "could be more deplorable than the appearance of the town: not a single door-lock, and scarcely a nail was left, the Mainotes having carried off every thing of that description. The plunder was taken home on the backs of their wives, who came down in great numbers for this purpose from their native fortresses. Ypsilanti had intended to appropriate the lead which covered the mosques, to the public service, but it had all been stripped off. When every other portable article was gone, peasants were seen driving away their asses loaded with doors and window-shutters. Of the immense booty, nothing was assigned to the exigencies of the nation, except the artillery: every thing else became private property. Most of the chiefs and primates enriched themselves; the Prince alone sternly refused to convert any thing to his own use. The streets were incumbered with dead bodies; even the houses were filled with the slain of either party; while the mountaineers and shepherds, accustomed to dwell in rocks and woods, had now established their bivouacs amidst the broken fragments of oriental luxury. Fires broke out in the town every night, and the Prince himself was burnt out of his quarters a few days after his arrival. The only thing that occupied the Greeks, was the unequal manner in which the spoils had been shared. Complaints were heard on every side, and while some wished to conceal their gains, others murmured loudly at being defrauded of a fair portion. Ypsilanti's first object was

to put an end to the great confusion that prevailed. He certainly succeeded in restoring some degree of order, but this was chiefly owing to the breaking up of the army, which gradually dispersed and melted away, carrying into the furthest corners of the Peloponnesus those discontents and heart-burnings, the seeds of which were sown at the sacking of Tripolitza. There now remained only the regular troops, consisting of one battalion of infantry and a company of artillery, with the retinue of some captains; a force scarcely sufficient to guard the Turkish prisoners.

"The Greeks had always pointed to the reduction of this place as the period when disorder and anarchy were to cease, and to be replaced by a regularly-organised system of government. It had now fallen; but such were the difficulties opposed to this most desirable object, that the event seemed only to have imbittered the dissensions of the leading men. Perceiving that his plans of melioration were opposed with scarcely less pertinacity than before, and that his influence was every day declining, Ypsilanti resolved to submit all the disputed points to a national congress, which was summoned to meet at Tripolitza. But a contagious disease, which broke out there in the beginning of November, spread with such rapidity, aggravated, probably, by the great number of putrefying carcases, that it was found necessary to abandon the place altogether for a short time. The assembly was therefore convoked at Argos, whither the prince repaired, to attend the deliberations."

Ypsilanti had another object in view in going to Argos; he wished to push the siege of Napoli di Romania, for which Colonel Voutier, a French officer, who at that time commanded the Greek artillery, had been actively engaged in making preparations. A

report having been spread, that that place was on the point of capitulating, thousands of peasants were soon collected from all quarters, attracted by the hope of sharing its spoils. They were, however, disappointed this time of their prey. On the 16th of December, an attempt was made to take the town by escalade; but, owing to a want of concert among the leaders and the misconduct of the native troops, the assailants were repulsed, with the loss of about thirty men in killed and wounded, while the scaling-ladders were carried off in triumph by the Turks. At Patras, too, the besiegers were routed by Yusuff Pasha, and Mavrokordato narrowly escaped in a boat. Galaxidhi, a flourishing Greek town on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, had been burned by the fleet of the Capitan Pasha, at the beginning of October, when between thirty and forty Greek ships which were lying there, fell into the hands of the Turks, who, by this operation, became undisputed masters of the Gulf. In Macedonia, the insurrection wore an aspect not much more promising. Cassandra, where the Christians had strongly intrenched themselves, was taken by storm by the Pasha of Salonika on the 12th of November, and Mount Athos capitulated shortly afterwards. Such was the state of affairs at the close of the first campaign.

After the check sustained at Napoli, Prince Demetrius returned to Argos, and frequent meetings of the deputies collected from various points of the confederacy, were held at his quarters. On the arrival of Mavrokordato, however, Ypsilanti soon found the number of his partisans fall off; nor could he conceal the jealousy and aversion with which he regarded his more popular rival. But his attention was now called away to another quarter, and he left the scene of legis-

lation and intrigue, to join the troops before Corinth. Early in December, with a view to greater security, the Congress resolved to transfer their sittings to Epidaurus, in the Gulf of Egina. By the middle of the month, the number of representatives who had assembled there, exclusive of Mavrokordato and the military chiefs, exceeded sixty: they consisted of ecclesiastics, proprietors, merchants, and civilians who had for the most part received a liberal education in Western Europe. Their first act was to name a commission to draw up a political code; and on the 1st of January, 1822, was put forth the memorable declaration of Independence.* The draft of the provisional constitution† was presented at the same time; but, as many of the articles required to be discussed, it was not promulgated till the 27th, when the code was solemnly proclaimed amid the acclamations of the deputies, the soldiery, and the people.

By this legislative act, the established religion in Greece is declared to be that of the Orthodox Eastern Church, with full toleration of all other forms of worship. The government is composed of the senate and the executive power. The senators are to be annually chosen. The executive power is composed of five members, taken from the legislative body, and the president and vice-president are annual officers. The judicial power, formed of eleven members, chosen by the government, is declared to be independent of both

* "In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. The Greek Nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in a national assembly, its Independence."

† ΠΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ.

the senate and the executive. Civil and criminal justice is to be regulated according to the legislation of the Greek emperors; and with respect to all mercantile affairs, the French commercial code is to have the force of law in Greece.* Such are the leading features of the Greek constitution, which, upon the whole, reflects great credit on its authors by its moderation and enlightened spirit.† Its grand defect is, that, in common with all republican theories, it imposes shackles on the executive power, scarcely compatible with an efficient discharge of the functions of government, more especially under the exigencies of such a contest.‡ All experience proves that a state is in more

* The Greek code referred to is known under the name of the *Basilics*, and was the work of the emperors Basil I., Leon the Philosopher, his son, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, his grandson.—See GIBBON, c. xlviii. This code had not altogether ceased to be in force among the Greeks. The French commercial code was first established in some of the maritime towns of the Levant in 1817, the permission of the Turkish Government having been obtained by purchase by the Greek merchants. Two Greek translations of this code have been published; one at Constantinople, the other at Paris, in 1820.

† Article 2 secures to every individual of the Christian faith, whether a native or naturalised foreigner, an equal enjoyment of every political right; a liberality which the Spanish revolutionists either did not possess or durst not display. Article 46 gives every periodical writer a free entry in the sittings of the legislative body; an enactment more liberal, however, than prudent or convenient during a national struggle. Not only torture, but confiscation is abolished by Art. 99; and by Art. 107, the government charges itself with providing for the widows and orphans of those who die in defending their country.

‡ "No declaration of war, nor any treaty of peace, can be made without the participation of the senate. In like manner, every agreement, of whatever nature between the executive and a foreign power, must be previously approved by the senate, except in the case of a very short armistice."—Art. 40. And even in such case, the executive is under the obligation of communicating it to the senate.—Art. 77. "The senate has the right of approving the

danger, at such a crisis, from the cabals of a faction, than from the ascendancy of any too-powerful citizen. It had been proposed to concentrate the executive power in a triennial president, and to make the senate re-eligible every other year. The rejection of this plan discovered an unseasonable jealousy on the part of the national representatives; and the issue has shewn, how much easier it is to frame a constitution than to create a government. Up to the present time, the Greeks may be said to be without a ruler, for the executive has not been invested with the power to rule. That power, it would seem, must either originate in usurpation, or in concessions made in the hour of public danger, by people willing to compromise their rights in order to obtain efficient protection.

The office of president of the executive body was conferred by the congress upon Prince Mavrokordato,

military promotion which the government proposes."—Art. 42. "It is likewise entitled to decree, on the proposal of government, the distinguished recompenses due to patriotic services."—Art. 43. "It is to settle a new system of money to be struck at the national mint, under the direction of government."—Art. 44. "The senate is expressly forbidden to accede to any transaction which threatens the political existence of the nation. On the contrary, if it perceives the executive engaged in negotiations of this nature, the senate is to prosecute the president, and after his condemnation, to declare his charge forfeited in the face of the nation."—Art. 45. By articles 63 and 64, the executive is authorised to contract loans, and to pledge the national property for them, "consulting the senate;" and to alienate, under the same condition, a portion of this property according to the wants of the state. By Art. 83, it is provided, that "as soon as an accusation against one of the members of the executive is received, the accused is considered as stripped of his office," and his trial is to proceed. Thus, the nominal inviolability of the executive power, "taken collectively," (Art. 54) is completely nullified; and the senate, by reserving to themselves the regal attributes of levying war, approving of military promotion, and settling the mintage, is, in fact, the fountain of honour as well as the depositary of all real power.

whose talents and extensive information were eminently displayed in aiding the commission appointed to draw up the constitution.* Demetrius Ypsilanti was invited to preside over the senate, but he declined the proffered honour, having, it is supposed, conceived himself to be entitled to fill the highest station; and the office was bestowed on Petro Bey Mavromikhali. The other members of the central government were Athanasius Canacari, vice-president, Anagnosti Pappaiannopoulo, John Orlando, and John Logotheti. Theodore Negri was appointed first secretary of state.

While the legislators of Epidaurus were thus occupied in organising a system of government, Ypsilanti was ineffectually endeavouring to obtain possession of Corinth by negotiation with the garrison. On this occasion he does not appear to have displayed either much address or much penetration. He had relied on the services of Kiamil Bey, a rich Turk, whose family had for nearly a century governed the district, but who, on the fall of Tripolitza, had affected to espouse the Greek cause, and had promised to induce the garrison to surrender. The cunning Moslem, aware of the preparations which Khourshid Pasha was making in Epirus, shewed little disposition to fulfil his engagement. At length, his equivocal conduct having drawn violent threats from Kolokotroni and the other chiefs, he wrote a letter to his wife and mother, commanding them to capitulate to the Greeks, while he found

* Mavrokordato's name is affixed to the provisional constitution as President of the Congress. Then follow the names of Adam Douka (Ducas), Athan. Canacaris, Alexander Naxius, Alexis Zinpouropoulo, and fifty-four others, among which occur those of Germanus, Archbishop of Patras, the bishops of Litza and Agrafa, Poumbosi, and Talantium, Th. Negri, J. Logotheti, J. Orlando, Petrobey Mavromikhali, J. Coletti, &c.

means of secretly apprising them of his real hopes and wishes. But the arrival of Panouria of Salona, a popular armatole captain, gave a new turn to affairs. "Having reproached the chiefs and soldiery with their inactivity, Panouria suggested various projects by which the Acro-Corinthus might be carried; finding, however, but little disposition to adopt them, he determined to open a communication with the Albanian portion of the garrison. This plan succeeded so well, that a treaty was concluded, by which they consented to withdraw, on condition of being allowed to return home with their arms and a gratification in money. These terms being readily granted, they descended from the citadel, to the number of two hundred, on the 22d of January; and having been escorted to the beach, were embarked in boats, which transported them to the opposite shore of the Gulf. The retirement of the Albanians having removed all further hope of holding out on the part of the Turks, they also declared themselves ready to capitulate. Such, however, was the altered state of things, that they were now obliged to accept the terms granted by the besiegers. It was then agreed, that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be conveyed to the coast of Asia Minor, in transports provided by the Government of Greece. The first part of these conditions was carried into effect on the 26th, and preparations were made to execute the second, which was also fulfilled to a certain extent; but, owing to a delay in the arrival of transports, the peasants, who had been exposed to the innumerable exactions and oppressive acts of Kiamil Bey, rushed into the citadel, and gratified their irresistible thirst for revenge on many of the Turks. The conduct of Ypsilanti on this, as on every former occasion, was marked by the greatest humanity;

and though his interposition could not entirely prevent the effervescence of popular feeling, it soon had the effect of calming the passions of the multitude." *

On the 27th of February, the newly-constituted executive, and the senate of Epidaurus, proceeded to take advantage of the fall of this important military position, by transferring thither the seat of government. Here, on the 31st of March, the President issued the declaration of blockade which gave so much umbrage to the Christian powers in alliance with the Porte. This was followed up by a spirited but unavailing appeal to the powers of Christendom, dated Corinth, April 15, 1822. Nor did Mavrokordato confine his exertions to such measures as these. He went in person to Hydra, to urge on the islanders the necessity of sending divisions of the fleet towards the Dardanelles and the Gulf of Lepanto; and on his return, a system of order and activity commenced, which had hitherto been unknown in the confederacy. With a view to make a beginning in the organisation of the army, a corps was formed, officered chiefly by European volunteers, which was to be styled the first regiment of the line. There being, however, a much larger number of these than was required, the remainder were embodied into a second corps, which assumed the name of Philhellenes. The organisation and command of the regular troops were intrusted to General Normann, a German officer who had recently arrived from Marseilles with a number of volunteers. Ypsilanti, having declined the presidency of the legislative body, and renounced the assumed title of generalissimo, joined a detachment of troops headed by Niketas, which was destined to watch the motions of

* Blaquiere, pp. 181—3

the enemy at Zetouni. A second corps of 3000 men was sent to re-establish the blockade of Patras under Kolokotroni; and a smaller body of troops was detached to Athens, under the French Colonel Voutier, in order to reduce the Acropolis. The force before Napoli di Romania was also strengthened, and the garrisons of Modon and Koron continued to be closely invested by the armed peasantry.

The critical posture of affairs called, indeed, for the most energetic measures, and the situation of the President was any thing rather than enviable. The cause of Grecian liberty appeared to most persons at this time little better than desperate. "On one side," remarks Col. Leake, "was a power larger in extent of territory than any in Europe, which had maintained its station, for nearly four centuries, in one of the most commanding positions in the world; whose integrity was admitted by all the other great powers to be essential to the general peace; ready, by the nature of its government, to enter upon war at a short notice, and furnished with all the fiscal, military, and naval establishments of a monarchy of long standing. On the other; were the inhabitants of a small province of this extensive empire, without any central authority, without cavalry, artillery, magazines, hospitals, or military chest; whose whole military force, in short, consisted only of a rude, undisciplined infantry, armed with an awkward long musket, to which was added, according to the circumstances of the individual, pistols, a dagger, or a sword,—ignorant of the use of the bayonet, acknowledging no discipline, and more uninstructed in war as an art, than the Greeks of the heroic ages,—led, indeed, by men possessing courage and enterprise, and some of the essential qualifications of command, but who were scarcely less iguorant and unenlightened

than their soldiers, and too selfish to lose any opportunity of enriching themselves, or to preserve that harmony with the other leading men, which was so necessary in the dangerous position of the country."

The fall and death of Ali, Pasha of Ioannina, had placed at the disposal of Khourshid Pasha such abundant resources, both in men and money, that had his plans been carried into execution with an ordinary portion of skill, they must have led to the destruction of the Greek cause. The conquest of Ioannina had put into the hands of the Turks the strongest and most important point in Western Greece, while the possession of Arta, Prevesa, and Vonitza, gave them the command of Acarnania, and the whole level on the northern side of the Ambracic Gulf. The surrender of Corinth might in some measure have counterbalanced these advantages, had the Greeks known how to turn it to account; and a circumstance still more in their favour, was the hostilities that had broken out on the Persian frontier, which gave the Asiatic Turks an excuse, at least, for keeping their contingents at home. Neither of these circumstances, however, had much influence in determining the successful issue of the second campaign.

The commencement of the campaign of 1822 was marked by one of the most atrocious and tragical exhibitions of Turkish vengeance and cruelty that are recorded in the annals of barbarian conquest: the scene of the catastrophe was the once fertile and flourishing island of Scio. The details we give in the words of Mr. Blaquiere.

"The people of Scio had been remarkable for their peaceable habits and quiet submission to the Porte, ever since the capture of Constantinople; and although the inhabitants of a spot where education had made

such rapid progress, could not be less interested in the regeneration of Greece than the rest of their countrymen, yet were there many causes to prevent them from taking any part in the revolt when it first broke out. The commercial relations of the island were more complicated and extensive than those of any other part of the confederation; there being scarcely a capital of Europe without some establishments kept by Sciot merchants, while a very large portion of their wealth was locked up at Constantinople and Smyrna, the trade between these two cities being almost exclusively conducted by them. Possessing such ample means of ministering to the avarice of their tyrants, the civil government had long been confided to the elders, whose administration was of the most paternal description. What with its palaces, country-houses and gardens, its colleges and general state of improvement, Scio presented so striking a contrast to the other islands of the Archipelago, that travellers could hardly be persuaded it was under the same dominion. No wonder, therefore, that such a picture of happiness and prosperity should have excited the hatred and jealousy of the infidels.

"Occupied in their commercial pursuits, or in promoting the cultivation of learning and science, there was no attempt whatever made to participate in the revolution; so that the island remained perfectly tranquil until the beginning of May 1821, when the appearance of a small squadron of Ipsariots off the coast, furnished the aga, or military governor, with a pretence for commencing the same system of intolerable violence which had been already extended to Mytilene, Rhodes, and Cyprus. One of the first measures now adopted, was that of seizing forty of the elders and bishops, who were shut up in the castle as hostages

for the good conduct of the people. A large body of troops were brought from the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor; and, as in the other islands, the arrival of these lawless hordes was attended with every species of irregularity and excess. In addition to numerous assassinations, and plundering the most wealthy inhabitants, all the provisions that could be found were seized for the use of the garrison, while new imposts were levied to pay the troops and the pasha who had led them to the island. It was not until Scio had been during a whole year exposed to a system like the above, and when it seemed impossible any longer to bear up against it, that an attempt was made to rouse the people to resistance. Totally unprovided, however, as were the peasantry, either with arms or leaders, there is no doubt but they would have continued to suffer all the evils of their situation, had it not been for two adventurers named Burnia and Logotheti, who, without any previous communication with the Provisional Government, and merely to gratify views of personal ambition, concerted a plan of revolt. Landing from Samos on the 17th and 18th of March, at different points of the island, with a very small number of followers, they called upon the people to join them. Aware of the disastrous consequences which must follow this unexpected descent, the elders who were still at large, made every effort to preven tthe peasantry from taking any part in the insurrection. In the meanwhile, a strong detachment of cavalry was sent out by the Pasha to oppose the Greeks, and on the 22d, the number of hostages already in the citadel was doubled, the victims being selected from the most opulent and distinguished inhabitants. Hearing, on the following day, that another body of men had landed from Samos, the Pasha sent to ascer-

tain whether they had been joined by the peasantry, and on his being assured they had not, a considerable force was ordered to march against them.

"The Turks set forward for this purpose, but, on perceiving that the Greeks were determined to resist, they immediately retreated towards the town, pursued by the insurgents, till they were at length forced to shut themselves up in the castle; thus leaving the Greeks in full possession of the open country. Encouraged by their success, Burnia and Logotheti appealed once more to the people; and as matters had now gone so far that it was impossible to retrograde, a few hundred peasants flocked to their standard, many of these being merely provided with sticks for their defence. Although the elders and primates who had not been imprisoned, continued to remonstrate against the conduct of Burnia and his coadjutor, they now saw the necessity of acceding to the entreaties of all parties, that a local government should be established. A junta of twelve persons being named for this purpose, they began to make various requisitions, and to organise the means of securing the advantage which had been already achieved. It was, however, soon discovered, that there were really no means of arming the people to any extent, and that the expedition was itself but badly armed, as well as totally unprovided with cannon. Convinced, on the other hand, that union and perseverance could alone save them, several plans of organisation were adopted; and had the Greek fleet anticipated the arrival of the pasha, there was every reason to hope the inhabitants would have been enabled to prevent the catastrophe which followed his appearance. This event took place on the 23d of April, when a fleet of fifty sail, including five of the line, anchored in the bay, and immediately

began to bombard the town, while several thousand troops were landed under the guns of the citadel, which also opened a heavy fire on the Greeks. It was in vain for the islanders to make any resistance: deserted by the Samians, most of whom embarked and sailed away when the Turkish fleet hove in sight, they were easily overpowered and obliged to flee. From this moment, until the last direful act, Scio, lately an object of so great admiration to strangers, presented one continued scene of horror and dismay. Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered and then set fire to it, watching the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls. Three days had, however, been suffered to pass, before the infidels ventured to penetrate into the interior of the island, and even then, their excesses were confined to the low grounds. But there was ample scope on these for gratifying their thirst for Christian blood. An eye-witness, who escaped as it were by a miracle, thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: 'O God! what a spectacle did Scio present on this lamentable occasion! On whatever side I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, murder, and conflagration appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others in setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in favour of young women and boys, who were preserved only to be afterwards sold as slaves. Many of the former, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their

trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them.'

"Above 40,000 of both sexes had already either fallen victims to the sword, or been selected for sale in the bazars, when it occurred to the Pasha, that no time should be lost in persuading those who had fled to the more inaccessible parts of the island, to lay down their arms and submit. It being impossible to effect this by force, they had recourse to a favourite expedient with Mussulmen, that of proclaiming an amnesty. In order that no doubt should be entertained of their sincerity, the foreign consuls, more particularly those of England, France, and Austria, were called upon to guarantee the promises of the Turks: they accordingly went forth, and invited the unfortunate peasantry to give up their arms and return. Notwithstanding their long experience of Turkish perfidy, the solemn pledge given by the consuls at length prevailed, and many thousands, who might have successfully resisted until succours arrived, were sacrificed; for no sooner did they descend from the heights, and give up their arms, than the infidels, totally unmindful of the proffered pardon, put them to death without mercy. The number of persons of every age and sex who became the victims of this perfidious act, was estimated at 7000.

"After having devoted ten days to the work of slaughter, it was natural to suppose that the monsters who directed this frightful tragedy would have been in some degree satiated by the blood of so many innocent victims; but it was when the excesses had begun to diminish on the part of the soldiery, that fresh scenes of horror were exhibited on board the fleet and in the citadel. In addition to the women

and children embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the markets of Constantinople and Smyrna, several hundreds of the natives were also seized, and among these, all the gardeners of the island, who were supposed to know where the treasures of their employers had been concealed. No fewer than 500 of the persons thus collected were hung on board the different ships. When these executions commenced, they served as a signal to the commandant of the citadel, who immediately followed the example, by suspending the whole of the hostages, to the number of seventy-six, on gibbets erected for the occasion. With respect to the numbers who were either killed or consigned to slavery, during the three weeks that followed the arrival of the Capitan Pasha, there is no exaggeration in rating the former at 25,000 souls. It has been ascertained that above 30,000 women and children were condemned to slavery, while the fate of those who escaped was scarcely less calamitous. Though many contrived to get off in open boats, or such other vessels as they could procure, thousands who were unable to do so, wandered about the mountains, or concealed themselves in caves, without food or clothing, for many days after the massacre had begun to subside on the plains. Among those who had availed themselves of the pretended amnesty, many families took refuge in the houses of the consuls, who were indeed bound by every tie of honour and humanity to afford them protection. It has, however, been asserted, upon authority which cannot well be doubted, that the wretched beings thus saved from Mussulman vengeance, were obliged to pay large ransoms before they could leave the island; nay, more, numbers of those who escaped the massacre affirm, that it was extremely difficult to obtain even temporary protection

under the Christian flags, without first gratifying the avaricious demands of those who conceived this appalling event a legitimate object of mercantile speculation.

"As the massacre of Scio furnishes the best occasion presented by the war, to establish a comparison between the conduct of the Greeks and their inexorable masters, it is of consequence to prove, that so far from the atrocities in that devoted island having been the result of those excesses in which a soldiery, irritated by previous resistance and sufferings, have so frequently indulged, they originated in the cool and deliberate councils of the divan. With respect to the provocations given by the Sciots, their fidelity to the Porte had never been suspected before the revolution; and it has been ascertained beyond contradiction, that the number of those who joined the expedition from Samos did not exceed 2000; while it is equally true, that the whole loss of the Turks during the ephemeral conflict did not amount to 300, and these fell in the skirmishes which took place between the opposing parties, as there was no instance of gratuitous cruelty on the part of the Greeks. The readiness with which the elders and primates gave themselves up as hostages, and their efforts to prevent the peasantry from joining Burnia and Logotheti, afford ample proof of their perfect innocence. Yet, it was under all these circumstances, that a population of more than 100,000 souls was doomed to general destruction; not by an unbridled and undisciplined soldiery, stimulated by the opposition and privations attendant on a long siege, but by a positive order from a sovereign and government, whose legitimacy had been solemnly proclaimed by the Christian potentates assembled at Laybach and Verona. That the whole of this terrific

drama had been got up at Constantinople, a variety of concurrent circumstances tend to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt. When the messenger who announced the descent from Samos reached the capital, it was decided in full divan, that the Capitan Pasha, whose preparations were still incomplete, should sail with all possible despatch, and take such measures with the people of Scio as would effectually prevent their joining the confederation. All the most opulent Sciot merchants resident in the capital, were at the same time seized and thrown into prison as hostages. The fate of these unfortunate persons leaves no room whatever to doubt that the proceedings at Scio were fully approved of at Constantinople; for it was immediately after the arrival of the Capitan Pasha in the former place, and when the steps he had taken must have been known, that the whole of them were impaled alive by a mandate from the Sultan himself.

"Thousands of the Sciot women, remarkable throughout the Archipelago for their grace and beauty, continued to be exposed for sale, both in the island and at Smyrna and Constantinople, for several months after the massacre.* After detailing such

* "On the 13th of May was the first arrival (at Constantinople) of slaves from that devoted island; and on the 18th, sixteen most respectable merchants, resident at Constantinople, but who were guilty of having been born at Scio, were executed. Three of these persons were by the Turks called *hostages*, which means, that they were persons of influence and character who had been seized by the Government, and by it made responsible for the conduct of their countrymen. The continued sale of the Sciot captives led to the commission of daily brutalities. On June the 19th, an order came down to the slave-market for its cessation; and the circumstances which are believed to have occasioned that order, are extremely singular and purely Oriental. The island of Scio had been granted many years ago to one of the sultanas, as an appropriation, from which she derived a fixed revenue and a title of interference in all

scenes as these, it becomes a matter of trifling import to state, that the finest modern Greek library in existence, comprising above 60,000 volumes, was completely destroyed during the conflagration.

"Of all the errors laid to the charge of the naval chiefs of Greece, their delay in coming to the relief of Scio is unquestionably the best founded, as it is most to be lamented. This omission is doubly to be deplored, when it is considered, that the appearance of a squadron simultaneously with the Capitan Pasha, would have paralysed his operations and encouraged the inhabitants to greater resistance. Had the fleet arrived even after the slaughter had commenced, there is every reason to believe, that a few well-directed fire-ships could not have failed taking effect on the Turkish ships, a great part of whose crews were employed in aiding

matters relating to police and internal administration. The present patroness was Asma Sultana, sister of the sultan; and that amiable princess received about 200,000 piastres a year, besides casual presents, from her flourishing little province. When she was informed of its destruction, her indignation was natural and excessive; and it was directed, of course, against Valid, the pasha who commanded the fort, and the capudan pasha, to whose misconduct she chiefly attributed her misfortune. It was in vain that that officer selected from his captives sixty young and beautiful maidens, whom he presented to the service of her highness. She rejected the sacrifice with disdain, and continued her energetic remonstrances against the injustice and illegality of reducing *rayahs* to slavery, and exposing them for sale in the public markets. The sultan at length yielded to her eloquence or importunity. A license, the occasion of hourly brutalities, was suppressed; and we have the satisfaction of believing, that this act of rare and unprecedented humanity may be attributed to the influence of a woman."—WADDINGTON'S *Visit to Greece*, p. 19. It is humiliating to reflect, that all this while, a British ambassador remained the passive and unconcerned spectator of these enormities; and that Lord Londonderry, in answer to a question put to him in the House of Commons by the Member for Norwich, coolly replied, that "a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity perpetrated on both sides!"

to perpetrate the massacre on shore. From whatever cause it arose, the fleet did not arrive until the last week in May, when the catastrophe was already consummated. Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral who commanded, had, however, the satisfaction of saving a great number of both sexes, who succeeded in escaping to the mountains." *

The situation of those who succeeded in getting to Ipsara was most deplorable. There were no means of providing for their wants in that island, and thousands were obliged to sleep in the open air till they could obtain a passage to some other part.

* Blaquiere, pp. 188—200. Mr. Leeves, agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, visited Scio in the September following, and he thus describes the scene which it then presented: "Melancholy and utter desolation has befallen this beautiful and once flourishing island. I could not have conceived, without being an eye-witness, that destruction could have been rendered so complete. We walked through the town, which was handsome and built entirely of stone, and found the houses, the churches, the hospitals, the extensive college, where, a few months ago, 600 or 700 youths were receiving their education, one mass of ruins. On every side were strewed fragments of half-burned books, manuscripts, clothes, and furniture; and, what was most shocking to the feelings, numerous human bodies were mouldering on the spot where they fell. Nothing that had life was to be seen, but a few miserable half-starved dogs and cats. The villages have shared the same fate; and of a population of 130,000 Greeks, there remain, perhaps, 800 or 1000 individuals scattered through the most distant villages. In the town, nothing has escaped but the consuls' houses and a very few immediately adjoining them, which could not be burned without burning the consulates. From the painful sight of these dreadful effects of unbridled human passions, we were a little refreshed by visiting, in the afternoon, the country-house of the British vice-consul, Signor Giudice, who, during the sack of Scio, humanely received all the unfortunate creatures who fled to him for protection, and has redeemed many others from slavery. He has a little colony of 207 Sciots, chiefly women and children, hutted in his garden and premises, whom he feeds at his own expense, and who, under the British flag, have found protection amidst the wreck of their country. There are similar establish-

Being now joined by an Ipsariot squadron, Tombasi resolved to make an attempt on the Turkish squadron; but a gale of wind separated the fleets, and the sailing of an Egyptian squadron for the relief of Candia compelled him to proceed toward that island. Shortly after his departure, Miaulis, the Hydriot admiral, who remained off this station, detached two fire-vessels, with directions to keep near the shore, as if they were merchant-ships bound to Smyrna. By this stratagem they were enabled to sail by night into the midst of the Turkish fleet anchored in the Scio roads, before they were discovered, and to attach themselves to two of the largest Turkish line of battle ships. One of these contrived to disengage herself without much damage; but the fire-vessel commanded by the intrepid Canaris took full effect on the ship of the Capitan Pasha, who was destroyed, with nearly the whole of his crew.* The ship was loaded with the spoils of Scio, and it is feared that many Greek women and children perished in her.

So great was the effect of this exploit in confirming the fears which the Turks already entertained of the Greek fire-ships, that they durst not venture into the narrow extremity of the Argolic Gulf, either

ments in some of the other European consulates. Their food, at present, consists chiefly of the figs and grapes, which are now common property, there being no hands to gather in the fruits of the soil; but, as this supply will soon fail, we have, since our return, commenced a subscription among the English residents at Constantinople, who have been ever ready to meet similar calls upon their charity during this calamitous period, in order to send them a supply of biscuit and flour for the winter months."—*Miss. Reg., Jan.* 1823, p. 19.

* The Capitan Pasha was killed by the fall of a mast in endeavouring to reach the shore with the very small portion of the ship's company which escaped destruction. This took place on the 18th of June

in proceeding to Patras or in returning thence; although the success of their army, which was then entering the Morea, and the safety of Napoli di Romania, depended on their co-operation. The whole plan of the campaign on the part of the Turks was thus completely deranged by one bold and fortunate achievement, which tended powerfully to establish the character and confidence of the Greek Islanders. Nor were the dreadful transactions at Scio unattended by beneficial consequences: they superinduced upon the other motives to exertion, a general conviction among the Greeks, that there was henceforth no safety but in the success of their arms.

In the mean time, Mavrokordato, perceiving the importance of diverting the attention of the Greeks from the Morea, resolved on an expedition into Western Greece, having persuaded his colleagues to consent to his assuming the direction of affairs in that quarter. His plan was excellent, and had he been efficiently supported, might have been productive of most important advantages; but his absenting himself at such a crisis from the seat of government, was scarcely justifiable, since, by weakening the executive, it greatly contributed to favour the growth of dissension and insubordination.* The expedition was to have been joined by 1,500 men from the army before Patras; but Kolokotroni objected to parting with any of his troops, so that Mavrokordato arrived at Messolonghi in May, with only the battalion of Philhellenes (about 100 in number), the regiment of regulars (of 600 men), commanded by a Piedmontese, a small body

* To his assumption of the military character on this occasion, Mr. Waddington ascribes the subsequent decline of his influence; and his absence from the Morea enabled Negri and others to intrigue against him with success.

of Suliots under Marko Botzari, and a few other armatoli. His first object was the relief of Suli, in which he was assisted by a body of Mainotes under Kiriakouli, the brother of Petro-bey. Having collected all the troops he could find at Messolonghi, Mavrokordato's whole force did not amount to 2000 men, being less than half the number at first proposed. With this force, however, he took the field, and having passed the Acheron towards the latter end of June, he proceeded through Loutraki towards the defiles of Makrinoros. At Komboti, near where the pass opens into the plain of Arta, several skirmishes took place with the Turkish cavalry, who were posted there in far superior force, but were uniformly beaten off by the Greeks. Too much elated by these successes, the Prince rashly consented to allow Botzari to proceed with 600 men to relieve Kiaffa; and while the main body under General Normann advanced to the village of Peta, Mavrokordato left the army, to raise levies and supplies in the neighbouring districts. The imprudence of thus dividing their force, already so much inferior to that of the enemy, was soon apparent. Botzari, being met at Plaka by some Turkish troops, was compelled to retreat to the mountains; and the treachery of an old captain of armatoli from Athamania, named Gogo, ruined the expedition. In the midst of a general attack from the Turco-Albanian forces at Arta, this coward, or traitor, to whom the key of the position of Peta had been entrusted, basely fled with all his followers, thus enabling the enemy to turn the flank of the Greeks, and to destroy or disperse their little army. Of 200 who were slain on the part of the Greeks, nearly one-fourth were officers, and General Normann, who was wounded, with difficulty escaped. The panic spread by this

dejection was increased by the arrival of the Capitan Pasha's fleet at Patras, and by the report that Mahmoud Pasha had reconquered the Morea. The greater part of the population betook themselves to the mountains, while a considerable number of the more helpless part of the community sought refuge in the desert island of Kalamos, from which place they were harshly expelled by order of the Ionian Government, on the pretence of maintaining the system of neutrality.* It was not long before tidings of a more favourable nature from the Peninsula, together with the retreat of the Turkish fleet from the western coast, revived the hopes of the Greeks. But the leader of the Mainotes having been slain near Suli, the Suliots, reduced to the utmost distress, and despairing of succour, were glad to accept of British mediation,† and to give up the castle of Kiaffa, on condition of being transported to Cefalonia.

Mavrokordato preserved for some time his positions in Acarnania; till, towards the close of September, the defection of another chieftain of armatoli, named Varnachiotti, obliged him to give up all the country westward of the Achelous, and to retire before an overwhelming force headed by Omer Vrionis, the new Pasha of Ioannina, and the bravest general in the

* "As those who took refuge in Calamos consisted almost exclusively of old men, women, and children, it was not thought likely that their presence on a desolate rock, which had not been thought of sufficient importance to require even a military post before the present contest, could tend in any way to violate the neutrality; while the wretched condition of the fugitives, without food or raiment, was such as to excite pity and commiseration in the most obdurate heart."—BLAQUIERE, p. 236.

† The British Consul at Prevesa, Mr. Meyer, was the individual to whose mediation they were indebted, and who guaranteed their safe transport to the Ionian Islands, with their arms and baggage.

Ottoman army. By the middle of October, after some attempts to defend the strong approaches to the Ætolian lagoons, the remnant of the Greek forces were invested by land and by sea in the peninsula of Messolonghi and the island of Anatoliko, while all the inhabitants who had the means of escaping, retired into the adjacent islands or the Morea.

"The town of Messolunghi" (we cite Mr. Blaquiere) "is built on a perfect flat, and though its walls are washed by an arm of the sea, the water is so shallow, as not to admit the approach of any vessels larger than fishing-boats, nearer than four or five miles. Its fortifications consisted of nothing more than a low wall without bastions, and surrounded with a ditch seven feet wide, by four in depth, and filled up with rubbish in many places. The parapet, which did not rise more than three feet above the counterscarp, was formed of loose stones, very much out of repair, and broken down in a number of places. Although the defence of this extensive line would require above 3000 men, the whole number of combatants whom the Prince had now with him, including those found in the town, did not amount to 500. The only cannon to be found within the walls, were four old ship guns and a dismounted thirty-six pounder. As to ammunition, there was not sufficient for a month's siege, and with the exception of maize, every kind of provisions was extremely scarce. It was in a place thus destitute and exposed, that Mavrokordato and his followers formed the resolution of making a stand against an army of 14,000 men. For this purpose, not a moment was lost in repairing the wall and clearing the ditch, a work in which even the women were employed: the guns being placed in the most commanding points, all the houses built near the parapet were pierced with

loop-holes, from which a fire of musketry could be kept up. In order to deceive the enemy as to their numbers, a quantity of bayonets found in the town, being made bright, were attached to poles, and arranged round the walls. When the President quitted Anatolico, it was agreed that Marco Bozzaris should occupy the passes through which the enemy would be likely to advance, between that place and the sea. The temporary occupation of this point enabled the Greeks to drive a quantity of cattle into Messolunghi. They were, however, obliged to retire in two days; upon which, Bozzaris, followed by a small detachment of Suliots, succeeded in reaching the town, all the rest having dispersed among the mountains. A large division of the Turkish army appeared before the walls two days after, and immediately commenced a cannonade and fire of musketry, which continued with little intermission until the next day, when it was only suspended to propose a capitulation.* Profiting by the stupidity of the enemy in not attempting an attack, which must have ended in the total destruction of the Greeks, Mavrokordato, whose only chance of safety depended on gaining time till succours were sent, replied in such a way as to make Omer Vrioni imagine that his proposal would be accepted. Though these negotiations were frequently interrupted by the renewal of the enemy's fire, they enabled the Greeks to make considerable progress in their preparations for defence: such, however, was the total inadequacy of means and resources, that there seemed to be no hope of escape. Matters went on in this state of painful

* "One of the articles contained in this proposal, required that Mavrokordato and about twenty others, whose names were mentioned, should be given up, as a preliminary to any negotiation in favour of the garrison."

suspense, until the morning of the 9th of November, when the Turkish brig and schooner, which had been sent to blockade the place by Yussuff Pasha, were observed to steer towards Patras; but the former, being unable to reach the roadstead, owing to a strong southerly wind, bore up and stood for Ithaca, chased by six vessels, on board of which the Greek flag was seen flying. The ships were followed by the eager eyes of the Prince and his brave followers until night closed in, and they were once more left to ruminate on the perils of their situation. Although the appearance of this small squadron filled every breast with hope, yet, a vigorous attack during the night might enable the infidels to render all opposition fruitless: as it fortunately happened, no attempt was made, and their joy may be readily conceived on the return of daylight, to perceive the whole of the Greek squadron anchored as near the town as it could be approached. Having chased the Turkish brig until she was run on the rocks of Ithaca by her crew, the Greek commodore came to announce that a body of Peloponnesians were ready for embarkation at Chiarenza and Katakolo, destined for the relief of Messolunghi. A part of the ships were despatched on the following day for these most acceptable auxiliaries, and the remainder were joined by four Ipsariot vessels, thus forming a naval force which was of itself calculated greatly to diminish the hopes of the enemy. The long wished-for succours arrived on the 14th: they consisted of 1,200 men, headed by Mavromichalis, who was accompanied by Andreas Lundo of Vostizza, and Deligianapulo, both distinguished Mainote chiefs. These troops, having formed part of the army which had partaken in the victories gained on the plain of Argos, and before Napoli di Romania, were flushed with the

recollection of their recent successes, and could not brook the thought of remaining shut up within the walls of Messolunghi. A sortie was accordingly made on the 27th November, in which 110 Turks were left dead on the plain, while the loss of the Greeks did not amount to more than twenty in killed and wounded.

"Such were the cruelties and excesses which followed the arrival of the infidel army in Acarnania and Etolia, that no sooner had the peasantry recovered from their consternation, than all those who had been able to retain their arms, rose, and greatly harassed the Turks, by interrupting their communications and preventing the arrival of any supplies. In order to second these efforts of the people, it was determined that a part of the troops sent from the Morea should embark, and landing at Dragomeste, co-operate with the inhabitants of Valtos and Xeromeros, for the purpose of re-occupying the defiles, and thus effectually cut off the enemy's communication with Arta and Vonizza. The command of this expedition was assumed by Mavromichalis, who sailed for his destination on the 24th of December. His departure reduced the garrison so much, that Omer Vrioni, who had remained for two months without attempting an assault, now determined to take advantage of this circumstance. Knowing also that Christmas day was generally passed by the Greeks in the performance of religious rites which would give them full occcupation, he had an additional motive for carrying his design into execution at once. Aware, from the movements of the Turkish camp, that something was in agitation, Mavrokordato, Bozzaris, and the other chiefs, held a council of war, at which it was decided that every body should be on the alert during the night; and con-

trary to the usual custom, the church bells were not to be rung, lest the noise might prevent a knowledge of what passed close to the walls. Both Mavrokordato and the other leaders continued to visit all the posts, so as to prevent surprise, and to give the necessary directions in case of an attack.

" The plan of the Turks was to send eight hundred picked men with scaling-ladders to the weakest point; these were to be followed by two thousand more, intended to draw off the attention of the Greeks, and induce them to quit their posts while the first party entered the town. Other divisions of the enemy were to advance simultaneously on every side. The signal for commencing the attack was made at five in the morning of the 25th, by firing a gun. A tremendous cannonade began along the whole Turkish line, and was as briskly answered by the Greeks. The escalading party contrived to approach within a few yards of the wall unperceived, and had even fixed some ladders, which enabled a few of the Turks to pass the parapet; these were, however, instantly cut down; two standard-bearers, who succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls, shared the same fate; all, in fact, who attempted to mount the wall were precipitated into the ditch; and as the Greeks felt that their existence depended on the issue of this struggle, they vied with each other in acts of valour and boldness. Though short, the conflict which followed was both desperate and sanguinary, for, when daylight broke, the whole of the glacis was seen covered with the dead. Though the Turks now perceived that they had nothing to hope from prolonging the contest, numbers continued to advance for the purpose of carrying off their dead companions, not one of whom was suffered to escape. The infidels lost above twelve

hundred men and nine stands of colours in this affair; while, incredible as it may appear, the utmost loss of the Greeks was only six killed and about thirty wounded. Such was the result of an attack, upon the success of which the Turkish chief calculated so fully, that he assured those around him it was his intention to dine at Messolunghi on the great anniversary of the Christians. The immediate effect of this signal discomfiture was that of making the rising general throughout the neighbouring provinces. Those who had entertained any dread of the enemy before, were now quite disengaged from their fears; and bands were formed in all directions to cut off their retreat whenever they attempted to recross the mountains. The only fear entertained by Mavrokordato was, lest the Turks should flee before the arming of the peasantry had been completed. On the other hand, it required all the efforts of the chiefs to prevent their men from sallying forth at once, and grappling with the whole of the infidel army on the plain.

"Omer Vrioni, having sent Varnachiotti to Xeromeros, in order to procure provisions and forage, received a letter on the 31st from the traitor, informing him that Rongo, whom Omer had sent into Valtos for the same object, had abandoned the cause he had feigned to espouse, the more effectually to deceive the enemy, and that, at the head of three thousand men, he was marching to cut off Omer's retreat by Langoda; that the people of Xeromeros had taken arms in spite of all his influence; and that the Prince of Maina, at the head of fifteen hundred men, had just driven the Turks from Dragomeste, and was advancing to occupy the defiles by which the Pasha could alone effect his retreat to Vonizza. The Turks, whose characteristic is fear, were so panic-struck by this intel-

ligence, that it had not reached the camp two hours before their retreat commenced with the greatest disorder. This was so sudden and precipitate, that they left the whole of their artillery, consisting of eight fine pieces of brass cannon, with a complete field-train and tumbrils, two howitzers, ammunition, and camp-equipage, together with a large quantity of provisions and all the baggage. To increase their embarrassment, the infidels were scarcely in motion, when a detachment of five hundred men sallied from the town, and overtaking their rear-guard at Kerasova, killed a great number. On reaching the Acheron, its waters were so swollen by the continued rains, that the enemy could not pass, so that they now found themselves enclosed on every side and without provisions. It was while the infidels were in this situation and meditating the means of escape, that a large division of the Greeks under Marco Bozzaris appeared marching towards them. Such was the effect of this movement, that the Turks, more panic-struck than ever, determined to attempt the passage of the river, rather than risk a battle. They accordingly plunged into the stream, and several hundreds were drowned in crossing, while those who did not adopt this perilous mode of saving themselves, were under the necessity of surrendering as prisoners to the Suliot chief. Having gained the right bank of the Acheron, the Turkish hordes had fresh enemies to contend with at every step, in the armed peasantry of Xeromeros, Váltos, and the other districts through which their line of retreat lay; so that, of the large force brought into Acarnania only three months before, not more than half the number escaped; nor did the fugitives stop before they reached Arta and Anacori, beyond the passes of Macronoros.

"With respect to Mavrokordato, whose firmness

and perseverance during this most arduous period are above all praise, he was now enabled to realise his favourite plan of civil organization. local junta being formed at Messolunghi, measures were immediately adopted for carrying the Law of Epidaurus into effect throughout Acarnania and Etolia. Arrangements were also made for re-organising the military system of the provinces. The importance of Messolunghi being now more apparent than ever, it was determined that a moment should not be lost in remodelling its dilapidated fortifications. The completion of this task was considered so urgent, that, in addition to the regular working-parties, the inhabitants, of whom considerable numbers returned after the retreat of the enemy, were called upon to assist in throwing up the new works. This call being readily obeyed, they proceeded with such alacrity and spirit that, in less than three months, Messolunghi was placed in a state of perfect security from all future attacks. These important objects accomplished, the President re-embarked with all the troops that were not required for the defence of the town, and crossed over to the Peloponnesus, where he arrived in the early part of April, after an absence of ten months."

We must now return to the state of affairs in the Peninsula. Soon after the departure of Mavrokordato for Western Greece, the seat of government was again removed to Argos, a small garrison only being left to defend the Acro-Corinthus. No more striking proof of the weakness or incompetency of the new Government could be given, than its neglecting to secure this important post, which a small force, well provisioned, might have defended against all the power of Turkey. Either through want of means or of foresight, it was alike unfurnished with ammunition, engineers, and

provisions; and on the approach of the Turkish army, the Hydriot papas who had been entrusted with the defence, whether through pusillanimity or treason, fled without making an effort to maintain the post confided to his charge.*

It was towards the end of May 1822, that Khourshid Pasha, having finally resigned the conduct of the war in Western Greece into the hands of Omer Vrionis, put himself at the head of the army which had been for some time collecting at Larissa and Zetouni. These forces consisted of about 30,000 troops of the Porte, more than a third of whom were cavalry, and between ten and twelve thousand horse furnished by the great feudatories of Roumeli, besides the personal guards of the respective pashas. The month of June had elapsed before the preparations for passing the Spercheius were completed. At length, the order to advance being given, the cavalry dashed forward, leaving the artillery and infantry far behind, and crossed the ridges of Othrys and Œta without opposition; although Odysseus had successfully opposed a large army of Turks at the passes of Callidromus and Cnemis the preceding year.† The consequences of

* Previously to his evacuation of the Acro-Corinthus, he caused Kiamil Bey to be put to death, on the charge of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, or, according to another version of the story, for refusing to disclose where he had concealed his treasures. The secret, it is said, was subsequently revealed by his widow to Mahmoud Pasha, who married her after his retreat from Argos.

† "Whether the inactivity of Odhyssefs on this occasion arose from a spirit of opposition to the central government, with which he had had some recent disagreement, or whether he calculated that, by allowing the enemy to spread over a larger tract of country, the Greeks would have it in their power to intercept his communications, and to harass him in detail with better effect, is perhaps known only to Odhvssefs himself. His courage and ability had

his negligence or policy, although at first alarming, proved ultimately beneficial to the Greeks.

The Turkish army, having crossed Phocis and Bœotia, "plundering, burning, and murdering, while they published the amnesty of the Porte," arrived at Corinth without having met with any resistance. Elated by the surrender of that important fortress, they advanced in full security to occupy the Argolic plain, and to open a communication with the garrison of Napoli, which had already (in the end of June) agreed to deliver up the place, if they should not be relieved within forty days. As soon as the enemy entered the Argolis, the Vice-president Canacari, with the other members of the Executive, deemed it expedient to take refuge in a neighbouring island, and to abandon the entire management of the contest to the military leaders. On this occasion, Demetrius Ypsilanti displayed a courage and resolution which did him honour. Without money or provisions, having scarcely 1,300 men to oppose to an army of 30,000, he threw himself into the ruined citadel of Argos, in order to check the progress of this formidable enemy.

In the mean time, Kolokotroni had, on the 6th of July, suddenly raised the blockade of Patras without orders, and had proceeded with all his forces to Tripolitza, leaving the Turkish garrison at liberty either to penetrate into the Morea or to cross the Gulf of Lepanto. Whatever were his reasons for this extraordinary step,* it excited at the time the astonish-

hitherto been eminently useful to the cause of his country. He soon afterwards opposed Khurshid himself at the head of the reserve of the Turkish army with success; and has since repeatedly shewn how formidable a barrier to the South of Greece the Œtæan passes are in his hands."—Leake, p. 88.

* It is not likely that this step should have been taken without some urgent motive; and if Kolokotroni had obtained intelligence

ment as well as displeasure of the Government: so little concert or intelligence was there between the civil and military authorities. Scarcely had he been a week in his new quarters, when he received intelligence that the Turkish army had advanced to the walls of Corinth. And now, if his conduct had before seemed equivocal, it was marked by the greatest firmness and presence of mind, and his subsequent efforts entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his countrymen. The utmost force he could muster did not exceed 2000 men. Forming this small corps into two divisions, he sent the larger, consisting of 1,200 men under the command of his most confidential officer, Coliopulo, to occupy the passes between Corinth and Argos, while with the remainder he advanced into Argolis. After communicating with *Ypsilanti*, he intrenched himself at Lerna, a strong position on the western shore of the Gulf, to wait the arrival of reinforcements from Maina, Arcadia, and other points. Here he was eventually joined by Prince Demetrius, who, leaving by night the dilapidated fortress into which he had thrown himself, and which was entirely destitute of water, succeeded in joining the main body without losing a man.

The Turkish army, commanded by Mahmoud, Pasha of Drama, occupied all the eastern part of the Argolic plain, and Mahmoud entered Napoli; but here ended his progress. So far from having brought supplies to the starving garrison of that fortress, the Ottomans had advanced without providing any means of subsist-

of the preparations making by the Ottomans, this might explain and justify his conduct. It is equally probable, that his troops began to want provisions or to murmur for pay, and that, in proceeding to Tripolitza, his object was to call together the senate, which, in fact, was subsequently formed here after the embarkation of the executive.

ence for themselves, fondly expecting that the Greeks would suffer the produce of the harvest to fall into their hands. In vain they now looked for the Turkish fleet to furnish supplies.* Threatened with all the horrors of famine and drought, it soon became impossible for the Pasha to continue in his position, or longer to delay his retreat towards Corinth. No sooner were the orders given, and the baggage-camels laden, than the Moslem army set forward in great disorder. Minutely informed by their outposts of what was passing in the plain, the Greek chiefs at Lerna had already sent off detachments by a mountain pathway, so as to overtake the retreating columns as they entered the defiles between Mycene and Corinth. "Kolokotroni himself advanced with the main body, the moment he perceived that the Turks were in motion; while a part of the troops employed before Napoli advanced on their right flank. These movements were so well contrived and executed, that the enemy, whose rear-guard had suffered severely on the first day's march, was attacked with such impetuosity on the second, that not fewer than five thousand were destroyed in the course of a few hours; and had it not been that many of the Greek soldiery paid more attention to the loaded camels than to the fugitives, the loss of the Turks would have been much greater. The fate of the advanced guard was little better than that of their companions. On reaching the defiles near Corinth, they were met by the Mainotes despatched from Lerna, under Niketas, and attacked so furiously, that above twelve hundred of them perished in the first onset. Many more were killed in trying

* Its detention on the coast of Asia had prevented its timely co-operation with the army.

to force the passes. A great quantity of baggage and a number of horses fell into the hands of the Greeks. These memorable successes occurred between the 4th and 7th of August. Some of the foreign volunteers who were present during this retreat, have expressed their astonishment at the tranquil manner in which the Turks, both infantry and cavalry, suffered themselves to be cut down, without making the smallest resistance, as if they had looked upon themselves as consigned to death by some supernatural power.

"Having collected the remnant of his army under the walls of Corinth, and been joined by the reserves left there, Mahmoud Pasha made a movement on the 18th, with the seeming view of resuming the offensive and marching towards Argos: the real object of this movement was, however, to draw the Greeks, who had been watching him, into an ambuscade. Aware of his intentions in time, the Greeks, instead of attempting to impede him, got into his rear, when the Turks attacked them, but, owing to the advantageous position taken up by the Greeks, the enemy was again repulsed with great loss. A still more bloody affair took place on the following day. Determined to regain the position they had abandoned, the Turkish troops were headed by Hadji Ali, second in command to Mahmoud; this officer, one of the bravest of the Ottoman army, was killed while encouraging his men. In the above desperate effort, the enemy lost nearly two thousand men, together with a large quantity of baggage and several hundred horses."*

* Blaquiere, pp. 218—20. Mr. Waddington states, that he possesses a copy of the letter from Niketas to Odysseus, giving an account of this affair, in which he estimates his own loss at fifteen killed and wounded, and eight missing; that of the Turks at 4,500. "The Mussulman rode into the passes, with his sabre in

The Greeks unfortunately had no means of following up these successes. Their troops, not being regularly supplied with rations, and receiving no pay, became so tired of the service that great numbers deserted. The fugitive Government was loudly censured, although it is doubtful whether they had it in their power to remedy these evils. In the altercations which ensued on their return to Lerna, the members of the Executive were prevented from resuming their functions for some weeks. In the mean time, the senate had been called together at Tripolitza; and with them, as the only efficient organ, Kolokotroni now proceeded to concert measures for providing for the subsistence of the troops and for the vigorous prosecution of the campaign. Ypsilanti left the Argolis for Athens, to re-inforce the garrison there; but, on finding that the enemy did not attempt to approach that place, he returned to the Peninsula, and rejoined Kolokotroni and Niketas, who were blockading Napoli.

"The sufferings and privations of the Greek soldiers," Mr. Blaquiere says, "whether employed before Napoli or in the passes, during November and the following month, were of the most harassing description. They had no shelter whatever at night, though exposed to the piercing cold and incessant storms which prevail on the mountains of Greece at this period, and without any other covering than the rude Albanian mantle; while the daily ration of each man did not exceed half a pound of the coarsest bread.

the sheath and his hands before his eyes, the victim of destiny. And if the Greeks, from fear or neglect, had not left one road entirely unoccupied, by which most of the enemy escaped, the whole of the Ottoman army might have fallen on that spot. The name of the pass most fatal to the invader is *Dervenaki*: it lies on the principal road from Argos to Corinth."—WADDINGTON, p. 144.

Those stationed at the *Dervenachi* were frequently obliged to march over rocks and inaccessible crags from daylight till dark, and not unfrequently during the night. Nor was the situation of the blockading force before Napoli much better: it was very rare for these to have their arms out of their hands, while they were either exposed to chilling blasts on the heights, or inundated with rain on the plain below. It is true, the sufferings of the Greeks here were trifling when compared with those of the Turkish garrison, which had been reduced to the last extremity of want, for some weeks before its capitulation. Nor was it until all the horses were consumed, and that many of the wretched soldiery were driven to the horrible necessity of subsisting on the carcases of their fellow-sufferers, that those charged with the defence of the Palamida, or citadel, built by the Venetians on a mountain which overlooks the town, suffered themselves to be surprised by a party of Greeks, without making the least resistance. On scaling the wall, there were not more than thirty men found in that part of the fortress, and these had nearly the appearance of skeletons. Hearing that the Greeks had entered, the remainder of the Turks descended into the town by a covered way. Notwithstanding the dreadful condition of the garrison, Ali Bey hesitated to enter into terms, even after he discovered that the Palamida had been carried. But there was now no choice between immediate destruction and surrendering. The gates were therefore opened, on condition that the lives of the prisoners should be saved, and that they should be transported to the coast of Asia Minor by the Provisional Government. Pursuant to the terms thus arranged, the Greeks took possession of this highly important place on the 11th of January,

the anniversary of St. Andreas, the patron saint of the Morea; a circumstance which could not fail greatly to enhance the value of the triumph in the eyes of the people.

"The surrender of Napoli led to another triumph on the part of the Greeks, destined to form the last portion of that terrible fate which had awaited the army of Mahmoud Pasha. The object of the division which remained at Corinth being to relieve the garrison of the above place, there was no longer any motive for its continuance there. Want of provisions had, besides, rendered a change of position absolutely necessary. The Turkish commanders, therefore, determined to march towards Patras, the blockade of which place had been lately neglected by the Greeks. Setting out about the middle of January, with nearly 3000 men, of whom a large portion was cavalry, they had only advanced as far as Akrata, near Vostizza, when Lundo, who was returning from Messolunghi with a small body of troops, appeared on a height through which the road lay, while the infidels were reposing in a deep valley, and thus suddenly stopped their progress. There being no attempt made to force a passage, the Greek general had ample time to send off expresses for reinforcements, and was shortly joined by Petmezza, another distinguished chief, who occupied the opposite side of the valley. A new scene of horror was thus prepared for the devoted Turkish soldiers. Their scanty stock of bread being exhausted, they began to feed on the horses; when the whole of these were devoured, recourse was had to the herbs which grew on the surrounding rocks; having subsequently attempted to derive sustenance from their saddles, they were at last obliged to follow the shocking example furnished at Malvasia and Napoli. The

blockade had continued for nearly three weeks, when Odysseus, who had joined the other chiefs with about 200 men, chanced to recognise an old acquaintance in one of the two beys who commanded the Turks: negotiations were entered into, by which those who survived obtained permission to embark, on condition of giving up their arms and effects."

The remaining operations of the Turkish fleet in this year were equally inglorious. After the destruction of the Turkish admiral's ship by Canaris in the roads of Scio, the fleet proceeded to Patras, where it took on board the officer appointed to succeed the Capitan Pasha, and disembarked a small body of troops. It then sailed for the eastern coast of the Morea; but, long before it could reach the Argolic Gulf, the army of Mahmoud Pasha had been defeated, and had taken shelter under the guns of Napoli and Corinth. It was not till the end of September that it arrived near Spetzia, where it was met by a great number of Greek vessels. Unable to use their fire-ships in the open sea, the Greeks did not venture to approach the heavy artillery of the Turks, and the latter were equally afraid to venture into the narrow extremity of the Gulf near Napoli. Instead of entering it, therefore, the Turkish admiral sent in two vessels, which were intercepted long before they could reach the town. He then sailed to Crete, and thence to Tenedos, where, in the middle of November, he was attacked, while at anchor, by the same enterprising Ipsariot, Constantine Canaris, who had burned the ship of his predecessor. On this occasion, however, the Capitan Pasha's ship escaped, and it was another that suffered. After some further losses from the weather, the remainder of the fleet sought safety in the Dardanelles; and thus ignominiously closed the naval campaign.

Such was the termination of the second campaign, on the results of which the Porte had fondly calculated for re-establishing its iron despotism in Greece. The loss of the Turks in the Morea alone, by famine and the sword, is supposed to have been not less than 25,000 men; while of the large force which invaded Acarnania, amounting to between 13 and 14,000 men, it is supposed that not more than one half escaped. By the destruction of Scio, they had excited a spirit which could be subdued only by the extermination of the nation; and this was their only conquest. They still retained possession, indeed, of all the fortresses of the Morea except two, with just so much of the level country of Northern Greece as their posts at Larissa, Lamia, and the Euripus could command. "In other respects, their embarrassments were increasing. The Porte found great difficulty in equipping its fleet, and it had resorted to such violent measures for sustaining its finances, that the piastre, which not many years before had been equivalent to an English shilling, was reduced in value to 5½*d*.

"But, on the other hand," continues Col. Leake, "the wealth of the commercial islands and towns of Greece were equally exhausted by the exertions which had been made since the beginning of the contest: some of the powers of continental Europe continued to regard the insurrection as part of a general conspiracy against established governments; the others refused all countenance to the insurgents; and individual charity was very inadequate to supply the wants of a people in the situation of the Greeks. Hence they were unable to retain in their service, or to satisfy even the most moderate expectations of the numerous military men of experience, who had been left in idleness in every part of Europe by the general

peace, and who were anxious for employment in Greece. They were unable even to take into the service of Government their own private ships, by which all their naval efforts had been made, or to execute the repairs of a two years' war for them; so that the number of those ships in a state to oppose the enemy was considerably diminished. Still less could they organise an artillery, or create a corps of infantry, under the orders and in the pay of the Executive, without which it was impossible for the Government to follow any improved plan of military operations, or even to establish a national treasury, collect the taxes, and administer, for the benefit of the revenue, all that large portion of the property of the insurgent districts, which, having formerly belonged to the Turks or their government, was now confiscated to the state. A government without a treasury, a marine, or an army, was of course little better than a cipher." *

The second Greek congress was summoned by the Executive to meet at Astros, a small town on the maritime frontier of Argolis and Laconia, in the month of April 1823. So great was the anxiety of the people to participate in the deliberations, that, in addition to the prescribed number of representatives, no fewer than fifty delegates were sent from different parts, to be present at the national congress; and besides the soldiery, a large concourse was drawn to the spot. The meetings commenced on the 10th of April, and were held in a garden under the shade of orange-trees. The deputies and delegates amounted altogether to nearly 300. The ancient Bey of Maina, Mavromikhali, was named president of the congress.

* Leake's Outline, pp. 97, 8. Canacari, the vice-president, died at Castries in January 1823

Its first act was to appoint a commission, composed of seven members, to revise the "Law of Epidaurus," with power to make such alterations as might seem necessary. The modifications proposed having been agreed upon, the Provisional Constitution was solemnly ratified and re-promulgated, under the title of the "Law of Epidaurus," as the political code of Greece. Its next important act was, to dissolve the local juntas of Epirus, Livadia, and the Islands, and to declare all the provinces and islands immediately dependent upon the General Government. By a third decree it was enacted, that the powers of the *archistrategia* (generalissimo) and of the *archinavarchia* (admiral-in-chief) should severally last only during the expedition in which they might be employed, on the termination of which they should return to their original military rank. The military code of France, with a few modifications, was provisionally adopted as the law of the confederacy. A proposal was made to introduce into the juridical administration the trial by jury; but this was overruled, and a committee of nine was appointed to compile from the Basilics and the Code Napoleon, such penal laws as might appear most suitable and requisite. The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was referred to the minister of religion, who was to consult the clergy and make his report to the government.* The Congress then proceeded to nominate Petro-bey Mavromikhalis president of the executive; Kolokotroni was chosen vice-president, and George Conduriotti, of Hydra, was

* "They decreed the abolition, in the meantime, of imprisonment and the bastinado, which the members of the higher clergy were accustomed to inflict on the secular priests before the revolution, declaring those usages to be barbarous and tyrannical."—POUQUEVILLE, tom. iv. p. 313.

elected president of the senate.* Odysseus, Goura, Panouria, and the two Hyoldaches, were named *strat-archs* of Eastern Greece; Constantine Metaxas was made eparch of Messolonghi; and Emanuel Tombazis was re-appointed *harmostis* (captain-general) of Crete. The Congress concluded its functions on the 30th of April, by issuing a declaration, in which they re-asserted the national independence, and returned thanks to the land and sea forces for their noble efforts during the two preceding campaigns.

The promulgation of this address was followed by the immediate transfer of the executive and legislative bodies to Tripolitza, where the seat of government was established for the present, and immediate steps were taken for opening the third campaign. For this, however, they were but slenderly provided with resources. "As the invasion of the Morea, and the operations in Acarnania, had rendered it impossible for the people to cultivate the grounds, little could be expected from the ensuing harvest; an arrangement, however, was made, by which the national property and the forthcoming crops, estimated at twelve millions of Turkish piasters, were farmed out for about a third of that sum; and this, together with a few millions furnished by the patriotic zeal of individuals, was all that the Greek government had, with which to enter the field a third time against the whole military and naval power of the Ottoman empire." †

Early in the summer, before the Greek navy could be brought to act, a powerful Turkish fleet had, with-

* The other members of the executive council were, Andrea Metaxa, Sotiri Charalambi, and Zaimi; the latter a captain, but a constitutionalist.

† Blaquiere, p. 263. "The collecting of the contributions in every part of Greece, except the islands, and with it all real power,

out opposition, conveyed supplies and reinforcements to the fortresses still held by the Turks in Negropont, the Morea, and Crete. The object of the Porte seems to have been, as in the preceding campaign, to make a simultaneous attack upon the northern coast of the Morea from Eastern and from Western Greece. An army of 25,000 men having been assembled at Larissa early in June, it was formed into two divisions, intended to act at separate points. One of these, under Yusuff Pasha, marched towards Thermopylæ; while the other, under Mustafa Pasha, proceeded to the pass of Neopatra near Zeitouni. The Greeks posted at the latter point were too weak to attempt resistance, so that the enemy advanced into Livadia unopposed, and encamped at Necropolis on the 20th of June, to await the result of Yusuff's operations. This Pasha, after laying waste the whole country round Parnassus and Livadia, and setting fire to Rachova and Delphi, at length received a check from the armatoli bands under Odysseus and Niketas, who joined their forces at Dobrena. A system of guerrilla warfare was now commenced, by which the Turks were so harassed, that they soon retreated in the greatest disorder, pursued by the Greeks, who killed great numbers, and took a large quantity of their baggage. Odysseus then pushed forward to attack the division under Mustafa Pasha, which he forced to take refuge in Negropont, leaving behind most of its baggage and military stores. In the autumn, the Turks found themselves under the necessity of withdrawing a part of their forces into Thessaly, while

still remained in the hands of the illiterate chieftains of the land forces, who, though brave and sincere in the cause, were too ignorant to see the necessity of giving way to others for the general advantage."—LEAKE, p. 99.

with the remainder they cruelly persecuted and plundered the inhabitants of Eubœa, "who the less deserved it, as they had hitherto been slow in joining the insurrection."* The Osmanlys were, however, soon followed into this island by Odysseus, who, having been speedily joined by some of the Thessalian armatoli, and assisted by reinforcements landed from the Greek fleet, compelled the enemy, before the winter, to retreat behind the walls of Carystus and the Euripus. After these successes, which removed all apprehension of any new attack on the side of Corinth, Niketas proceeded to Salona, to concert measures for the defence of that place.

In Western Greece, the management of the war was entrusted by the Porte to Mustafa, Pasha of Scutari, with Yusuff, Pasha of Serres (*Sirræ*), as his second in command. The whole of July had passed away before a sufficient force could be collected to take the field. At length, at the head of 8000 troops, chiefly Albanians, collected at Prevesa, Yusuff took up a position at Ponda (near the ancient Actium), where he awaited the arrival of the Pasha of Scutari. No sooner, however, had the Albanians received the allowances usually made before entering the field, than they mutinied and deserted in a body; the Pasha being compelled to consult his personal safety by embarking for Patras. This defection is said to have been either instigated or encouraged by Omer Vrionis, who had taken offence, and perhaps alarm, at the preference given to Yusuff Pasha, and determined to deprive him of all means of co-operating with Mustafa. The Albanian deserters passed round the Gulf and through the Makrinoro without any molestation from the Greeks,

* Leake, p. 105.

and the greater part ranged themselves under the standard of Omer Pasha, who took post at Lepanore, on the right of the Acheron.

The Greeks were not idle spectators of this transaction. Marco Botzaris and Joncas of Agrafa were stationed with 1,200 men at Katochi between Messolonghi and Vonitza. On reaching Patras, Yusuff despatched a body of troops to Crionero, with orders to attack them in flank. Apprised of their landing, the Suliot chief fell on the Moslems, and having either killed or captured the greater part, drove the rest to their boats. But a more formidable enemy having crossed the ridge of Agrafa, was on the point of entering Acarnania, and Botzaris resolved to dispute his passage. To effect this object, it was necessary to undertake one of those extraordinary forced marches by which, during the present contest, the Greeks have so frequently secured the victory. On the 19th of August, Mustafa Pasha, at the head of 14,000 men, had encamped on an extensive plain near Karpenisi. The Greeks could scarcely number 2000. Undaunted by such fearful odds, Botzaris proposed in council, a night attack on the enemy, and called upon those who were ready to die for their country to stand forward. The appeal was answered, and having selected 300 palikars, chiefly Suliots, to act immediately about his own person, Botzaris directed that the remainder of the troops should be formed into three divisions, for the purpose of assailing the enemy's camp at different points, while, with his chosen band, he penetrated to the centre. That this might be simultaneous, not a shot was to be fired nor a sword drawn till they heard the sound of his bugle. Every thing being prepared by midnight, his last directions were, "If you lose sight of me, come and seek me in the Pasha's tent."

Botzaris succeeded in deceiving the Turkish sentinels, by telling them, in Albanian, that he came with reinforcements from Omer Vrionis. On reaching the centre of the camp, he sounded his bugle, and the attack commenced on every side. The enemy, panic-struck, opposed an ineffectual resistance; and by daylight, the struggle had terminated, leaving the Greeks in possession of the Turkish camp, with eighteen standards, a great quantity of baggage and ammunition, a number of horses, and some thousand head of oxen. The loss of the Turks must have been very considerable; that of the Greeks was numerically small,—it is said, only thirty killed and seventy wounded; but the victory, decisive and important as it was, was dearly bought with the life of the heroic Marco Botzaris. Just as he had ordered the Pasha to be seized, his voice being recognised, he received a ball in the loins: he continued, however, to animate his men, until wounded a second time in the head, when he fell, and was borne from the field of his glory.* The command of the troops was devolved by acclamation on Constantine Botzaris, the hero's elder brother.

Notwithstanding these checks, the Pasha of Scutari was enabled, by superiority of numbers, to overcome at length all opposition on the part of the armatoli posted in the defiles, and to effect a junction, in the end of September, with the troops of Omer Pasha in the Ætolian plain, where they speedily established a communication with Patras and the Turkish squadron in the Gulf. They then penetrated through the defiles of Mount Aracynthus, and Messolonghi was again

* No chief stood higher in the estimation of his countrymen, for bravery, disinterestedness, and simplicity of character; and his loss was justly considered as irreparable at this crisis.

threatened with a siege. Early in October, the small town of Anatoliko, built on a neck of land at the eastern extremity of the gulf to which it gives name, about three leagues from Messolonghi, was closely invested by the Albanian army. An old dilapidated wall, with a ditch filled up in several places, was the only defence of the town; yet, for three weeks, the Turks continued to fire shot and shells into the place, without making any impression on the garrison, till their ammunition and provisions were alike exhausted,*

* The number of shot and shells thrown into the town, according to Mr. Blaquiere, was estimated at 2,600; yet, only about fifty Greeks were killed or wounded; while the Turks are represented to have lost above 400 in different sorties and skirmishes, besides 1,200 by the distemper. A very remarkable circumstance is mentioned by Mr. Blaquiere as occurring during this siege. "Being aware that there was neither water nor cisterns in the town, one of the first measures of the Turks was to possess themselves of the fountain on Terra Firma, at a distance of nearly two miles, where the inhabitants had always drawn their supplies; so that the blockade had not continued many days, before those who remained were in the greatest distress, and would have been forced to surrender, had not a small supply been occasionally sent from this place during the night. But every further hope was destroyed by the enemy placing a strong post and battery close to the narrow channel through which the boats had to pass, so that the garrison looked forward to their immediate destruction as inevitable, for the town was hemmed in on every side, and had been without any communication with Messolonghi for several days, when a shell from a ten-inch mortar, entering the front of St. Michael's church, and penetrating the flagged pavement, lighted on a source of excellent water! What adds to the singularity of the circumstance is, that a few women and children who continued in the town (for the greater part had been sent hither) took up their abode in the church, as the most secure asylum, and were in it when the shell entered, without receiving the least injury. With respect to the water thus miraculously discovered, it was not only most abundant, but fully equal in quality to that of the fountain of which the enemy had taken possession. It is needless to say that this fortunate coincidence was regarded as a miracle in every sense of the word; that it saved Anatolico there is no doubt."—BLAQUIERE's *Second Visit*, p. 44.

and an epidemic fever broke out in the Pasha's army, which proved the best ally of the besieged. At length, on the 19th of November, Mustafa commenced a disorderly retreat towards Albania, leaving behind a number of guns and a considerable quantity of baggage. Omer Pasha once more retired to his positions on the Ambracic Gulf; and a small squadron from Hydra and Spetzia about the same time relieved Messolonghi from its naval blockade.

The garrison of Corinth had, in the mean time, obstinately rejected every overture to surrender, though frequently reduced to great distress for provisions, till the latter end of October, when, there being no longer any hope of succours from the Capitan Pasha, they capitulated to Staiko of Argos and Giorgaki Kizzo, who were maintaining the blockade, and were allowed to embark on board some Austrian vessels which conveyed them to Smyrna.* The Turkish admiral, on his return to the Dardanelles, was met by a Hydriot squadron under Miaulis, and sustained some damage, together with the loss of one of his ships of war. A convoy proceeding from Salonika to the Euripus, was about the same time attacked by the Greeks in the Bay of Opus, and suffered great loss. Descents were made during the autumn by the Greek navarchs on the coasts of Macedonia and Asia Minor, which served as useful diversions, detaining the Turkish forces in those quarters. In Samos also, and in Crete, the war was prosecuted with considerable

* Mr. Blaquiere states, that Kolokotroni and one or two other chiefs, hearing of the intended negotiation, repaired to the spot with a view to participate in the spoils; but the Turks refused to open the gates to any but the individuals mentioned in the text, and Kolokotroni, disappointed and mortified, was obliged to retrace his steps to Tripolitza. Giorgaki is brother to Vasilika, the favourite wife of Ali Pasha of Ioannina.

success on the part of the insurgents. Upon the whole, the campaign of 1823 was alike disastrous and inglorious to the Turks. After a three years' contest, unaided Greece was still so far from being conquered, that not a single step had been gained towards suppressing the insurrection.

On the other hand, the strong fortress of Egripo, on which the security of Eastern Greece mainly depends, together with Lepanto and Patras, which give the naval command of the Gulf of Corinth, being still in the hands of the Turks, the Greeks were far from having gained possession of the country.* Their excessive ignorance in the art of war, their want of union, and their poverty, had hitherto precluded their making good their claims to be recognised as a free and independent nation. The want of a treasury more especially had presented an insuperable obstacle to improvements in the conduct both of their civil and their military affairs, while the unhappy dissensions between the executive and legislative bodies threatened to occasion the ruin of the cause.

It has already been mentioned that, by the Congress of Astros, Petro-bey and Kolokotroni were made president and vice-president of the Executive Council (Εκτελεστικον), in the room of Mavrokordato and Canacaris. Having thus at once the civil and military powers in their hands, they soon reduced the Senate (Βουλευτικον Σωμα) to total imbecility. The latter attempted, indeed, to preserve its authority, and was engaged, during the remainder of the year, in checking

* "Nothing," remarks Colonel Leake, "can more strongly shew the inefficiency of the military government of Greece, than that a post so contemptible as the castle of Patras should have held out for three years after its investment by the Peloponnesian armatoli."

the abuses of the military government. But two successive presidents, Conduriotti and Mavrokordato, having been compelled to flee to Hydra, the Senate, supported by the islands and naval leaders, came to an open rupture with the Executive. The immediate occasion of the disagreement is thus stated. The seat of government had been removed from Tripolitza to Napoli, where it became necessary that at least three members of the Executive Council should reside, that number being required to form a quorum. Kolokotroni and Petro-bey, however, were with the army, when Metaxa,* one of the other three members of the supreme council, withdrew himself to Carilis, thus leaving the Executive in a state of political incompetency. For this act he was arraigned by the legislative body, and expelled, Coletti being named as his successor. The minister of finance was in like manner displaced, for having, without any authority, established a salt monopoly; and four representatives were also dismissed for not attending their duties when called on to do so. Irritated at these vigorous proceedings, the other members of the Executive sent Niketas and young Kolokotroni with two hundred men to Argos, whither the legislative body had transferred their session, to enforce an explanation. They

* Andrea Metaxa is a Cefalonian, who, together with his brother Constantine, (the defender of Anatolico in 1823,) passed over into the Morea at the beginning of the insurrection, and became outlawed by the Ionian Government. They appear to have been Hetarists, and publicly avowed their connexion with Ypsilanti. They were consequently, as well as Kolokotroni, decidedly anti-Anglican. "Metaxa," writes Col. Stanhope, "is a sly politician, who has injured his country and raised himself by his cunning. He is Pano's adviser." "Coray cuts up Metaxa for his petition to the Pope, in which he places Greece at the disposal of the Holy Alliance.' Mr. Blaquiere represents Metaxa as the prime-mover of the senseless quarrels.—STANHOPE'S *Greece*, p. 172; 182. WADDINGTON, p. 191.

found the assembly sitting, and proceeded to demand the reason of their removing Metaxa and the finance-minister from their offices. Niketas is said to have threatened to make law with his sword, and the affair ended by his directing the soldiers to seize the archives of the legislative body. They were fortunately recovered the same evening by a *capitanos* named Zacharapoulo, who had the address to intoxicate the principal officers, and then rob them with impunity of their spoil. The majority of the legislative body then transferred their sittings to Kranidi, at the extremity of the Argolic peninsula, near Spezzia. Here they issued a proclamation, protesting against the lawless act; and having previously summoned and deposed Petro-bey and Charalambi,* they proceeded to nominate in their room the Hydriote, Conduriotti, (as president,) and

* Kolokotroni, Mr. Waddington states, had voluntarily resigned some months before. The following are stated to be the charges of which the deposed members of the executive were found guilty by a commission of nine of the legislative body. "1. For having misapplied the funds of the land and sea forces. 2. For having allowed two members to carry on the functions of the executive. 3. For promoting officers contrary to law. 4. For having sold the cannon taken at Napoli without consulting the representatives. 5. For uniting the cantons of St. Pierre and Prastos without consulting the legislative body. 6. For selling Turkish slaves contrary to law. 7. For having proclaimed the sale of the national property without the consent of the legislative body. 8. For allowing the finance-minister to establish a monopoly of salt. 9. For sending M. Metaxa, a member of the executive, to Carilis, and leaving the supreme body of the state with only two persons, and from that period having avoided all correspondence with the legislative body. 10. For having allowed M. Metaxa to act as a member of the executive after he had been sentenced to dismissal by a commission of the legislative body. 11. For not having acknowledged M. Coletti as a member of the executive after he had been chosen by the legislative body. 12. For having allowed an armed body to depart from Napoli, and to act against the legislative body at Argos."—STANHOPE, p. 107.

Boutasi, a Spezziote ;* Coletti being already appointed in the room of Metaxa.† The minority, consisting chiefly of Moreote members, retired to Tripolitza, the residence of Kolokotroni and the other ex-ministers.‡ These events appear to have occurred in December 1823.

The main support of the constitution now rested on the Islanders, upon whom had fallen the principal expenses of the war ; for the Morea had not contributed its quota towards defraying them, owing, as was suspected, to the private extortion or embezzlements of the captains, which was one reason of the hostility between the mili-

* Since deceased.

† "Of these" (the members of the executive), "John Coletti, a physician by profession, and, as such, formerly in the pay of Ali Pasha, is by far the most clever and intelligent. Of his sterling patriotism, however, there are few in the Morea, or even among his own countrymen, who are not rather sceptical. The exactions which have been carried on in Romelia by his agents and with his approbation, have rendered him odious to the people whom he represents; and his intriguing spirit, forbidding countenance, and repulsive manners, have gained him, both with the Moreotes and with foreigners, a character for cunning, avarice, and dangerous ambition. Nevertheless, his acknowledged abilities have given him such an ascendancy with the president and with the executive body, that he may be considered as the spring of its movements."—EMERSON'S *Journal*, p. 86.

‡ "I have presented myself three or four times at the levees of Colocotroni, and have received from him repeated assurances of his peculiar respect for the English nation, and his attachment to its individual members; and in fact, he immediately provided me with an excellent lodging, which I could not otherwise have procured. These professions amuse me the more, as the old hypocrite is notoriously anti-Anglican, and is continually and publicly accusing the British Government of designs to occupy and enslave the Morea. His manners, however, to do him justice, are utterly devoid of urbanity, and, like his countenance and dress, are precisely those which best become a distinguished captain of banditti. His court seems to consist of about fifteen capitani, who seat themselves on the sofa which lines three sides of his spacious hall; from the walls

tary and naval parties.* Napoli di Romania was still in the hands of the Moreotes, and Panos Kolokotroni, the eldest son of the old *archistrategia*, assumed there, under the title of phrourarch (commander of a garrison), an absolute authority. After the cession of this fortress had been frequently and vainly demanded, the Kranidiotes (as the constitutionalists were contemptuously called by the military party) determined to commence hostilities, and to reduce it to submission by blockade. A Hydriote and a Spezziote brig sufficiently enforced this by sea, while a party under Coliopulo

are suspended Turkish muskets, curiously inlaid, with many valuable pistols and sabres. His capitani are as filthy a crew as I ever beheld, and for the most part ill-looking and very meanly attired; but the most miserably-starving wretch that I have observed among them is a papas, or priest, bonneted and bearded, but still military. Their usual covering for the head is nothing more than the red cap of the country; but there are generally two or three of the party who think proper, from whatsoever feeling of vanity, to burden themselves with extremely large and shapeless turbans. Colocotroni takes little notice of any of them, and seldom rises at their entrance. The fourth side of the room is occupied by a number of soldiers, who remain standing. Upon some occasion, Colocotroni thought proper to command them to retire; they obeyed reluctantly and slowly, and in a very few minutes returned in parties of two or three, and re-occupied their station....Petro Bey is a fat, dull, well-looking personage, who is addicted to no particular class of political opinions, and appears peculiarly unenlightened by any sort of foreign information: he is understood to have made great progress (for an oriental) in the science of gastronomy; and is believed to be willing to embrace any form of government which will leave him riches, and give him peace, abundance, and security. It is then imagined that he would introduce French cookery among the Mainotes, as an excellent substitute for the indifferent potations of their Spartan ancestors." Demetrius Ypsilanti was also living here in perfect privacy.—WADDINGTON, pp. 150—2.

* "It had been rumoured," Mavrokordato said, "that Western Greece wished to separate her interests from those of the Morea. It was not so; but, if the latter possessed resources beyond her wants, it was but just that she should contribute to a war carried on for the defence of her outworks."—STANHOPE, p. 66.

occupied without bloodshed the country between Argos and the head of the Gulf. Panos, however, held out till an accommodation took place between the Tripolitza faction and the constitutionalists.

The misunderstanding between the executive and the legislative bodies was at its height, when, on the 12th of December, Col. Leicester Stanhope arrived at Messolonghi, as agent of the Greek Committee of London. On the 5th of January, 1824, he was followed by Lord Byron. His Lordship's arrival had long been looked for with intense interest, and he was received with military honours and an expression of popular enthusiasm. Mavrokordato had previously arrived from Hydra, being appointed by the legislative body to the government of Western Greece; and here he proceeded to summon a congress, consisting of the primates and captains of the province, at which some wise and salutary regulations were agreed upon. But the spring and the chief part of the summer passed away without any effective exertion. During the few months that Lord Byron survived his arrival in Greece, his wisest and noblest exertions were continually frustrated by the impracticability and ingratitude of the objects of his exertions.* He began by taking 500 Suliots into pay, and having been officially invested with the command of about 3000 troops, he projected

* "Some thought that he aimed at the monarchy of Greece; others, that he was an agent of Government, charged to buy the country; and almost all were convinced that he had some private design which would hereafter develop itself."—WADDINGTON, p. 175. "Lord Byron had acted towards them (the Suliots) with a degree of generosity that could not be exceeded; and then, when his plans were all formed for the attack of Lepanto, and his hopes were raised on the delivery of Western Greece from the inroads of the Turks, these ungrateful soldiers demanded, and extorted, and refused to march till all was settled to gratify their avarice."—STANHOPE, p. 116.

to conduct in person offensive operations against Lepanto. The Messolonghi Government, however, he soon found, had not the means of undertaking the siege: the treasury was empty, and the troops murmured for their arrears of pay. The Suliots readily accepted Lord Byron's money, but refused to march against Lepanto, saying that they would not fight against stone walls. Arta was afterwards mentioned as the object of an expedition better suited to the military taste of those wild mercenaries; but neither Arta nor Lepanto was molested. In the mean time, the Suliots quartered themselves on the citizens, by whom they were both hated and feared, refusing to quit the place till their arrears were paid. Many wanton murders were committed by them; and the persons even of Europeans not being deemed safe, several of the engineers and workmen, sent over by the Greek Committee, abandoned the service in disgust.* Colonel Stanhope appears to have accomplished nothing beyond establishing two newspapers, the Hellenic Chronicle and the Greek Telegraph; a measure deprecated by both Mavrokordato and Lord Byron, as at once unseasonable and dangerous.† After quarrelling with his noble countryman for declaiming against the wild projects of the liberals, and reproaching him as a Turk, the Colonel left Messolonghi towards the close of February for Eastern Greece, where he attached himself to the interests of Odysseus.

* Stanhope, pp. 87, 113, 118, 119, 120.

† "He (Lord B.) said, that he was an ardent friend of publicity and the press, but he feared that it was not applicable to this society in its present combustible state.···The Greek newspaper has done great mischief both in the Morea and in the Islands, as I represented both to Prince Mavrocordato and to Colonel Stanhope, that it would do in the *present* circumstances, unless great caution was observed."—STANHOPE, pp. 92, 126.

On the 19th of April, Lord Byron expired, — an irreparable loss for Greece at that crisis, and it threw affairs into inextricable confusion. A loan had been negotiated in England for the Greek Government, which, had it been properly applied, would have been of infinite advantage in strengthening the constitutional Government, and enabling them to re-organise the civil and military systems. Owing to the intelligence received respecting the triumph of the military faction, and the expulsion of Mavrokordato from the Morea, measures of precaution had very prudently been taken to prevent the funds from falling into improper hands; but, as it turned out, the decisions adopted were most unfortunate. The three commissioners nominated to superintend the application of the loan, were Lord Byron, Mr. Gordon, and Lazzaro Conduriotti, of Hydra; Col. Stanhope being authorised to act for Mr. Gordon, until the latter should arrive in Greece. The loan was consigned to Messrs. Barff and Logotheti, of Zante; and on the 24th of April, Mr. Blaquiere reached that island from England with the first instalment.* The first thing he heard was, that Lord Byron was no more; and his death having invalidated the commission, Messrs. Barff and Logotheti refused to issue the money. As if a fatality attended the whole affair, a proclamation issued by the Provisional Government, in which Zante and Cerigo were inadvertently named as the depots for the future instalments, had the effect of eliciting a counter-proclamation from the Ionian Government, by which it was declared, that the transfer of the money sent to Zante would be regarded as a breach of neutrality, exposing the offenders to all the pains and

* 40,000*l.* in sovereigns and dollars.

penalties denounced in an edict promulgated by Sir Thomas Maitland in 1822. It thus became impossible to extricate a farthing of the loan. At this very time, a formidable expedition was preparing at Alexandria, the Turkish fleet was actually at sea, and an army of 60,000 men were marching on Salona, destined to cross over to the Morea, to co-operate with the Egyptian troops. Many persons who had engaged to furnish Messolonghi with supplies, now refused to fulfil their promises; while the Suliots became so ungovernable, that Mavrokordato's situation became most embarrassing, and not unattended with personal danger.*

The military party had always been averse to the loan, affecting to consider it as equivalent to the sale of the Morea; and one of their agents now repaired to Zante, to endeavour to prevent its payment, while a report was industriously spread, that the money was all to be sent back to England. The fact was, that they dreaded its falling into the hands of their antagonists, and depriving them of power. Col. Stanhope, with whom it seems to have rested to authorise the transfer of the loan, treated lightly the fears of Mr. Blaquiere and the moving entreaties of Mavrokordato, rebuking the "feverish impatience" with which

* It ought to be mentioned, that these intractable warriors had suffered the greatest privations, and they had strong claims on the Government. "All that they wanted," Botzaris, their leader, told Mr. Blaquiere, "was, an asylum and the means of existence for their families, whom they could not think of leaving destitute." And when assured that the Government had determined to allot them a fertile district in Acarnania, and that every effort was making to procure them the amount of their arrears, he seemed perfectly satisfied. At length, Mr. Blaquiere, on his personal responsibility, advanced 10,000 dollars; and trifling as this sum was, it not only enabled Mavrokordato to put the Suliots in motion, but to strengthen several points on the northern frontier.

the nation looked forward to its arrival;* and by unseasonable exhortations to disinterestedness, insulting the people he came to aid. The Turks and the Egyptians were at hand, and the money, he was well aware, would "settle the government, and give it the means of repelling the enemy;" yet, not deeming the government "sufficiently organised," he opposed the issue of the loan; and the consequences were most calamitous. What renders the Colonel's conduct the more inexplicable is, that Kolokotroni and his party, having been deserted by their followers after a few skirmishes with the constitutionalists, had, towards the close of April, tendered their submission, and both Tripolitza and Napoli had surrendered to the constitutionalists.†

At length, instructions were received from England

* Stanhope, pp. 216, 224, 242. "Your common cry is for money····It is false to say, that gold and iron are the sinews of war: these are but the accessories!"

† Col. Stanhope writes to Mr. Bowring, April 12: "The legislative and executive bodies, indeed all the people, think the loan will save Greece, if it arrives in time. Every preparatory measure has been taken towards the proper disposal of the money. The Greeks are careful of their money, and not at all disposed to squander the resources of the state. The only danger is, that it should fall into the hands of a few individuals, and be appropriated to their particular interests. The present crisis is favourable. The proffered aid could not arrive more opportunely. Had it come sooner, it might have fallen into the hands of the military oligarchs. At present, their fortresses are about to surrender to the constitutionalists, and the government makes progress towards improvement and strength. The loan will enable Greece to protect her frontier this year, her people to reap the fruits of their labour, and the Government to collect the revenue." On the 28th of the same month, finding that he was nominated a commissioner, the Colonel adopts a very different tone, but says: "When the fortresses are in the hands of the Government, I shall consider that they are in a condition to fulfil their contract, and to pay the interest of the money borrowed."

to place the money unconditionally at the disposal of the Greek Government. Not only was it then too late, however, to remedy some of the disastrous effects of the delay, but the abandonment of all precaution in delivering it, rendered it the source of fresh evils.* The first supply reached Napoli in July, and 90,000 dollars were paid over to the fleet, the rest being distributed among the army; but it was a scramble, and few were satisfied. Among others, Odysseus, not finding his demands complied with, made a seizure of government money, disbanded his troops, and retired to his fortress at Parnassus.

The campaign of 1824 commenced with the capture and destruction of the islands of Kaso and Ipsara by the Turks. On the 8th of June, an Egyptian squadron from Candia, consisting of seventeen vessels, appeared off the former island, and the Turks endeavoured to effect a landing, but were repulsed. Night put an end to the combat, but, the next morning, Ismael Pasha re-appeared, and opened a furious bombardment on the principal fortification. While the attention of the islanders was thus engaged, a party of the enemy, landing on the north-western part of the island, took them in rear. Four hundred Greeks died with arms in their hands; the rest fled to the mountains or the neighbouring islands, and most of the women and children fell into the hands of the enemy.†

* "This unconditioned concession of the money to the hands of the Greeks themselves, has eventually caused all but their utter ruin; and whoever were the instigators of this measure, theirs is the guilt."—HUMPHREYS'S *Journal*, p. 261.

† Ann. Reg. for 1824, p. 159. We know not on what authority this statement rests. Mr. Blaquiere gives a very different account. "Previously to the grand attack on Ipsara, a smaller armament had been sent against those islands, which, without being very formidable, had been distinguished for their hostility to the Otto-

Ipsara promised to oppose a more successful resistance, and the preparations on the part of the Turks were on a scale of proportionate magnitude. Housref, the Capitan Pasha, after having landed reinforcements in Negropont, and taken on board a body of Albanians at Salonika, assembled at Mytilene a powerful armament, amounting to upwards of 150 sail, with which, on the 2d of July, he appeared off the island. The firing opened upon the town was returned with spirit and considerable effect from the batteries; but during the night, a landing was effected at the back of the island, (by aid, it is said, of treachery,) and a large body of troops, having driven before them the outposts, made their appearance on the heights above the town. At this sight, the greater part of the Ipsariots retreated in confusion to their ships, and put to sea. Great numbers perished in attempting to gain the vessels; several boats were so overloaded that they sank, and several ships were intercepted by the Turkish squadron. The town was soon taken, and the greater part of the remaining population, men, women, and children, were massacred. Many of them, to avoid falling into the hands of the Turks, threw their children from the rocks into the sea, and then plunged after them. A party of Albanians, who, with a number of the inhabitants that could not escape, had shut themselves up in Fort St. Nicholas, after a brave de-

mans. At Scopolo, near the Gulf of Volos, the enemy was repulsed with great loss, and after several attempts to land. The infidels were, however, more fortunate at Cassos, a small island near the east end of Candia, which, like Ipsara, had acquired considerable wealth by the enterprising industry of its inhabitants. Here the Turks succeeded in effecting a landing; and though subsequently forced to retreat, they were enabled to carry off a large quantity of booty, and to destroy several of the vessels which lay in the harbour."—*Second Visit to Greece*, p. 77, *note*.

fence, in which they repelled the enemy with great loss, destroyed both themselves and their assailants by setting fire to the powder-magazine.*

The triumph of the Turks was of short duration. No sooner had tidings of this catastrophe reached Hydra, than the Greek fleet, commanded by Miaulis, which had been lying there in inaction, for want of funds for the payment of the sailors, animated with a desire of vengeance, immediately set sail for Ipsara. The Turkish admiral had withdrawn his armament before they could reach the island, leaving nothing but about twenty galleys in the harbour, and a garrison of 1,500 men. Of these, only between 2 and 300 escaped. Seven of the galleys succeeded in eluding pursuit; the remainder were taken or destroyed. The Greeks then brought away the cannon left in the fortresses, together with some Ipsariot fugitives who had concealed themselves in the hills; and the island has ever since remained desolate. All its citizens who have escaped slaughter or slavery, have been indebted for an asylum to the hospitality of their countrymen. The greater part established themselves at Napoli di Malvasia, on the coast of Maina.

The next attempt of the Capitan Pasha was upon Samos. For this purpose, a large body of Asiatic

* In the account inserted in the Ann. Register, the garrison is stated to have consisted of sixty men, under the command of a Greek named Maroaki. "Finding themselves unable to defend the place, they hoisted a flag, on which was inscribed, 'Liberty or Death,' and immediately blew up the fort, involving themselves and about 1,200 Turks in instant destruction." Mr. Blaquiere makes the number of the garrison amount to 500; but his whole account, though of Greek manufacture, bears very obvious marks of exaggeration and poetic invention. "Upon a moderate computation," he says, "4000 Christians of every age perished." The other account states, that most of the inhabitants had time to escape with their families to Syra.

troops was collected at Scala Nova. The Samians, aware of the enemy's designs, sent their families to the mountains, and prepared to defend the passes, in case the Turks should effect a landing, while a division of the Greek fleet, under George Sakturi of Hydra, disputed the passage of the straits. On the 17th of August, in a fourth attempt of the Turkish fleet to run across, the brave Ipsariot, Canaris, attached his fire-vessel to a forty-gun frigate under sail; the fire very speedily reaching the magazine, the greater part of those on board were destroyed, as well as several transports to which the fire communicated. At the same time, other fireships burned a Tunisine brig of war and a large Tripolitan corvette. On the 21st of August, another fleet of transports, employed in conveying troops to the northern side of Samos, were intercepted and dispersed, a part being taken and destroyed. On the following day, the Turkish fleet again attempted the passage from Cape Trogilium to the opposite shore; but such was now the dread inspired by the Greek fireships, that the approach of only two or three of them was sufficient to drive back the Ottoman men of war to the Asiatic coast. The troops assembled on the shore of Mycale in readiness to embark, on witnessing this last disgrace of their navy, returned to their camp at Scala Nova; and it was not long before the greater part of the land forces which had been collected there, dispersed and withdrew into the interior.

"The Capitan Pasha, feeling the necessity of giving up the attempt upon Samos for the present, proceeded to effect a junction with the Egyptian expedition at Cos and Halicarnassus. Sakturi in like manner united his force with that of the chief navarch Miaoulis, at Patmos, after which the Greeks proceeded to

observe the Mussulman armament. On the 5th of September, a small division of Greek vessels with two fireships approached the Turkish fleet, when the latter got under weigh; the Greek fleet then joined their comrades, and an action taking place, the Turks lost some men, and two fireships of their opponents exploded without having done any damage to the enemy. The Greeks then retired to Panormus, (the port of the ancient Branchidæ, in the district of Miletus,) now called Iéronda. It was the object of the Capitan Pasha to return with the united fleet to Samos. On the 8th and 9th of September, the Turkish vessels attempted in vain to effect a passage through the channel between Calymna and the coast of Caria, the wind not being favourable, and the Greeks advancing to meet them. On the 10th, they were still more unfortunate. Early in the morning, they had advanced with a favourable breeze against the enemy, who was becalmed near Calymna; and the nearest of the Greek vessels, exposed to the heavy fire of the Turkish ships, were in danger of being destroyed, or at least of being cut off from the rest of the fleet, when a breeze arising, the Greek ships were enabled to act more in concert. Such a desultory combat as the great inferiority of the Greek vessels will alone admit of, was kept up until the middle of the day, when two fireships were attached to a large Egyptian brig of war, and not long afterwards, two others to the frigate which commanded the Tunisine division. So confounded were the Turks with the boldness and skill of their opponents in thus attacking them with their small vessels, in the open sea and under sail, that not even the Greek ships accompanying the incendiary vessels suffered much from the Turkish fire. The Ottoman fleet returned in confusion to the anchorage near Budrúm (Halicarnassus),

and the burning ships drifting ashore were entirely consumed. Many of the seamen were drowned or slain in endeavouring to escape from the flames, but the Tunisine commander was taken, and remained a prisoner with the Greeks.

"After this defeat, the principal object of the Capitan Pasha seems to have been, that of effecting a safe retreat to the Dardanelles. Some ships of war having been left for the protection of the transports which had been sent to the upper part of the Gulf of Cos, to land the Egyptian troops, the remainder, as soon as the calms (which usually prevail for some weeks after the cessation of the Etesian winds) had given place to the equinoctial gales, took advantage of a southerly breeze, and after meeting with some interruption and loss near Icaria, reached Mytilene.

"On the 7th of October, the Turkish admiral, having left Ibrahim Pasha in the command of the naval forces, re-entered the Dardanelles. About the middle of the same month, Ibrahim, after some unsuccessful encounters with the Greeks near Chios and Mytilene, returned to the Egyptian armament in the Gulf of Cos; and in the month of November, his ships sustained considerable damage from the enemy on the northern coast of Candia." *

In Western Greece, military operations were almost suspended during the whole year. Mavrokordato, indeed, took post at the head of about 3000 men, on the heights of Lugovitza, near the western bank of the Achelous, where they remained for three months; while Omer Pasha remained at Kervasara at the south-eastern extremity of the Ambracic Gulf; but neither party was able or disposed to bring his troops to act. †

* Leake's Outline, pp. 152—5.

† A detachment of cavalry surprised the town of Vrachova, and

In Eastern Greece, an attempt was made by the Seraskier, Dervish Pasha, to penetrate from Thessaly to the Corinthian Gulf, by the route which leads from Zeitouni to Salona. In the month of July, he succeeded in passing through the defiles; but at Ampliani, about eight miles from Salona, he was attacked and defeated by the Greeks under Panouria; and after suffering some further loss in his retreat, he resumed his positions in Doris and in Thessaly, without having effected the smallest advantage.* In concert with this operation, an attempt to recover Athens was made by Omer Pasha of Egripo; but he was met at Marathon in the middle of July by the Greeks under Goura, from whom he received such a check as, combined with the ill success of the Seraskier's expedition, sufficed to confine him to Bœotia, and he ultimately withdrew behind the walls of Egripo.

In the Morea, an attack was made, in the early part of the year, on Modon; but this, with occasional skirmishes with the garrison of Patras, comprised the whole exertions on either side. Coron and Lepanto remained in the undisturbed possession of the Turks.

Upon the whole, the campaign of 1824 was one of the most inglorious and unprofitable to the Ottomans of any that had hitherto taken place, and at no period had the prospects of the Greeks assumed a brighter appearance, than towards the close of this year. The arrival of the loan and the submission of the military

took or killed about 300 of the inhabitants. The town, however, had been before nearly destroyed, and with this exploit Omer Vrionis was satisfied.—HUMPHREYS, p. 264.

* Captain Humphreys states, that the Turks on this occasion lost about 200 men; the Greeks four or five. "This was the most important engagement that took place by land during the whole campaign; and constituted the operations of the Turkish army of above 20,000 men, opposed to 4000."—HUMPHREYS, p. 268.

party had given new strength and apparent stability to the civil Government; while, as to the most important of all its foreign relations, the Ionian Government, with whom there had arisen a serious misunderstanding, was now on terms of friendly neutrality, and the Lord High Commissioner had actually deigned to set his foot in Greece.* But unhappily, the renewal of those dissensions in the Morea, which it was fondly hoped that the loan would heal, or enable the Government to terminate, not only prevented the prosecution of the winter campaign, but placed the cause in the greatest jeopardy.

* An order had been issued by the British Government, towards the close of 1822, directing its officers in the Mediterranean to respect the right of the Greeks to blockade such ports of Greece as remained in possession of the Turks. This was a most important point gained, being a first step towards the recognition of their independence. It was, however, notorious, that among the transports hired at Alexandria and Constantinople, a great number were under the English and the Austrian flags. Irritated at these proceedings, and alarmed at the formidable preparations which were being made in both Turkey and Egypt, the executive council issued, on the 8th of June 1824, from Lerna, an edict authorizing their cruizers to attack, burn, and sink, all European vessels which they should find so employed. This infraction of international law, immediately called forth strong remonstrances from Sir Frederick Adam; but these not being attended to, on the 6th of September he issued a proclamation, notifying, that till the Greek manifesto should be fully and authentically recalled, the British admiral in the Mediterranean had been directed to seize and detain all armed vessels acknowledging the authority of the Provisional Government of Greece. On the 27th of August, the Government had already revoked their edict, so far as regarded all neutral ships that had not Turkish troops on board; but this not being satisfactory, Sir Frederick Adam, two days after the issuing of his proclamation, embarked for Napoli, where he was received with the highest honours, and all differences were immediately adjusted by a new decree limiting the order to neutrals found in the enemy's fleet. On the 17th of November, a proclamation from the Ionian Government enjoined all vessels bearing the Septinsular flag, to respect the blockade of the Gulf of Corinth maintained by the Greeks.

During the winter, these differences rose to an alarming height. Several instances of partiality shewn by the Government to the Roumeliots, had tended to irritate the Moreote chieftains, who were moreover jealous of not sharing in the increasing power of the Government. At length, as little conciliation was employed, the dispute produced an insurrection on the part of the Moreotes, at the head of which was Kolokotroni and his sons, Niketas, his nephew, Demetrius and Nicolas Deliyauni, General Sessini, Andrea Zaimi, Andrea Londos, and Giovanni and Panagiola Notapopuolo. The Government immediately called in the aid of the Roumeliots, two of whom, Generals Izonga and Goura, aided by the counsels of John Coletti, took the command of their forces. The Moreotes carried on the civil war with considerable spirit for some time, and proceeded so far as to attempt the capture of Napoli di Romania; but at length, after some delay and bloodshed, the insurgents were dispersed, and the rebellion was pretty well quelled by the end of December. The evil effects, however, of this civil contest were long felt, and one most disastrous consequence was, that it prevented the reduction of Patras, which might easily have been taken during the winter. Owing to the delay thus occasioned, it was the middle of January before a few vessels sailed up the Gulf of Corinth, and, aided by some land forces, recommenced the blockade; while an active pursuit was set on foot after the fugitive leaders in the late insurrection, who had taken refuge in the different holds of the Morea.

In the meantime, the Porte was very differently occupied. The Pasha of Egypt, prompted apparently by a Mussulman feeling, and by the hope at least of adding Candia and the Morea to his dominions, had entered cordially into the war, and his wealth enabled

him to take upon himself the chief pecuniary burthen. Unhappily for the Greek cause, the assistance of the Egyptian troops had enabled the Turks in Candia to produce a temporary suppression of the insurrection in that important island; and the great facility of communication which was thus established between Egypt and the Morea, enabled Ibrahim Pasha, the step-son and lieutenant of Mohammed Ali, to begin the campaign of 1825 without waiting for the return of spring. His fleet, having wintered at Suda in Candia, set sail on the 23d of December for Rhodes, where he took on board 5000 disciplined troops: with these he returned to Candia, to complete his armament, which detained him till the middle of February. At the same time, transports were being fitted out at Constantinople, for the purpose of relieving Modon and Patras. Omer Vrionis had been removed to Salonika, and the pashaliks of Ioannina and Delvino had been bestowed on the Roumeli Valisee, to which was to be added Karl-ili, in the event of his subduing it. He immediately began to form his camp at Larissa, intending, when his arrangements should be complete, to pass over to his new pashalik, and with reinforcements levied in his progress, to descend on Messolonghi.

Affairs, however, wore a favourable aspect in Greece up to the commencement of February. The last remnant of the rebellion had been quelled. A few of the leaders (or *ανταρτοι*, as they were called) had taken refuge in Kalamos, an island appropriated by the Ionian Government to the reception of Grecian fugitives. The remainder had surrendered to the Government, and it having been determined to remove them to Hydra, the same vessel which brought Conduriotti from that island to resume his functions at Napoli as

President of the Executive, returned with the chiefs of the rebellion on board. On the 17th of December, Kolokotroni and his companions embarked, and in a few days were landed at the place of their destination, —the monastery of St. Nicholas, on the craggy summit of one of the wildest hills of Hydra.

" The prospects of this moment," remarks Mr. Emerson, who arrived in Greece in March, " were, perhaps, the most brilliant since the commencement of the revolution. The liberators were now in full possession of the Morea, with the exception of Patras and the unimportant fortresses of Modon and Coron. Almost all Western Greece was in the hands of the Government. The country was just freed from a rebellion, which had exposed the principles of three of the chieftains who were disaffected, and enabled the Government to remove them from their councils and measures; a fourth portion of the loan was at that time arrived, and a fifth expected; whilst, about the same time, a second loan had been effected in England, so that the funds of the Government were now replenished with ample means for a long campaign. Thirty ships composed the blockading squadron before Patras, aided by a large body of land troops. The garrison within was already reduced to straits for provision, as appeared by some letters which arrived at Zante from persons within the walls; and a capitulation was expected in a very short time. Constant communications being maintained between Messolonghi and Larissa, and the activity of the Roumeli Valisi's movements being ascertained, it was determined to prepare in time to oppose him; and for this purpose, Nota Bozzaris, together with Generals Suka and Milios, set forward with a sufficient body of troops to occupy the pass of Makrinoro, the ancient Olympus, through which it

was necessary he should pass. Thus prepared at every point, the spirits of the soldiers were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and it seemed that Greece wanted but one step more to defeat her northern invaders, deliver the Peloponnesus, and complete the work of freedom.

"It was, however, towards the end of the same month, that the first disastrous stroke occurred. Frequent letters from Crete had informed the Government of the return of Ibrahim Pasha from Rhodes, and of the vigour with which he was hastening the completion of his preparations. The progress of the blockade at Patras was now observed with double interest, as its fall was daily expected, and as there was no other probable means of checking the armament of the Egyptians, than by withdrawing the squadron which was cruising before the fortress. This, being a desperate resource, was of course deferred to the last moment; till at length, advices arrived of the immediate departure of the expedition from Candia: further delay was impossible, and just at a moment when the garrison was ripe for surrender, the squadron sailed, unfortunately too late. Such was the deficiency of communication across the Morea, that almost on the same day that the fleet sailed from Patras (24th Feb.), the Egyptian squadron of four corvettes and numerous brigs and transports, in all thirty sail, anchored off Modon, and disembarked 6000 soldiers, infantry and cavalry, well disciplined, and commanded chiefly by European officers. The troops immediately encamped around Modon, whilst the ships returned without delay to Suda in Candia. A few days after, Ibrahim Pasha, at the head of 800 men, advanced to the summit of the range of hills which rise at the back of Navarino. The inhabitants were instantly struck

with terror, and flew to arms, whilst 700 Roumeliots, under the command of General Giavella, poured immediately into the fortress. The Pasha's object, however, appeared to be merely to take a survey of the situation of the fortress; he remained quietly at his station for some hours, and then returned to his encampment. It was now clear that Navarino and the adjacent country was to be the immediate seat of war; the attempt on Patras was consequently totally abandoned, and the troops drawn off to be marched further south.

"Both parties, however, remained quiet till the 20th of March, when Ibrahim Pasha, having received a second reinforcement from Candia, (his ships having evaded the Greek squadron,) took up his position, and placed his camp, with 14,000 soldiers, before Navarino. The capture of this town was a considerable object to the Turks not only from its position, but from the circumstance of its being the best, or one of the best protected ports in the Morea. The harbour, which is of considerable dimensions, is protected by the island of Sphacteria at its entrance, which is so narrow, that whoever has possession of the island can prevent all ingress or egress from the town by sea.

"The situation of Navarino perfectly agrees with Thucydides' description of Pylos;* from some remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood, there can be little

* The modern Greek name of the castle is Ἀ Θαρῖνος, whence the Italian names of Old and New Navarino. It had been left nearly in the same state in which it was found when taken from the Turks in 1821. The fortifications consisted of a low wall without any ditch, flanked on the land side by some small bastions, and still weaker towards the sea, where it had received only a slight patching, since it was battered by the Russians, from one of the opposite islands, in the year 1770.—LEAKE'S *Outline*, p. 165.

doubt of its identity: in fact, a village about half a mile distant, built immediately at the foot of the cliff, on which stands the fortress called Old Navarino, still bears the name of Pylos. New Navarino, or Neo-Castro, as the Greeks more usually call it, formerly contained 600 Turks and about 130 Greeks; the former of whom were remarkable for their villany, the latter, like all the Messenians, for their sloth and effeminacy. It now contained merely 200 inhabitants and a small garrison, having fallen into the hands of the Greeks during the early stages of the revolution. The fortifications, like all the others in the Morea, were the work of the Venetians, and though not peculiarly strong, were in a pretty fair state of repair. Every precaution was now taken by the Greeks. A garrison amounting to 2000 soldiers, principally under the command of Hadji Christo, and Joannes Mavromichali, son to Petro Bey of Maina, were thrown into the fortress; a small corps of artillery, amounting to fifty or sixty men, were sent off with all haste from Napoli; and the command of the fortifications was given to Major Collegno, who lost no time in assuming his post. Provisions were sent in from all parts of the Morea, sufficient for a long siege. Large bodies of Roumeliots, under the command of their respective generals Giavella, Karatazzo, Constantine Rozzaris, brother to the hero Marco, and General Karaiskaki, took positions in the rear of the enemy. Conduriotti and Prince Mavrocordato prepared to set out from Napoli with fresh troops; and though affairs were threatening, there existed the strongest hopes, from the spirit of the soldiery and the state of the fortress, that they would be able to make an effective stand against all assaults."

The army of Ibrahim Pasha consisted of about

10,000 infantry, 2000 Albanians, and an adequate proportion of cavalry and artillery. On the 28th of March, he made an assault on the town, but was opposed by the united force of the Roumeliot general, Karatazzo, and Joannes Mavromikhali. The loss on both sides was nearly equal: that of the Greeks is stated at 150 men, including their brave young leader, Joannes, who received a wound in his arm, which, being unskilfully dressed, terminated in a mortification. The Greeks succeeded, however, in taking from the enemy upwards of a hundred English muskets and bayonets, which were immediately forwarded to Tripolitza. A system of petty skirmishing was kept up during the ensuing three weeks without any important result. In the mean time, Austrian, Ionian, and even English ships, laden with Turkish grain and provisions, were daily arriving at Napoli, as prizes taken by the Greek cruizers;* and on the 13th of April three Austrian vessels, laden with provisions for the enemy, who was reported to be already in possession of Navarino, appeared at the entrance of the harbour. The Greek commandant, suspecting their intention, hoisted the red flag on the fortress; and the three vessels, entering in full confidence, were declared lawful prizes, and their cargoes were applied to the supply of the garrison.

At length, on the 19th of April, Ibrahim Pasha attacked, in their position, the whole force of the Greeks, amounting to about 6000 men, and completely de-

* Emerson, p. 105. These vessels had invariably regular papers from their respective consuls, and cleared for the Ionian Isles: but in general, the confessions of the captains, or some other circumstances, condemned them. Several, however, were reclaimed, and though no doubt could be entertained of their being Turkish property, yet, as their papers were correct, the Greeks were compelled to surrender them.

feated them. The particulars of this important action are thus given by Mr. Emerson, on the authority of letters from Navarino, transmitted to the Government at Napoli.

"The positions in the rear of the enemy had been all occupied, with an intention of cutting off their communication with Modon, and were now extended almost in a circle. The left extremity was intrusted to Hadji Christo, Hadji Stephano, and Constantine Bozzaris; the right was commanded by the Roumeliot generals, Giavella and Karatazzo; whilst the centre was occupied by a body of Moreotes, under General Skurtza, a Hydriote, whom Conduriotti's interest had invested with a high command, together with a few other capitani. On the evening of the 18th instant, intimation of the intended attack in the morning had been received from a deserter, and notice in consequence sent to the different generals. The commanders of the positions on the extremities were fully prepared; but in the centre, Skurtza had as yet neglected to make the necessary entrenchments and petty lines, behind which alone the Greeks are capable of making any stand. He accordingly applied for additional assistance, and early in the morning, Bozzaris set out to his position with a chosen body of his soldiers. About nine o'clock, the attack of the Egyptians commenced on the position of Hadji Christo, who sustained the onset with extreme courage: at the same time, another party, with three cannon and one mortar, commenced the attack on the right, where they met with an equally brave resistance from Giavella and his followers; whilst a third, supported by a body of Mameluke horse, charged on the centre. The two extremities kept their position with astonishing bravery, though not less than three hundred shot and shells fell within the lines of

Giavella. In the centre, however, the want of their accustomed tambours soon threw the soldiers of Skurtza into confusion; and after a short stand, they commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving the soldiers of Bozzaris to oppose the enemy alone. These were soon cut to pieces; and it was with extreme difficulty, that himself and twenty-seven followers escaped with life, after witnessing the fall of almost all the chosen soldiers of his brother Marco, who had died in his defence. Upwards of two hundred Greeks lost their lives in this engagement. Xidi and Zapheiropuolo, two of the bravest leaders, were made prisoners; and four other distinguished capitani perished in the fray.

"The day following, the enemy, elated with their success, attempted an assault on the walls: the efforts of the garrison, however, assisted by a band of Arcadians in the rear of the enemy, were successful in driving them off with the loss of 100 slain and twenty prisoners; whilst the Greeks took possession of their newly-erected battery, but, not being able to carry off the cannon, contented themselves with spiking them all, and retired again within the walls."

The negligence or pusillanimity of the Moreotes under Skurtza, to which Botzaris justly attributed the defeat of his troops, so materially widened the breach between the Roumeliots and the Moreotes, that shortly after, hearing that the Turks were advancing on Messolonghi, the former expressed their determination to leave the defence of Navarino to the peninsular troops, and return to defend their own homes. Accordingly, on the 30th instant, they arrived at Lugos, to the number of 3000, under their respective generals, Giavella, Karaiskachi, and Botzaris. The Moreotes, roused by this defection, now took arms with greater

spirit; and the rebel chiefs Zaimi and Londo, driven from Kalamos by the English resident, returned to the Morea, having submitted to the Government, and began to raise troops in their native districts of Kalavrita.

In the mean time, the Roumeli Valisee had, on the 10th of March, reached Ioannina from Larissa. On the 20th, he arrived with 15,000 men at Arta; and early in April, he succeeded in accomplishing his entrance by the pass of Makrinoro into the plains of Western Greece. The Roumeliots, under Nota Botzaris and Izonga, had deserted their post, and crossed the Achelous, without once coming in contact with the enemy, leaving the whole country north of that river open to his ravages, while the inhabitants of the villages took refuge under British protection in Kalamos. At the orders or entreaties of the Messolonghi Government, Generals Izonga and Makris were induced, however, to recross the Achelous, and attempt to seize the passes of Ligovitzi; but the enemy was beforehand with them, and after a short conflict, they were obliged to retreat with all expedition, and prepare for the defence of Anatoliko and Messolonghi.

To return to the siege of Navarino. The object of Ibrahim Pasha was now to take Sphacteria; but it was not till the arrival of his ships from Suda with a third division of land forces, that he deemed it expedient to make the attempt. On the 6th of May, a large division of the Egyptian army commenced the attack on the fortress of Old Navarino, with a view to cover the debarkation of troops from the fleet. The spirited defence made by the garrison under Hadji Christo and the Archbishop of Modon, together with the approach of the Greek fleet, defeated the plan. In the evening, after a smart action, which continued all day,

the enemy retired to their former position at Petrochori, while the fleet fell back in the direction of Modon. The Greek squadron kept beating off the town, and only eight ships, including that of the brave Anastasius Psamado, remained within the harbour.

Early on the next morning, the Turkish fleet was again observed under weigh in the direction of the fortress, and, about one o'clock, had advanced very near the island, while the Hydriot ships under Miaulis were becalmed at some distance from the shore. The island contained but one landing-place, on the western side, which was defended by a small battery of three guns, and a garrison of 200 soldiers, under the direction of a brave young Hydriot, Stavro Sohini, and General Anagnostara. For the purpose of working the guns more effectually, a party of sailors, headed by Psamado, were landed from the ships in the bay; and Prince Mavrokordato and Count Santa Rosa, a Piedmontese volunteer, remained on the island to direct the operations of the whole. If bravery could have compensated for the inequality of numbers, the Greeks would have triumphed. Fifty armed boats were sent off from the Turkish fleet, containing 1500 men, on whose approach the little garrison opened their fire, and for some time maintained their position nobly; but at length, surrounded from behind, cut off from relief or retreat, they were overpowered by numbers, and, after a desperate resistance, were to a man cut to pieces, their two brave leaders being among the last that fell. The divisions stationed at other points of the little island now fled in confusion, and all the Greek vessels in the harbour, except Psamado's, made their escape, passing unopposed through the division of the enemy's fleet placed at the mouth of the harbour to detain them. Mavrokordato and the governor of

Neo-kastro, both of whom were in the island, were so fortunate as to reach the remaining ship; but when the boats reached the shore a second time, for the purpose of bringing off others, the fugitives that eagerly crowded into them were too many, and sunk them. A few moments after, Psamado, desperately wounded, with a few followers, gained the beach, and was seen waving his cap for the assistance his countrymen could no longer render him. The Turks soon came up, and he fell, with his handful of men, under a shower of bullets. Not a Greek was now left alive on the island, and the solitary ship of Psamado had to make her way out through the fleet of the enemy, drawn up round the entrance of the harbour. During four hours of a dead calm, she maintained a desperate fight. but finally fought her way with great gallantry through the forty sail of the Egyptians, with the loss of two men killed and six wounded. Three hundred and fifty soldiers perished in the island, including the unfortunate Count Santa Rosa, who fought in the ranks with his musket and ataghan, and General Catzaro, besides ninety seamen in killed, wounded, and missing; a greater number than Hydra had lost during the four years of the war.* •

* Mr. Emerson was at Hydra when the vessels arrived, bringing the melancholy intelligence of their fate. The sight, he says, of the anxious and agonized groupes of mothers and widows crowding the rocks on the beach, was most heart-rending. Count Santa Rosa had but a few months before come to Greece with Major Collegno, to offer his services to the Government, "disappointed in his attempt to free his own country from the Austrian Sultan." Without money, and unacquainted with the language, he discovered his error in joining a cause he could not serve in any situation becoming his rank and talents. Three letters written shortly before his death, (*Picture of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 180,) exhibit the ardent affection and despondency of a heart-broken exile. He had intended to return to England at the end of the campaign, and speaks

Two days after the capture of the island, the garrison of Old Navarino, who were now shut up with but little provisions, and water for only a few days, capitulated on condition of laying down their arms and retiring. For these favourable terms, they were unexpectedly indebted to two of the French officers in the Pasha's service; and on the faith of their representations, they ventured to march out, about a thousand men in number, under the command of General Luca and an American Philhellene named Jarvis. Having surrendered their arms at the feet of the Pasha, they were escorted for a few miles by a small body of horse, and were then permitted to depart in safety. The Turkish ships, having entered the harbour, now opened a fire upon Neo-kastro, about fifty pieces of cannon being placed in battery on the land-side; but not till the 23rd of May, after a week consumed in negotiation, the garrison marched out on the same terms as those of Navarino, and were embarked in European vessels for Kalamata, with the exception of Generals Iatracco and Giorgio Mavromikhali, who were detained prisoners.* By the fall of this place,

with fondness of his friends in this country; but on the day of the attack on Sphacteria, he disdained to flee: like the brave Roland of Campbell,

——"he fell, and wished to fall."

An account of the fatal conflict, drawn up by Mavrokordato's secretary, himself an eye-witness, will be found in the *Picture of Greece in* 1825, vol. ii. p. 169. See also Emerson's Journal, in vol. i. pp. 139—144. Leake's Outline, p. 167.

* Leake, p. 168. Emerson, pp. 152, 193. Count Pecchio states, that the garrison of Old Navarino attempted to force a passage by night through the enemy's camp; that they were surprised on the road, and obliged to surrender, with the exception of 140 Roumeliots, who opened themselves a road sword in hand; that Ibrahim Pasha detained as prisoners Hadji Christo and the Bishop of Modon, and set the rest at liberty. *Journal*, p. 73.

Ibrahim Pasha became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea, there being no other fortresses to oppose his progress, and the country consists of open plains, affording no impediment to the operations of cavalry; while the beautiful harbour gave the enemy a secure hold to winter in.

Shortly after the fall of Navarino, the Egyptian Pasha sustained a naval loss, which, though not of sufficient magnitude materially to affect the operations of the Ottoman fleet, served to revive the drooping spirits and rekindle the almost extinguished ardour of the Moreotes.

"Immediately after the loss of the Island, while the Greek fleet continued cruising off the coast, the squadron of the Pasha separated into two divisions, one of which remained in the vicinity and harbour of Navarino; whilst the other, consisting of two frigates and four corvettes, with numerous transports, moved down to Modon, where, on the 12th instant, they were followed by Miaulis, with four fire-ships and twenty-two brigs. In the evening of the same day, a most favourable breeze setting in from the south-east, he made his signal for the fire-ships to enter the harbour. Besides the Egyptian squadron, there were likewise within, a number of other, Austrian, Ionian, and Sicilian craft, making in all about thirty-five or forty sail. The enemy, on the advance of the fire-ships, immediately attempted to cut their cables and escape; but the same steady breeze which drove on the brulots, and blew direct into the harbour, prevented their egress. The consequence was, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion, ran foul of each other, and finally were driven, *en masse*, beneath the walls of the fortress; where the brulots still advancing upon them, the whole Egyptian squadron, with a few

Austrian and other ships, in all twenty-five, fell victims to the flames. Only a very few of the smaller European craft, which lay further out from the town, succeeded in making their escape, and brought the particulars of the event to the Pasha of Navarino. In the mean time, the missiles caused by the blowing up of the shipping and cannon, falling within the walls, set fire to a store-house containing a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, which blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was visible for several miles from sea. Owing to the panic on the first appearance of the Greeks, not the slightest opposition was made by the Egyptians; and after destroying the squadron of the enemy, the brulottiers succeeded in regaining their own ships, without the loss of a single man."

While the feelings of the Moreotes were still vibrating between joy and despondency, the cry for Kolokotroni was again loudly raised.* Some of the provinces had before demanded his release, and he had himself besought the Government to allow him to engage the enemy, offering his two sons as hostages. Two members of the Government were in favour of his release, and two against it;* but, on the arrival of the President, it was referred to the legislative body, who decided the point in his favour, and a deputation proceeded to Hydra to conduct him back to Napoli.†

* Coletti, Kolokotroni's principal enemy, was one of those who opposed his release. Conduriotti, considering Coletti as the suborner of the Roumeliot troops who had abandoned the camp, wished him to be expelled; but, perceiving that he should soon require his support against Kolokotroni, he gave up this idea. Mavrokordato, however, was the most obnoxious to the Moreote party.

† "When I beheld Colocotroni sitting amid ten of his companions, prisoners of state, and treated with respect by his guards,

He arrived on the 30th of May, and on the next day, his reconciliation to the Government was celebrated with all due ceremony, amid the acclamations of the populace. A general amnesty and oblivion were mutually agreed to and ratified in the church of St. George; after which Signor Tricoupi delivered an oration to the people and the soldiers in the grand square. Kolokotroni replied without premeditation to the speech addressed to him by one of the legislative body. "In coming hither from Hydra, I have cast all rancour into the sea; do you so likewise; bury in that gulf all your hatreds and dissensions: that shall

I called to mind the picture that Tasso draws of Satan in the council of devils. His neglected grey hairs fell upon his broad shoulders, and mingled with his rough beard, which, since his imprisonment, he had allowed to grow as a mark of grief and revenge. His form is rugged and vigorous, his eyes full of fire, and his martial and savage figure resembled one of the sharp grey rocks that are scattered throughout the Archipelago." Such is the portrait of the old klepht, drawn by Count Pecchio. Mr. Emerson's description is not less picturesque, though he gives a different colouring to his hair. He obtained permission to visit the rebel chiefs at Hydra a short time before. "The generality of them exhibit nothing peculiar in their appearance, being, like the rest of their countrymen, wild, savage-looking soldiers, clad in tarnished embroidered vests, and dirty *fustanellas*. Colocotroni was, however, easily distinguished from the rest by his particularly savage and uncultivated air. His person is low, but built like a Hercules, and his short bull neck is surmounted by a head rather larger than proportion warrants, which, with its shaggy eye-brows, dark mustachios, unshorn beard, and raven hair falling in curls over his shoulders, formed a complete study for a painter. He had formerly been in the service of the English in the Ionian Islands, as a serjeant of guards, and spoke with peculiar pride of his acquaintance with several British officers. He was in high spirits at the prospect of his liberation....During my visit, he spoke of his enemies in the Government with moderation and no appearance of rancour; he, however, said little, but, on the name of Mavrocordato or Coletti being mentioned, he gathered his brow, compressed his lips, and baring his huge arm to the shoulder, he flung it from him with desperate determination."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 164, 167; vol. ii. p. 86.

be the treasure which you will gain"—alluding to the excavations in search of treasure which were then being made. Proclamations were now issued by the Government, calling the inhabitants of the Morea to arms; all the shops of Napoli were ordered to be closed, except a sufficient number of bakers and butchers, and the whole population was to join the standard of Kolokotroni. By the 10th of June, he had assembled about 8000 men at Tripolitza. Pappa Flescia had already marched to garrison Arcadia, and Petro Bey was raising his followers in Maina.

In the mean time, Miaulis, the Hydriote admiral, had determined on a desperate but decisive service: this was no other than to enter the harbour of Suda, and attempt the destruction of the remainder of the Egyptian fleet. He was just about to sail, when news was brought, that the Turkish fleet had passed the Dardanelles, and was at that time within thirty miles of Hydra. Instantly signals were fired, and in a quarter of an hour, every anchor was weighed, every yard-arm spread with canvas, and the whole fleet steered for that island, to protect their homes. They had nearly reached it, when a caïque came off with the gratifying intelligence that, on the 1st of June, the hostile fleet had been met in the channel of Cavo Doro by the fire-ships of the second Greek squadron under Saktouri, when a line-of-battle ship, (the Capitan Pasha's, who escaped by sailing in a smaller ship,) a corvette, and a frigate, were destroyed, and the Capitan Aga perished in the flames. Five transports also were taken, laden with stores and ammunition, which were safely conveyed to Spezzia. The remainder of the fleet dispersed in all directions: one corvette was driven to Syra, where she was burned by the crew, after feigning to surrender, but 150 of the

men were made prisoners. The larger body succeeded in reaching Rhodes; but it was some time ere they could be re-assembled. This brilliant success, besides relieving Hydra, had a powerful effect in raising the spirits of the Greeks. The vessels contained a large proportion of the stores intended for the siege of Messolonghi.

Miaulis now steering southward, was joined by Saktouri's squadron, making their united force amount to about seventy sail; and it was resolved that the whole fleet, after completing their provisioning at Milo, should proceed to Suda, where the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were now collected. It was not before the evening of the 12th that they reached that harbour, owing in part to stormy weather, and partly to delays arising from the insubordination of the seamen. On the 14th, a light breeze springing up, enabled them to attack a division of the Ottoman fleet in the outer harbour; and at the expense of three fire-ships and ten men killed, they destroyed a corvette with its equipage. They were prevented from further success chiefly by the dropping of the wind, and by the unwonted precaution of the Turks, who, in consequence of information given by a French schooner, had separated into four divisions. On the 17th, a severe gale separated the Greek fleet, and they retired to Hydra, leaving the Turkish admiral to proceed unmolested to Navarino, where he landed a reinforcement of 5000 men. Thence he pursued his course with seven frigates and several smaller vessels to Messolonghi, where he arrived on the 10th of July.

The siege of that place had now been carried on by Reschid Pasha for upwards of two months, without making any impression or gaining any important advantage. On the 27th of April, the first division

of 5000 had made their appearance, and they were soon followed by other parties; but their whole artillery consisted of only two pieces of small cannon, and they were already in want of provisions. On being joined, however, by Yousef, Pasha of Patras, their numbers amounted to 14,000 men, and they had five cannon and one mortar; others were subsequently obtained from Lepanto and Patras. Several smart skirmishes took place. On the 6th of May, a body of 200 Roumeliots attacked the enemy's position at the village of Pappadia, which was defended by 2000 men, under Banousa Sebrano, and succeeded in dislodging him, with a slight loss on the part of the Greeks. The Turks lost sixty killed and a number of prisoners. They then took up a new position, and were again obliged to retire before the Greeks with considerable loss, and to send to the camp for succours. At Anatoliko, similar success attended the efforts of the Greeks in repelling an assault. On the 10th of May, the Turks, having completed their preparations for attack, commenced throwing bombs and shot into Messolonghi, which the garrison returned with equal vigour. A constant discharge of shot and shells was now kept up by the besiegers, who gradually advanced their lines and position nearer to the walls; but very little mischief was done by the artillery, and the spirit of the garrison and inhabitants remained unbroken. Their provisions and ammunition, however, became nearly exhausted, and both parties were looking with anxiety for their respective fleets.

On the arrival of the Capitan Pasha in July, the Seraskier was enabled to press the siege with increased vigour. The boats of the Ottoman fleet entered the lagoons, and the non-arrival of the Hydriote squadron rendered the situation of the besieged very critical.

The garrison of Patras were able with impunity to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Clarenza and Gastouni; and about the middle of July, the latter town was almost totally burned by a party of Turkish cavalry. Anatoliko surrendered on the 21st of July, the garrison of 300 men being made prisoners of war; and on the 1st of August, the Turkish commander, apprehensive of the approach of the Greek fleet, ordered a general attack upon Messolonghi. The works on the land-side were assailed in four places, while thirty boats occupied the lake. The Osmanlys were, however, every where repulsed, with the loss of part of their artillery; and two days after (Aug. 3) the Greek fleet, consisting of about twenty-five brigs, made its appearance. So critical was the moment of their arrival, that the town is stated to have been on the point of capitulating, their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and their supply of water being cut off, when a dark night and a favourable wind enabled the Greek squadron securely to pass the Turkish line, and to take up a position between them and the town. On the 4th and 5th of the month, they succeeded in destroying two small ships of war, as well as all the boats on the lagoon, and in throwing sufficient stores into the town. About mid-day, the Turkish fleet, without firing a shot, withdrew, part of it retiring behind the castles of the Gulf of Corinth, and the greater part making sail for the Ægean sea, in the direction of Durazzo. This appears to have been a feint, for they soon afterwards steered southwards for Rhodes, followed by the Greek squadron.

The Seraskier was still sufficiently strong to maintain his position without much interruption; and he continued the siege, though with scarcely any other result except that of loss to his own troops, in expec-

tation of reinforcements from the Egyptian fleet fitting out at Alexandria. A bold but unsuccessful attempt had been made, on the 10th of August, to destroy this fleet. Three fire-ships succeeded in penetrating into the harbour undiscovered, but a sudden change of wind defeated the project, and though the brulots were burned, they did no mischief. Had this attempt succeeded, it would have greatly altered the aspect of affairs; but in November, the Turco-Egyptian fleet appeared in the Ægean Sea.

In the Morea, the campaign had proved the most disastrous that the Greeks had hitherto experienced. After the surrender of Navarino and Neo-kastro, Ibrahim Pasha remained there only a few days, for the purpose of directing the repair of the fortifications and the erection of a new battery on the island, and then, dividing his forces, advanced on Arcadia and Kalamata. The latter place, which possessed neither fortress nor defence, he gained possession of, after a well-maintained fight with a body of Greeks. But at Aghia, a strong position on the mountain which overhangs the town of Arcadia, a desperate conflict took place between the other detachment of Ibrahim's army and the Greeks under Pappa Flescia, supported by a few German officers. That valorous priest had taken post at the head of 800 men, but 150 only remained with him, the others having fled; and the whole of this valiant band perished sword in hand, overpowered by numbers. Pappa Flescia fell after performing prodigies of valour.* Ibrahim Pasha ad-

* Pappa Flessa, or Flescia, alias Gregorius Dikaios, at this time minister of the interior, was one of the most zealous apostles of the revolution, to which cause, however, he did credit only by his bravery. A priest by profession, he lived surrounded with a numerous harem. A patriot *par excellence*, he enriched himself amid

mitted a loss, on his part, of 250 men. After this victory, the Egyptians, in advancing on Arcadia, received a check from General Coliopulo, and fell back several miles; and on crossing the mountain called Makriplaghi, which separates the plain of Messenia from the valley of the Upper Alpheius, he sustained the loss of 150 men from the troops of Kolokotroni, who was now advancing to occupy the passes; but at length, after various skirmishes, in which the Greeks were generally worsted, Ibrahim Pasha succeeded in reaching Leondari.

It was now in vain to think of saving Tripolitza, which contained no garrison; and orders were therefore sent to the inhabitants to burn the town. Collecting whatever portion of their property they were able to remove, they surrendered their houses and their standing crops to the flames, and retreated towards Argos and Napoli di Romania. On the 20th of June, the Egyptians entered the abandoned and half-demolished capital; and three days after, hastening to profit by his advantage, Ibrahim Pasha advanced on Napoli. Kolokotroni, it seems, imagining that the Pasha's object would be to open a communication with Patras, had drawn off all his troops to occupy the passes in that quarter, thus leaving the route to Napoli undefended. When news arrived of his approach, Demetrius Ypsilanti, "good at need," with about 250

the miseries of his country. It is some proof of virtuous feeling in the Greeks, that though his military talents and courage and his valuable services procured him official employment, his immoralities gave general umbrage, and he was contemned by all parties. Count Pecchio met him on the road between Argos and Tripolitza, preceded by his harem and two pipe-bearers, in the oriental style, and with all the pomp of a pasha. He was handsome, and his countenance had even an expression of majesty, adapted to command the homage of the people; yet he was far from popular.—See *Pict. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 80; vol. ii. p. 136.

men, hastened to occupy the village of Mylos (the Mills).

"Early on Saturday morning, the Egyptian line was seen descending the hills which lead to the rear of the village. About eleven o'clock they had gained the plain; but, instead of making any attempt on Mylos, they seemed to be only intent on pursuing their course towards Argos, and, for this purpose, passed down a narrow plain lying between the village and the surrounding hills. Just, however, as the rear of their line had passed Mylos, a volley of musketry was discharged by the Greeks, a ball from which wounded Col. Séve, a French renegade, who, under the name of Soliman Bey, has long been the chief military assistant of the Pasha, and the agent for the organisation of the Egyptian troops. Immediately the line halted, and, after some little delay, the main body passed on towards Argos, whilst about 2000 of the rear-guard remained behind, and advanced to the attack of the village.

"Fortunately, the nature of the ground was such as to render the assistance of the cavalry impossible. They were obliged, after some useless manœuvres in front of the Greek intrenchment, to retire with the loss of a few men. The main body, however, charged the garrison so closely, that, driven from every post, they were obliged to retire behind the fence of an orchard on the sea-shore, where they had a defence of three tambours, or low walls, between them and the enemy. The two first of these were quickly forced, and, driven behind the third, with no possibility of further retreat, and nearly surrounded by the overpowering numbers of the enemy, their case now seemed desperate. The Egyptians, at length, advanced almost close to the third wall: 'Now, my brothers,' exclaimed

a Greek capitano, 'is the moment to draw our swords.' With those words, he flung away his musket, and, springing over the fence, followed by the greater body of his men, attacked the enemy with his ataghan. A desperate conflict ensued for some moments, till the Egyptians, terrified by the sudden enthusiasm of their foes, at length gave way, and commenced retreating towards the plain, whither they were pursued, for some distance, by the victorious Greeks.* Here they again rallied, and formed in order; but, instead of again renewing the attack, they left the Greeks in possession of the village, and continued their march to rejoin their comrades, who about mid-day encamped within three or four miles of Argos.

"The inhabitants of that town, on the first notice of the enemy's approach, had fled to Napoli di Romania, with what little of their property they were able to carry off, leaving their houses and homes to the mercy of the enemy. On Sunday morning, the flames, which were clearly visible at Napoli in that direction, told that the Pasha's troops were in motion: they had advanced to the town, and, finding it totally deserted, set fire to it in various quarters, and reduced the whole to ruins. The remainder of the day, all was quiet; but early on Monday morning, a party of cavalry were discovered on their march towards Napoli di Romania. All was instantly in bustle and confusion on their approach; however, as they proved to be only about 700 in number, the panic soon subsided; and a party of mounted Greeks, about eighty, who sallied out to meet them, succeeded in putting them to flight, with the loss of one man. They then retired

* It appears from other accounts, that several *misticos*, which lay close to the shore, opened a destructive fire upon the Egyptians, and contributed not a little to their defeat.

towards their encampment, and the same evening, having struck his tents, the Pasha set out on his return towards Tripolitza. Colocotroni, who had been advertised of his march towards Napoli, had, with all haste, returned from Karitena, to occupy the Parthenian passes in his rear, and by that means cut off his return towards Modon; he was now stationed with a large body of troops on the Bey's Causeway, where the slightest opposition must have proved fatal to the Pasha's army. Such, however, was his superior knowledge of the country and the movements of the Greeks, that, dividing his line into two columns, he passed on each side of the Moreotes, and uniting again in their rear, had reached Tripolitza in safety ere Colocotroni was aware of his departure from Mylos. Here he had again established his head-quarters."

Napoli di Romania presented at this moment a scene of confusion, perplexity, and disorder, not easily to be described. Mr. Emerson, who arrived there on the 30th of June, when the consternation was at its height, says, that nothing could exceed the melancholy and filthy scene. "On every side, around the walls, were pitched the tents of the unfortunate refugees from Tripolitza and Argos, who had not been permitted to enter the city, for fear of increasing the contagious fever; and within the walls, the streets were thronged with soldiers, who had assembled from all quarters for the defence of the town, or their own protection. Every shop was closed, and it was with difficulty that we could procure a few biscuits, some olives, and a little cloying sweet wine for supper; the peasantry in the vicinity having all fled on the appearance of the Egyptians, and no longer bringing in the necessary supplies of provisions for the inhabitants of Napoli. All the houses were filled with soldiers; my own lodgings

were occupied by eighteen. The streets were everywhere in confusion with the quarrels of the newcomers and the inhabitants, and the utmost efforts of the regular corps were scarcely sufficient to keep down the turbulence of the undisciplined soldiery. During the night, the whole body continued under arms, in the public square, awaiting every moment a general insurrection, threatened by the irregular troops, to plunder the town, and make up their deficiency of pay. This, however, did not occur; and after a sleepless night of alarm and anxiety, morning broke, and found all in a state of comparative quiet. Every Greek whom I met, appeared at the *acmé* of perplexity; and their gratitude for their present escape was almost vercome by their anxiety for future events.

"The Government seemed paralysed at the successes of the enemy, and at thus seeing a formerly despised foe advance openly beneath their very walls, and again return unmolested through the heart of their country. Neither were their hopes by any means raised on the receipt of a letter from Colocotroni, who was in the vicinity of Tripolitza, in which he loudly complained of the conduct of his troops, of their pusillanimity in formerly retreating and leaving every pass undisputed to the enemy; adding, that now, though his numbers were by no means deficient, and a spirited attack on Tripolitza might be attended with glorious results, he found it impossible to induce a single soldier to follow him."

But they had still another source of perplexity in those internal factions and foreign intrigues to which the failure of the cause has hitherto been chiefly attributable. About this time, a French faction started up, headed by a General Roche, who had in April arrived at Napoli, furnished with credentials from the Greek

Committee of Paris. This gentleman professed himself a warm and disinterested Philhellenist, whose sole object was to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state of the country for the information of his colleagues, and he soon insinuated himself into the good graces of the Executive. A short time only had elapsed before he began to develop further views, by reprobating the idea of a republican government, and declaring his opinion to be in favour of a monarchy: he even went so far as to propose as sovereign the second son of the Duke of Orleans. This was merely thrown out, however, in conversation, till after the fall of Navarino, when he openly offered his plan to Government, promising, in case it should be accepted, the aid of 12,000 disciplined French troops. Although he met with no encouragement, the intrigues of the General and of the French Commodore De Rigny, still continued, and every new disaster gave a fresh opening to their efforts; its expediency was urged in the public *cafés*, and a party was even formed in its favour among the members of Government. Mavrokordato, Tricoupi, and the Hydriote party, however, strongly opposed it, declaring that, were the protection or interference of any foreign power found requisite, that of Great Britain would be the most efficient. In fact, while Capt. Hamilton* was at Napoli, a deputation from

* This distinguished officer has the rare good fortune of being nearly as much respected by the Osmanlys as by the Greeks; and the influence of his name in the Levant is as great as that of Sir Sidney Smith once was in Syria, or that of Nelson all over the Mediterranean. By the Greeks, the Chaplain to H. M. ship Cambrian assures us, "Captain Hamilton is regarded as a sort of guardian angel, whose benevolence is as unbounded as his power; yet, he has never once favoured them at the expense of justice, or when it interfered with the course of duty."—SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 155.

the Islands had solicited him to take them under British protection, — a request with which he, of course, explained to them that he had not authority to comply. The clamours and complaints of the French and English parties becoming daily more annoying, Mavrokordato repaired to Hydra, to unite with the primates in urging the fleet again to put to sea, in order, by some favourable diversion, to allay the tumult of faction; but the sailors, taking advantage of the alarming crisis, refused to embark unless their pay (already amounting to six or seven dollars a month) were doubled, and two months paid in advance. This conduct was the more disgraceful, as their wages had always been regularly paid, even when the pay of the army had been allowed to run in arrears. On the 20th of July, another instalment of the loan fortunately arrived to rekindle the patriotism of the Hydriote seamen; and they consented to sail in pursuit of the Capitan Pasha's fleet, which had been suffered, as already mentioned, to proceed to Messolonghi.

Whether it was owing to the loan or to the exigencies of the country, does not appear, but, towards the end of July, the French faction was so fast giving way, and the majority of the populace, as well as of the Government, so strongly and openly declared themselves in favour of British protection, that General Roche drew up a protest against their decision, in which, strange to say, he was joined by a young American officer of the name of Washington, who had arrived in Greece in June, furnished with credentials from the American Greek Committee at Boston. In this imbecile document, the French royalist and the American republican, united by a common hatred of England, affect to consider the wish for British interference as an insult to their respective

nations.* The paper was, of course, treated by all parties with merited contempt; and Mr. Washington, the soi-disant representative of America, shortly afterwards left Greece, under rather awkward circumstances.† In the mean time, it was determined at

* A verbatim copy is given by the Rev. Mr. Swan (Journal, vol. ii. p. 156). We give the first two or three sentences, which contain the gist of the protest. "*Les sous-signés Députés des Philellènes de France et des Etats Unis de l'Amérique, ont eu connaissance que des individus dans leur simple qualité de citoyens Grecs, se sont permis de se mettre à la tête d'une faction, et contre les institutions de leur pays, ont signé et fait circuler une déclaration extrèmement injurieuse au caractère de leur nation et de leur gouvernement, qui ont toujours montré l'intérêt le plus vif pour la prospérité et l'indépendance de la Grèce. Les sous-signés savent que le Senat et le Corps Exécutif, dans leurs séances du 22 de ce mois, ont décreté de demander des secours au gouvernement des Isles Ioniennes pour la conservation de leur liberté politique, menacée par l'invasion d'Ibraim Pasha. Quoqu'il ait été bien pénible aux sous-signés de voir le peu de confiance que le Senat Grec, dans cette circonstance si grave, a mis dans les Nations Française et Americaine, ils respectèrent néanmoins ses decisions,*" &c. In conclusion, they demand an explicit explanation, that they may lay the matter before "their respective *committees!*"

(Signed) "Le Général W. Roche.
"W. Toringheuit Washington.

"Nauplie, le 28 Juillet, 1825."

† Emerson, pp. 291, 2. In the reply of the Greek Government, it is remarked, that "*M. Washington n'est pas un deputé d'aucun comité: il n'est qu'un simple particulier.*" Thus, he would seem to have been a mere adventurer. They go on to say, that the document by which they place their national independence under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, is not the act of a few individuals, but of all the deputies, primates, the army, and the navy of Greece; that they complain of no government, but that they do complain of certain agents of some European powers, who, in disregard of the neutrality proclaimed on the part of their governments at the congress of Verona and at Laybach, have pursued a conduct hostile to the dearest interests of Greece, and have endeavoured to change the form of their government. "*et personne ne connait cela mieux que le Général Roche.*"—Swan, vol. ii. p. 160. Ridiculous and arrogant as appears the conduct of these foreigners, it is but just to add, that they have not gone much further than certain

Hydra, that fresh deputies should be sent to London, while Signor Tricoupi was to proceed to Corfu, to consult the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles. Accordingly, the eldest son of Miaulis and one of the Hydriote primates embarked for England at the end of August, and General Roche soon after left Greece for his own country.

The Russian party appears to have now become quite extinct. Its death-blow was a semi-official note, put forth in the preceding year by the Russian cabinet, in which the idea was thrown out of forming Greece into principalities, on the same plan as the Dacian provinces; one principality to consist of Eastern Greece (Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica); a second of Western Greece, (Epirus and Acarnania,) from the Austrian boundary to the Gulf of Corinth; the third of the Morea and Candia; and the islands to remain under a municipal government nearly in their former state. This middle course, it seems to have been thought, afforded the best basis for a treaty of peace between the belligerent parties, under the mediation of the Emperor. To the Greeks, however, the proposal appeared both insidious and degrading; and it had been the occasion of a spirited letter addressed by M. Rodios, secretary of the Greek Executive, to the British Government, bearing date Aug. 12, 1824, but which did not reach this country till the following

English Philhellenists, respecting whom Prince Mavrokordato is compelled to say, in a letter to Mr. Blaquiere: "The conduct on the part of these gentlemen is well worthy of the liberty of which they wish to boast. Can there be a more cruel despotism than that of a foreigner, who, without any right, wishes to command, without paying the least regard to the existing laws? Does the first comer think that he can tread us under his feet, or are we thought capable of being led by the nose by the first intriguer?"—BLAQUIERE'S *Second Visit*, p. 84.

November. The letter contains the following remarkable declaration. "The Greek nation, as well as its government, whose organ I have the honour to be, in offering their homage to his Britannic Majesty through your Excellency, solemnly declare, that they prefer a glorious death to the disgraceful lot intended to be imposed upon them." Mr. Canning's reply (dated Dec. 1, 1824,) assured the Greek Government, that Great Britain would "take no part in any attempt to impose upon Greece by force a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes;" and that it might depend on our continuing to observe a strict neutrality; but this was all, it was added, that could reasonably be required of the British ministers.* It was at least all that, under existing circumstances, the unhappy Greeks were warranted to expect, or that the policy of England enabled it to concede. The object of the deputation sent to this country in 1825, was, therefore, to consult the friends of the cause in England on the most expeditious and advantageous means of terminating the war, and to obtain the succour and support of certain well-known individuals, rather than to make a renewed application to the British Government.†

To avoid an unnecessary interruption of our narrative, the state of affairs in Eastern Greece during the year 1825 has not been distinctly adverted to, as

* "Connected as we are with the Porte," Mr. Canning goes on to say, "by the existing friendly relations, and by ancient treaties which the Porte has not violated, it can certainly not be expected that England should commence hostilities which that power has not provoked, and take part in a contest which is not ours." Both the Letter of M. Rodios and Mr. Canning's Reply will be found in the Annual Register for 1825, pp. 56*—60*.

† The assistance of Lord Cochrane was more especially pressed by young Miaulis.

they had little influence on the course of events; but the death of Odysseus, which took place in June, and the circumstances which led to it, are of too interesting a nature to be passed over. This distinguished capitanos, the son of a Thessalian klepht, but a native of Ithaca,* had been brought up by Ali Pasha of Ioannina;† a bad school, in which he is said to have learned how to play the tyrant. He was among the first to join the insurgents; and from his favourite haunts among the caves of Parnassus, he harassed the Turkish armies by cutting off their supplies. In September 1822, at the head of about 200 palikars, he presented himself to the Athenians, who, "thinking that they had an entire right to dispose as they liked of their own citadel, reconquered by their own exertions, resigned it, together with themselves and their property, to the ambiguous protection of Odysseus." The Government had the prudence immediately to confirm their choice, and appointed him captain-general of Eastern Greece.‡ The whole power, civil and military, legislative and executive, was thus placed in his hands, and he is said not greatly to have abused it. In imitation of his old master, he established an excellent police; and the Athenians were at least the gainers by the change which gave them a Greek, instead of a Turkish master.

Such was the man whom Col. Stanhope, mistaking the crafty robber for a philanthropic liberal,—the despot for a republican, was anxious to see placed at the

* Hence his heroic cognomen, Ulyssa.

† See page 109.

‡ Waddington, p. 76. Demetrius Ypsilanti and Niketas had been commissioned by the Executive to take possession of Athens; but they found themselves possessed of only a nominal authority. Odysseus had been captain of Livadia, and he had acquired popularity by his military exploits.

head of the Greek nation, and to whose malignant hatred of Mavrokordato he so imprudently lent himself.* Considering the President as the greatest obstacle to his ambitious designs, Odysseus, in common with Ko-

* See Stanhope's Greece, pp. 125, 134, 197. "I have been constantly with Odysseus. He has a very strong mind, a good heart, and is brave as his sword; he governs with a strong arm, and is the only man in Greece that can preserve order. He is for a strong government, for *constitutional rights*, and for vigorous efforts against the enemy."..." The chief Odysseus has been a mountain robber.. *has refused to give up Athens to a weak government*, and has *lately* sympathised with the people, and taken the liberal course in politics. He is a brave soldier, has great power, and promotes public liberty. Just such a man Greece requires....He is shrewd and ambitious, and *has played the tyrant*, but is *now* persuaded that the road to fame and wealth, is by pursuing good government. He therefore follows this course, and supports the people and the republic. Negris, who once signed his sentence of death, is now (May 1824) his minister." "The fact is," remarks Mr. Waddington, in commenting upon these panegyrical expressions, "that Odysseus, to gain any end, will profess any principles; and as the Colonel was believed to be the dispenser of the good things collected at Messolonghi, and to possess influence over the future distribution of the loan, he was obviously a person to be gained. Behold, then, the robber Odysseus, the descendant from a race of robbers, the favourite pupil of Ali Pasha, the soldier whose only law through life had been his sword, suddenly transformed into a benevolent, liberal, philanthropic republican! It is true, indeed, that in 1821, Odysseus signed his name to a constitution dictated at Salona by Theodore Negris, in which there is one article expressly specifying a wish for a *foreign constitutional monarch*; but circumstances, I suppose, and principles are now changed. However, it is not at last impossible, that Odysseus may be sincere in his desire that Greece should be left to govern herself. The little kingdom of Eastern Hellas suits him very well; and in the probable anarchy of the 'Hellenic Republic,' he may foresee the means of securing that independence which, in fact, he possesses at present. The Central Government, probably dreading some such intention on his part, are now elevating Gourra in opposition to his master. Their hopes, indeed, of establishing any degree of legal authority in that province, rest a good deal on the disunion of these two chiefs."—WADDINGTON, p. 82. Colonel Stanhope writes to Mavrokordato, on one occasion: "Among these bad men, the most odious and *black-hearted* are those who are intriguing in the dark to saddle on the Greek people

lokotroni, always singled him out as the especial object of his jealousy and hatred, never speaking of him without contempt; and in their English friends, they found persons too willing to assist in propagating their calumnies both in Greece and in this country. The breach which might possibly have been healed between the contending parties, was thus irremediably widened.

a foreign king." Whether the Colonel meant to *pun* on the Prince's name, or not, we learn from Mr. Blaquiere, that he meant Mavrokordato to take it to himself; for he had accused him of intriguing in concert with the metropolitan Ignatius for that purpose. This cool insult, the Prince rebuts with equal dignity and temper. " I have nothing to appropriate to myself of all that he writes. If he is attached to our constitution, I think that he whose boast it is to have contributed to its formation ought to be much more so than any other. I know (and have even all the documents in my hands) that M. Negris addressed, more than eighteen months ago, circulars in favour of a monarchical government, of which the ex-king of Westphalia, Jerome, was to be the head; and I also know that I was the first to combat his opinion. Can this M. Negris be the *bad man* of Colonel Stanhope? I know positively also, that under the shadow of the constitution, several captains do that which the greatest despots in the world would not, perhaps, do; that they break legs and arms, and leave in this state of dreadful torture innocent men to perish; that they kill, that they hang, that they destroy men without previous trial; that they revolt; that they even betray their country. Can these be the Colonel's *good men?* These latter I have always opposed, even at the peril of my life."—BLAQUIERE'S *Second Visit*, p. 83. That this is no libel on Odysseus, may be inferred from Mr. Waddington's brief description. " Odysseus is in no respect distinguished from his meanest soldier, otherwise than by the symmetry of his form, and the expressive animation of a countenance which, though handsome, is far from prepossessing; for an habitual frown and a keen and restless eye, betoken cruelty, suspiciousness, and inconstancy; and those who have derived their opinion of his character from the observation of his exterior, and the rumour of his most notorious actions, pronounce him to be violent, avaricious, vindictive, distrustful, inexorable. Those, on the other hand, who believe themselves to have penetrated more deeply into his feelings and principles, consider him to be under the exclusive guidance of policy and interest.'

The fall of Mavrokordato was the favourite object of the military party; and on their accession to power, it has been seen, he was compelled to take refuge in Hydra. Odysseus is represented as having, in 1824, offered to mediate between the Kolokotroni party and the Constitutional Government at Argos; and the surrender of Napoli is ascribed by Capt. Humphreys to his interference.* It seems to have been his object at that time, to secure his share of the loan, his soldiers being, according to his own account, in long arrears of pay. By Conduriotti, then president, he was well received; but by the other members of the Government, he was viewed with a distrust which was not lessened by his requiring a body-guard of ten followers. This was very properly objected to, but no open rupture took place. There was even a talk of nominating him to the command of the forces opposed to Dervish Pasha; but this nomination being delayed, and his demands refused, he took offence, and, accompanied by the Englishman Trelawney, who had married his sister, and by General Karaiskaki, quitted Napoli in disgust.† Soon after, learning that Goura, formerly his lieutenant, had been nominated to replace him in the command of Athens, he disbanded his soldiers, and retired

* Humphreys, p. 232. This gentleman represents Coletti to have been the implacable enemy of his friend Ulysses, who is stated to have been nevertheless at this time determined to support the Government.

† Humphreys, pp. 260—262. Capt. Humphreys states, that Ulysses was offered a command at Hydra, and refused it, as placing him too much in the power or at the disposal of the Government. The distrust was therefore mutual. Previously to his leaving Napoli, he is said to have been shot at when sitting at a window in the house of Niketas. This circumstance, if authenticated, would amply justify his "disgust," but it requires to be substantiated. Negris, whom he left behind at Napoli, died there after a short illness.

to his fortified cave at Parnassus. This stronghold he had lately prepared, in case of being reduced to extremities. It was a natural excavation, capable of accommodating 2000 persons, and containing a spring of fresh water. It could be reached only by ascending a perpendicular cliff a hundred feet in height, which was accomplished by means of three ladders, successively drawn up after passing them; a number of descents and windings then conducted from the small platform to the interior. Here Odysseus had placed a few pieces of cannon, a supply of small arms, and ammunition and provisions sufficient for a ten years' siege; and hither he removed his family and his treasures, determining to separate himself entirely from the Greeks and their cause, and to make his own terms with their enemies. The sequel, we give in the words of Mr. Emerson.

"The Pasha of Negropont had been one of his early friends, and he now renewed the acquaintance for the purpose of answering his own views: what those were have never been understood clearly, but his means of accomplishing them were, at least, extremely liable to suspicion. Frequent letters, and, at length, frequent conferences, of all which the Government had due notice, passed between him and the Pasha. The object of Ulysses is stated to have been the possession of Negropont; it is at least evident, as well from his former conduct as from his treating with an inferior, that he had no intention of attaching himself to the party of the Sultan. Be it as it may, he was now declared a traitor by the Government. Unable, or perhaps too haughty to give an explanation of his motives to his personal enemies, he prepared to meet force by force. Goura, his own captain, and a wretch who had owed his fortune to Ulysses, was

placed at the head of the forces in Attica, to blockade the cave and reduce him to allegiance. Ulysses immediately assembled his followers, but never on any occasion accepted of the assistance of the Turks. Some slight skirmishes had already taken place; but, as the soldiers of Ulysses were daily deserting, as well from an unwillingness to fight against their countrymen and government, as from being allured by the threats and promises of Goura, he was beginning to feel himself somewhat straitened; and gradually retreating towards the country north of Eubœa, he continued to hold out against his pursuers, whilst the cave was left in charge of his family and a proper garrison."

This was in March 1825. Towards the close of April, deserted by his followers, Ulysses had retreated, with a very few attendants, to a monastery in the vicinity of Talanda, which Goura proceeded to blockade. Suddenly, it is said, on condition of being brought to trial, he came, unattended, and surrendered himself to Goura, by whom he was sent prisoner to the acropolis at Athens, the scene of his former power. Here he was confined in the lofty Venetian tower, where he lay till the 5th of June, when his death took place under somewhat mysterious circumstances. The story circulated was, that, in attempting to make his escape, the rope by which he was lowering himself broke, and he was dashed to pieces on the pavement at the base of the tower. Mr. Emerson inclines to believe that he was secretly put to death by order of the Government, but he gives no valid reason for fastening so black a charge on the Executive. If he fell by unfair means, the character of Goura would not be wronged by the supposition that his jealousy and his fears might conspire to prompt him to an act by which he would get rid of the man he had treated with such ingrati-

tude and baseness. And Mr. Swan states, that this was reported to be the case; that Goura let down the rope before the window of his prison, and that Ulysses, supposing it to have been furnished by friends without, fell into the snare.*

In the mean time, the cave of Ulysses in mount Parnassus, which was left under command of Trelawney, was closely blockaded, and every attempt was made to gain possession. Ulysses had been himself escorted to the spot, and forced to sign a summons to Trelawney to surrender, which was not complied with.† Among the inmates of the cavern was a Captain Fenton, a native of Scotland, who had arrived a mere adventurer in Greece the preceding winter, and, during his intercourse with the European residents in the Morea, had proved himself to be divested of every principle or feeling of a gentleman. He had even stooped so low, Mr. Emerson states, as to offer his services to a person in power as the assassin of Ulysses, for the remuneration of a few dollars. This proposal, so far from being accepted, led to his being ordered to leave Napoli,‡ on which he

* The official account, which is perfectly distinct and consistent, is given by Mr. Swan (vol. ii. p. 95), together with the affidavit of the physician. Mr. Emerson supposes the story to have been "feigned by the government, to cover their own imbecility in not daring openly to condemn or bring to trial a man whom they still dreaded, and of whose guilt they were unable to produce convicting proofs." What other proofs could be requisite than his having advanced on Athens at the head of a body of Turkish cavalry, and openly warred against the Government?—See HUMPHREYS'S *Journal*, p. 292.

† Trelawney, Capt. Humphreys says, "had greatly determined Ulysses to leave the Turks, and proposed to him to quit Greece entirely for a time, and go to America; he could not, therefore, in honour betray the trust reposed in him."

‡ Mr. Emerson does not name the person; he asserts, however, that "the proposal was accepted, but a disagreement in the terms, or some other circumstance, had prevented its execution." From

determined on joining the party of the man he had offered to assassinate, and to whom his quarrel with the Government was a sufficient recommendation. He was accordingly received among the inmates of the cave, where he remained after the surrender of Ulysses, as the dependant rather than the companion of Trelawney; till, on the death of the chieftain, he formed the atrocious resolution of making himself master of the cave and its contents, which, by previous contract, were now the property of his benefactor. A few days

whom did he learn this? From Fenton or from Jarvis? Capt. Humphreys attempts to fasten the atrocious calumny on Mavrokordato. "Whoever," he says, "first made this infamous proposal, an argument used by Mavrokordato was, that Trelawney, as a native of Great Britain, being in the service of the Greeks, was out of the pale of his country's laws; and an American of the name of Jarvis, now a Greek lieutenant-general, was Mavrokordato's agent in the affair, and negotiated between them." This Jarvis (or Gervase), who is the same that headed the garrison at Neo-kastro, has admitted that he was the person who introduced Fenton to the Prince, but states, that "he discontinued his acquaintance on Fenton's intimating a design to murder his friend, the man upon whom he was dependent, and with whom he lived on the strictest terms of intimacy. He regrets," adds Mr. Swan, "as well he may, having had the least acquaintance with him."—*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 102. Here is not a word of any proposal made to Mavrokordato; nor is it credible that Fenton should have been expelled from Napoli by the Government, if such a proposal had been for a moment listened to? Whitcombe, however, in an intercepted letter to this same Capt. Humphreys, after accusing him of deserting one whom he called his friend, charges him in the plainest terms with being himself accessory to the intended murder of Trelawney. Possibly, he had been told this by Fenton, who perhaps told Humphreys that he was engaged by Mavrokordato. Humphreys, however, by his own confession, knew, while he was with Ulysses, that Fenton was carrying on the intrigue,—"under the pretence to us," he says, "whether true or false, of entrapping Mavrokordato." This privity must certainly tend to vitiate his evidence. Yet, before he left Greece, he had the temerity to write a virulent letter to Mavrokordato, accusing him of keeping in pay assassins.—HUMPHREYS, p. 330. SWAN, vol. ii. p. 100.

before he made the attempt, the cave was visited by a young English gentleman, named Whitcombe, whom Fenton succeeded in persuading to become his accomplice. The plan was, that they should fire at a target, while their host and benefactor stood umpire; and while Trelawney unsuspectingly advanced to examine the first shots, the conspirators both made the attempt at the same moment. Fenton's pistol missed fire; but Whitcombe's took effect with two balls, and Trelawney fell, desperately, though not fatally wounded. His attendants, rushing forward, poiniarded Fenton on the spot, while his confederate was secured in irons. Trelawney's recovery was long doubtful, but at length he was able to leave the cave, together with his wife, Goura having consented to grant them an escort, and in September, they embarked for the Ionian Isles. Before his departure, he generously gave Whitcombe his liberty, letting him loose again on society, in consideration of his youth (scarcely nineteen) and the respectability of his family.* The cave remained in the possession of the widow of Ulysses and her adherents.

The military events in Eastern Greece were of slight importance, the Seraskier having found it necessary to recall into Thessaly the troops that had entered Bœotia, for the purpose of supporting the operations of the Pasha of Egripo, in order to direct all his means to the protection of his position before Messolonghi.

To return to the Morea. Having failed in surprising Napoli, the object next in importance, to which Ibrahim Pasha turned his attention, was to open a

* "Mr. Whitcombe has returned to Hydra, very little sensible, as it seems, of the heinousness of his conduct. He is said to be an extremely weak young fellow, full of daring and romance, and desirous of aping the extravagant conduct of Hope's Anastasius."—SWAN, vol. ii. p. 187.

passage to Patras; but the mountainous districts of Arcadia and Achaia, which intervene between that city and the plains of Mantineia and Argos, are exactly suited to such troops as the armatoli, and Demetrius Ypsilanti was able effectually to bar his further progress in that direction. On the 10th of August, an engagement took place between a body of Egyptian troops advancing from Megalopolis and the Greeks posted near Phigalia, in which the former were repulsed with the loss of 250 killed and thirty prisoners, among whom was Deri Bey, their captain, who died of his wounds: the Greeks, firing from behind their tambours, had only three killed and five wounded. In a subsequent engagement, Ibrahim Pasha is stated to have been defeated in person by the united forces of Ypsilanti, Kolokotroni, and Coliopulo: his Moorish regulars having fled before the well-aimed fire of the Greeks, threw the whole army into disorder, and 300 were left dead on the field. At length, Tripolitza became an insecure position, and after the retreat of the Ottoman fleet from before Messolonghi, Ibrahim Pasha retreated with all his forces to Kalamata, there to await reinforcements and supplies. Symptoms of plague at Modon prevented his retiring on that place.

By a shew of clemency at the opening of the campaign, and the merciful observance of his treaties at Navarino and Neo-kastro, Ibrahim had expected to carry all before him. Proclamations of mercy and conciliation were made in his march to Tripolitza at every village; but the inhabitants, too well instructed by experience, invariably fled to the mountains at his approach. Disappointment and rage now led him to throw off the mask. Every deserted village was reduced to ashes as he passed, every unfor-

tunate straggler that fell into his hands was unrelentingly butchered; and he openly declared that he would burn and lay waste the whole Morea. *

* The Rev. Mr. Swan, in September (1825), accompanied Captain Hamilton in a visit to Ibrahim Pasha, at Mistra, for the purpose of negotiating a change of prisoners. His person is thus described. "The Pasha is a stout, broad, brown-faced, vulgar-looking man, thirty-five or forty years of age, strongly marked with the small-pox; his countenance possesses little to engage, but, when he speaks, which he does with considerable ease and fluency, it becomes animated and rather striking. He frequently accompanies his words with a long drawling cry, which, to European ears, sounds ridiculously enough. His manner carries with it that sort of decision which is the common appendage of despotism. Deprived of this, he would resemble an uneducated, hard-favoured seaman of our own country. He was plainly clothed for a Turk; and his camp establishment altogether had none of that parade and luxury which we are accustomed to attach to eastern warfare." The Pasha professed his high regard for the English nation, and was at once most polite, wily, and evasive. "Speaking of the Morea," continues Mr. Swan, "although he regretted the necessity of his present proceedings, yet it was his intention to pursue them to the utmost. He would burn and destroy the whole Morea; so that it should neither be profitable to the Greeks, nor to him, nor to any one. What would these infatuated men, the dupes of their own imbecile Government, do for provisions in the winter? He knew that his own soldiers would also suffer—that they too must perish. But his father Mehemet Ali was training forty thousand men, and he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of twelve thousand. If these were cut off, he would have more, and he would persevere till the Greeks returned to their former state. One of the castles on the plain, he said, had just been carried by assault, and the garrison all put to the sword; the other was expected to fall immediately. He repeated, 'I will not cease till the Morea be a ruin.' The Sultan has already conferred upon him the title and insignia of Pasha of this unhappy land; and, said his highness, 'If the good people of England, who are so fond of sending money to the Greeks, would send it directly to me, it would save them considerable trouble: eventually, it all comes to my treasury.'" Sulieman Bey is thus described: "He looks exactly like an ostler turned bandit: a strikingly vulgar face, marked with the small-pox, (as if in sympathy with his master!) is set off by small light-blue eyes, light hair, and a flat nose This person was

"Thus," remarks Colonel Leake, "was annihilated in a few weeks, that slight improvement which had been produced by a three years' exemption from the blighting presence of the Mussulmans; during which an increase of inhabitants, seeking refuge from other parts of Greece, together with the confidence inspired by a Government which, however imperfect, had been sufficiently composed of right materials to produce some beneficial reforms, promised in a short time to effect a favourable change in the whole peninsula. Schools of mutual instruction and other places of education had been established in several towns; and no sooner had the government obtained the power of taking the collection of the revenue out of the hands of the old primates and captains of armatoli, than the national domains, formed of the confiscated Turkish property, were let for double the sum that had been given for them the preceding year."

Such was the posture of affairs at the close of the fifth campaign;—and here, for the present, we suspend our rapid sketch of the yet unfinished contest. The observations of Colonel Leake, in concluding the Historical Outline, to which we have had repeated occasion to refer, will assist the reader in forming a just view of the present state and prospects of of Greece.

"Upon reviewing the events of the contest since its first commencement in the summer of 1821, it will be seen how little has been done on either side, in a military point of view, towards its decisive termination;

raised from the ranks by Bonaparte, and became aide-de-camp to General Ney, for attempting to effect whose escape he was outlawed. He then served in the corps of the Mamelukes, which he organised; and, finally, abandoning his religion for the polluted and degrading faith of the Crescent, he became Sulieman Bey, the associate, friend, and general of Ibrahim Pasha."—SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 237, 246.

such children are both parties in the art of war, and so contemptible will their operations both by land and water generally appear to the military critics of civilized Europe. But there are two advantages possessed by the Greeks, which ought to prevent them from despairing of final success, — the strength of their country and the superiority of their seamen. The skill, the activity, and often the gallantry of the Greek sailors, have excited the approbation of some of our own sea-officers. It is true, that neither the numbers nor the size of their vessels is such as can give them the command of the sea, or ensure to them such a protracted blockade of the maritime fortresses as will lead to a surrender caused by famine, or prevent debarkations, such as those which have occurred during the present year; especially as long as the Greeks are unable to undertake a regular siege of the maritime fortresses. But the Turkish seamen always avoid the Greeks, and the Turkish squadrons are almost sure of receiving some damage whenever they meet. Their *brulotiers* in particular have furnished examples of enterprise and patriotic devotion, which are fully sufficient to establish the national character, and to cancel the disgrace of any conduct that may have occurred of an opposite kind, the unavoidable consequence of insubordination and of a privation of law both civil and military. In the strength of their mountainous districts, the Greeks have a still firmer anchor for their hopes. The more exposed parts of Greece, such as Crete, Macedonia, and Eastern Thessaly, may enter into temporary terms with the enemy; but this cannot occur in that great citadel of mountains which extends from the plains of Thessaly and Bœotia westward as far as the sea-coast, and southward as far as the centre of the Morea — at least until the Ottomans are much

further advanced in conquest than they are at present. It might be supposed that, military ignorance being nearly equal on both sides, the party which should first establish a disciplined force, and which should first obtain any important assistance from European officers of military experience, would be almost certain of success. But the discipline of the Egyptian infantry is not as yet, we apprehend, of a very high degree; and there is wanting in the Egyptian army the education, the intelligence, and those martial habits in every gradation of officers, without which the proficiency of the troops in the European use of the musket must lose a great part of its advantage. Mehmet Aly is yet far from having overcome those numerous vices in the Turkish system, both civil and military, which so often render Turkish councils abortive. The desolation of the Morea, together with the inefficacy of a Turkish commissariat, will place perpetual obstacles in the way of Ibrahim's progress, and will render the arduous task of subduing the mountains of Greece still more difficult. That tractability of disposition which has enabled Mehmet Aly to mould his Egyptians to the European discipline, is allied to an inferiority in hardihood and energy to the European and Asiatic Turks, with whom similar attempts have always failed. The Egyptians are precisely the troops least adapted to face the active and hardy Greek, in the rude climate, the barren soil, and the strong positions of his native mountains. We cannot easily conceive that Greece is destined to be subjugated by Egyptians. Even Sesostris drove his conquering chariot no further than Thrace; nor will those who have an opportunity of comparing the Greek with the Egyptian of the present day, think it probable that a conquest will now be effected, if it depends upon the

military qualities of the two people. In short, as not even Spain in the time of the Romans was better adapted for prolonging an obstinate contest, by the strength of the country and the elastic character of the inhabitants, there is the fairest reason to hope that Mehmet Aly may be tired of his present expensive undertaking, before he has made any great progress towards its completion.

" In addition to the two principal advantages which have been mentioned, the cause of the Greeks derives considerable strength and hope from the impossibility, on their part, of submitting to such a state of vassalage as they were before subject to. They know too well, that to give the Turks such a power would be to consent to their own destruction; and they did not want the declaration of Ibrahim to be assured, that if he should acquire the government of the Morea by right of conquest, which the Porte has promised him, he would exchange the enslaved survivors of the Peninsula for a colony of Egyptians. Such a termination, however, all history as well as common reason tells us, is impossible, if the Greeks have but 'the unconquerable will, and courage never to submit and yield.' The utmost that can be expected is the retreat of a great part of the population of Greece into the mountains, a continuance of predatory warfare on both sides, and the desolation of every other part of the country, except the immediate vicinity of the fortified places.

" Some politicians will perhaps be inclined to say that, however deplorable to the people of Greece such a result might be, it would be better that they should suffer, than that the general peace of Europe should be compromised. But, supposing the interior continent of Greece to be thus comfortably settled for the general repose, there still remains an extensive

sea-coast: in fact, the numerous islands, the winding shores, and the great proportion of maritime outline to the size of the country, render the Greeks more peculiarly a naval people than any other in Europe. If forced to the extremity of distress, they must be pirates by sea as well as freebooters by land. However disposed the nation might be to a better course, however deserving of a better fate, necessity would force the maritime population to those habits of life which are natural to Greece in a savage state, and to which its rocky creeks and islands have always afforded, and will ever give the greatest facilities. No alternative would then remain for the powers of Europe, but to give up all commercial pursuits in the Levant, or to suppress the Greek piracies by force—in other words, to assist the Turks in exterminating them from their native islands." *

It is scarcely possible, that Greece and Turkey should, under any political arrangements, be re-united into one empire. This

> ——" land, the first garden of liberty's tree—
> It has been, and shall yet be the land of the free." †

The moment, it may confidently be hoped, is approaching, when the Christian Powers of Europe will not disdain to allow the Greeks once more to take the rank of a nation. They have a country, a language, literature, laws, and, with all its political defects, a national government, which admits of being rendered an efficient one, and which, such as it is, has proved a blessing to the people. Let it not be deemed a possible thing, that Christian Europe should consent to

* Leake, pp. 178, 184.

† Campbell's "Song of the Greeks.

ss being extinguished in Turkish or Egyptian darkness. It has not appeared to us advisable to lay much stress on the religious claims of the Greeks; and yet, though it be a spurious and nominal Christianity to which they are blindly but faithfully attached, and for which they have shed their blood, no sincere Christian can feel unconcerned respecting the issue of a contest which is to decide whether, in Greece, the Bible or the Koran shall be the acknowledged standard of faith. On the part of the Moslems, the warfare, it must not be forgotten, is animated by a hostility to the religion of Christ,—disguised, indeed, under idolatrous corruptions, but undistinguishable, in the eyes of the brutal Mussulman, from a purer faith. The longer such a contest lasts, remarks Col. Leake, "the more incredible it becomes, that Christian Europe will contemplate unmoved the destruction of a Christian people by the semi-barbarous followers of a religion hostile to the whole Christian name, because those infidels have for some centuries been suffered to abuse the possession of some of the finest countries in Europe, and because, in consideration of their proximity, and for the sake of the general peace, they have in some degree been admitted into the social system of the civilised world."

The time is come, it may at length be perceived, when the interests of social order in Europe require that Greece, within whatsover limits circumscribed, should be a free and independent state. "The Greeks in slavery," it has been remarked, "invite the Russians: free, they would repel them." * Greece, even if

* De Sismondi on the Extermination of the Greeks. See New Monthly Magazine, July 1, 1826, p. 93. "By the conduct of the Russians," remarks M. Sismondi, "the Greeks have been so thoroughly compromised for the last half century, that there has

subdued, would be the weakness, not the strength of Turkey, a barren as well as a dreadful conquest, fatal to herself. If, therefore, the peace of Europe demands the toleration of the Ottoman empire in Turkey, in order to give stability to that empire, it is necessary that the Porte should be made to part with Greece, and that a new barrier should thus be created against those encroachments which threaten to sweep away the tottering fabric. "It is time to detach all the Christian subjects of Turkey from a Russian alliance, by giving them a country to fight for."* The aggrandisement of Egypt, at the expense of Greece, or even of Turkey, to whatever power it might be advantageous, cannot be for the interest of the Protectors of the Ionian Isles.† One thing seems certain: Greece cannot be restored to its former condition. It cannot, inhabited by Greeks, relapse into a province of the Turkish empire. A fearful responsibility rests upon that Christian nation upon whose rulers it mainly depends to determine, whether the Morea shall remain a frightful desert, or whether from the ashes of Scio, Kidonies, and Psara, new and flourishing communities shall spring up under the protection of a free government, and literature, the arts, and the faith which Paul preached at Athens and Corinth, once more flourish on the shores of the Levant.

only remained to the Turks the choice of massacring them or of acknowledging their independence."

* Sismondi.

† Even the Porte, it is said, begins to discover that Ibrahim, in the possession of the Morea, may be a more dangerous neighbour than even a Greek republic; in consequence of which, envoys have been sent from Constantinople to treat with the rebellious provinces.

THE MOREA.*

In now proceeding to give, from the works of Modern Travellers, a topographical description of the country, we shall not unfrequently have occasion to give an account of things as they were prior to the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, rather than of their present aspect. We shall begin with the Peninsula.

No one would think of visiting the Morea without the Itinerary of Sir William Gell. Although it is more than twenty years since he performed the tour of the Peninsula, we may safely put ourselves under his guidance as a topographer. In January 1824, he landed at Navarino, the fatal spot where the Egyptian fleet, in May 1825, made their descent on the coast.

NAVARINO.

On entering the port by the southern entrance,† a curious conical mountain, called *Pilaf Tepe*, rises in a line with the modern fortress. The mountain of *Agio Nicolo* lies immediately on the right of the passage. The harbour, "certainly," Sir William Gell says, "one of the finest in the world," is formed by a deep indenture in the coast, shut in by a long island, the ancient Sphacteria, famous for the signal defeat which the Spartans sustained here from the Athenians in

* The modern name of the Peninsula is said to have been given to it, on account of its resembling in figure a mulberry leaf.

† The other entrance, to the north, has not sufficient water to admit anything larger than boats, and is constantly becoming shallower. The port is pointed out from the sea by the ruined fortress of Old Navarino, seated on a lofty rock at its northern extremity.

the Peloponnesian war.* "The island (still called Sphagia) has been separated into three or four parts by the violence of the waves, so that boats might pass from the open sea into the port, in calm weather, by means of the channel so formed. On one of the portions is the tomb of a Turkish santon, and near the centre of the port is another very small island or rock.

"The remains of Navarino Vecchio consist in a fort or castle of mean construction, covering the summit of a hill, sloping quickly to the south, but falling in abrupt precipices to the north and east. The town was built on the southern declivity, and was surrounded with a wall, which, allowing for the natural irregularities of the soil, represented a triangle, with the castle at the apex,—a form observed in many of the ancient cities in Greece. The ascent is steep, and is rendered more difficult by the loose stones and broken tiles, which are the only vestiges of the habitations. Two or three curtains, with towers and gates, have formerly been placed across the hill, to secure the ascent, which continues for at least one thousand paces between the shore and the citadel. The foundation of the walls, throughout the whole circuit, remains entire; but the fortifications were never of any consequence, though they present a picturesque groupe of turrets and battlements from below, and must have been very imposing from the sea when the place was inhabited. From the top is an extensive view over the island of Sphacteria, the port, with the

* The island, according to Col. Leake, is two miles in length, and a quarter of a mile broad. The basin is six miles in circumference, having an entrance of 600 yards between Neo-Kastro and the south-eastern end of Sphacteria; the northern end being separated, by a channel of 100 yards, from a peninsular promontory anciently called Coryphasium.

town of Navarino to the south, and a considerable tract of the Messenian territory on the east, with the conical hill, which, though some miles from the shore, is used as a landmark, to point out the entrance to the port.

"This place is supposed to have been built on the site of the Pylos of Messenia; but either the public buildings of Pylos must have been very insignificant, or this could not have been the spot, for we were unable to find any squared blocks of stone or marble, the usual indications of the existence of more ancient cities. There is a cave in the rocks below, which some Frank has taught the two or three Greeks who ever heard of Nestor, to believe was the stall where he kept his cows; a mistake which some future traveller will probably magnify into an ancient tradition.

"Towards the north, the island of Prote * is visible. Below us, in the same direction, we observed, between the sea and a salt lake which once formed part of the port, two points of rock, united by a semicircular causeway of sand, which the violence of the sea had driven into that form, and which the people called *Boudiou Chilia*, the Cow's Paunch. This sand is evidently formed by a modern deposite from the sea; and the rock of Navarino Vecchio must at no very remote period have been an island, and may even have formed part of Sphacteria. Ruins probably exist on the hills, near the villages of Petrachorio and Leukos on the north-east.

"The town within the walls of the fortress of Navarino, like all those in this part of the world, is encumbered with the fallen ruins of former habitations.

* The Prodano of Italian maps, but in the country retaining its ancient name.

These have generally been constructed by the Turks since the expulsion of the Venetians. They were originally erected in haste, and being often cemented with mud instead of mortar, the rains of autumn, penetrating between the outer and inner faces of the walls, swell the earth, and soon effect the ruin of the whole structure.

"The soil about Navarino is of a red colour, and is remarkable for the production of an infinite quantity of squills, which are used in medicine, and asphodels, the flowers of which are very numerous and pretty during the winter months, though, in the summer, they are reduced to the state of dried sticks, without any traces of vegetation. The rocks, which shew themselves in every direction through a scanty but rich soil, are limestone: they have an extraordinary appearance, being curiously perforated in so great a number of small holes, where the softer particles have been decomposed by time, that a place to tie a horse or to moor a boat seems never to be wanting, either on the road or on the beach. The perpetual presence of rock has, however, a general appearance of unproductiveness round the castle of Navarino; and the absence of trees is ill compensated by the profusion of sage, brooms, cistus, and other shrubs which start from the innumerable cavities of the limestone."*

The house of the archon (Sir William's host) was new, and is described as a specimen of the mansions in this part of the country. "It is situated at the foot of a hill, sloping to the west of the port. From the extremities of the house two wings project backwards, of which one is the women's apartment, and the other the kitchen. The remainder of the

* Gell's Journey in the Morea, pp. 19—23.

is enclosed with a wall, which surrounds a garden rising up the hill in terraces, the lowest of which is not entered from below, but from the gallery of the principal apartment, by a bridge over the court. Four or five good rooms, under which are magazines, open into a wooden gallery overlooking the court and garden. The gallery is reached by a flight of steps from the court, and serves, like the peristyles of the ancients, either as a place of conversation or for exercise, according to the season. It not unfrequently happens, that a part is separated from the rest by a rail or steps, and, being furnished with cushions, becomes the summer apartment; answering exactly to the *alæ* of the ancients, both in disposition and utility. The terraces of the garden, rising in regular gradation, with the plants and flowers, make a gay and delightful spectacle from within." *

The road from Navarino to Modon (or Mothone), after passing the castle, runs southward along a rugged hollow, between the mountain of Agio Nicolo on the west, and a lower range on the east, "both ugly and uninteresting." Here and there, are vestiges of a paved way, probably Venetian, composed of small stones well united; and where the road to Coron (or Korone) turns off to the left, the learned Traveller noticed small patches of arable ground. The rocky mountain on the left is perforated with caves. In about half an hour, the road leads to a wood of mulberries, interspersed with cypresses, and thence descends to a little plain at that time covered with olives. The village of Opshino lies on the left, seated on an eminence about three miles from Navarino; and still more dis-

* Among other plants, the sugar-cane had been cultivated by the archon, and appeared to thrive. The mean temperature of Navarino, Sir W. Gell supposes to be not lower than 66°.

tant is seen a pretty hamlet, ornamented with many cypresses, called *Dia-ta-Bathenai*. The village of Metaxadi is also seen on the left. Mount Agio Nicolo now approaches the road, and two or three ruined Greek chapels occur, with some old foundations. After passing a cave on the right, containing "something like holes for votive offerings," with an ancient quarry below, the plain of Modon may be said to commence. It was, at the time of Sir William Gell's visit, well cultivated, and being shaded by innumerable olives, presented a smiling and inviting appearance; here and there, were observed Turkish villas; and Sir William was convinced, that the Turkish despotism must be a blessing to the country.* He arrived at Modon after a ride of nearly two hours, a distance of about seven miles.

MODON.

"MODON consists at present of two portions; one within the walls of the fortress, and the other a considerable Greek village to the north of it: the latter is surrounded with an extensive tract of gardens, many of which are delightfully planted with oranges, lemons, and pomegranates. It is not easy to say whether the Greek or the Turkish town is the more wretched, one being built in the meanest and most irregular manner, while the other, though surrounded with walls, presents only a melancholy spectacle of deserted streets and dilapidated habitations."† Over the gate of the

* "The vicinity of the two forts of Navarino and Modon seems to have given the Turkish population the greater share in the soil in this district, and the Greek chapels on the road are all deserted and ruined."

† "The Aga seemed wretchedly poor, though the governor of the place, and his house was in scarcely a less filthy and ruinous

fortress,—"a curious octagon fort, communicating with the town by a stone bridge," the lion of St. Mark still attests the ancient sway of the Venetian Republic.

About two miles N.E. of Modon, is a place called *Palaio Mothone*, (Old Modon). The walk to it lay along the plain through gardens and olive-grounds, extending over the site of the city. "The place is marked out by mounds of earth, which point out in a very unsatisfactory manner the spot where it is supposed to have existed. The fields are strewed with broken tiles and pottery. A little ruined church, placed on a mount overlooking a dell, watered by a meandering brook, is possibly on the site of a temple, and contained an ancient pillar of white marble, now thrown down. There is nothing worthy of observation on the spot, which is, however, pretty and sequestered."*

Modon has a small port, but ships generally anchor at the opposite island of Sapienza. Three batteries command the bay: the uppermost two have the appearance of being patched upon the dome of an old buildi. The surrounding country reminded Mr. Swan (in 5) of the dark, barren land which occurs between Leeds and Pontefract in our coal districts, for the Turks encamped here had employed themselves in cutting down and burning the olive-trees. In other parts, the plain had a fertile aspect, and many

condition than that of the commandant at Navarino: so far is it from truth," adds this zealous Philo-Turk, "that the Turks live in ease and affluence, while the Greeks are condemned to filth and penury." Sir William seems to consider this as a proof of the impartiality of the Turkish tyranny.

* Narrative, p. 49. In the Author's Itinerary, there are stated to be at Palaio Mothone, "vestiges of a city, with *a citadel and a few marbles*. It is difficult to determine the date of the ruins."

of the Turkish tents were pitched amid extensive olive-grounds, and orange-groves.*

For a description of the route to Coron, we must have recourse to the florid pages of the Viscount de Chateaubriand, who visited this part of the Morea in the year 1806.

"It was still dark when we left Modon. I fancied myself wandering among the wilds of America: here was the same solitude, the same silence. We passed through woods of olive-trees, proceeding in a southerly direction. At day-break, we found ourselves on the level summits of the most dreary hills that I ever beheld. For two hours we continued our route over these elevated plains, which, being ploughed up by the torrents, resembled forsaken fallows, interspersed with the sea-rush and bushes of a species of brier. Large bulbs of the mountain lily, uprooted by the rains, appeared here and there on the surface of the ground. We descried the sea to the east, through a thinly-sown wood of olives. We then descended into a valley, where we saw some fields of barley and cotton. We crossed the bed of a torrent, now dried up; it was full of rose-laurels and of the agnus-castus, a shrub

* "The Abbé Barthelemy considered Mothone as so uninteresting, that he has taken notice of nothing but its spring of bituminous water.... The name frequently occurs in history, but never as the scene of any important event. From a fragment by Diodorus Siculus, we find that Brasidas defended this place against the Athenians. The same writer terms it a town of Laconia, because Messenia was a conquest of Lacedæmon.....Trajan granted privileges to Mothone. It was taken by the Venetians in 1124, and again, having reverted to its former masters, in 1204. A Genoese corsair dispossessed the Venetians in 1208, but the Doge Dandolo recovered it. In 1498, it was taken by Mahommed II., reconquered by Morosini in 1686, and finally recovered by the Turks in 1715."—CHATEAUBRIAND'S *Greece*, vol. i. p. 81.

with a long, pale, narrow leaf, whose purple and somewhat woolly flower shoots out nearly into the form of a spindle. I mention these two shrubs, because they are met with over all Greece, and are almost the only decorations of those solitudes, once so rich and gay, at present so naked and dreary. Now I am upon the subject of this dry torrent, I shall observe, that, in the native country of the Ilissus, the Alpheus, and the Erymanthus, I have seen but three rivers whose urns were not exhausted; these were the Pamisus, the Cephisus, and the Eurotas.

"On leaving the valley which I have just mentioned, we began to ascend fresh mountains. My guide several times repeated to me names which I had never heard; but, to judge from their position, these mountains must form part of the chain of Mount Temathea. We soon entered a wood of olive-trees, rose-laurels, agnus-castus, and cornel-trees. This wood was overlooked by rugged hills. Having reached the top of these, we beheld the Gulf of Messenia, skirted on all sides by mountains, among which the Ithome was distinguished by its insulated situation and the Taygetus by his two pointed peaks. As we proceeded, we discovered below us the road and harbour of Coron, in which we saw several ships at anchor: the fleet of the Capitan Pasha lay on the other side of the Gulf towards Calamata. On reaching the plain, which lies at the foot of the mountains, and extends to the sea, we left on our right a village, in the middle of which stood a kind of fortified castle; the whole, that is to say, both the village and the castle, were in a manner surrounded with an immense Turkish cemetery, covered with cypresses of all ages. My guide, pointing to these trees, called them Parissos. The rose-laurel there grew at the foot of the cypresses,

which resembled large black obelisks; white turtle-doves and blue pigeons fluttered and cooed among their branches; the grass waved about the small funereal columns crowned with turbans; and a fountain, built by a shereef, poured its waters into the road for the benefit of the traveller. From this cemetery to Coron is nearly two hours' journey. We proceeded through an uninterrupted wood of olives; the space between the trees being sown with wheat, which was half cut down. The ground, which at a distance has the appearance of a level plain, is intersected by rough and deep ravines.

"Corone, like Messene and Megalopolis, is not a place of very high antiquity, since it was founded by Epaminondas on the ruins of the ancient Epea. Coron has hitherto been taken for the ancient Corone, agreeably to the opinion of D'Anville. On this point I have some doubts. According to Pausanias, Corone was situated at the foot of Mount Temathea, near the mouth of the Pamisus. Coron, on the contrary, is at a considerable distance from that river: it stands on an eminence, nearly in the position in which the same Pausanias places the temple of Apollo Corinthus, or rather in the position of Colonides. At the bottom of the Gulf of Messenia, on the sea-shore, you meet with ruins which may be the remains of the ancient Corone, unless they belong to the village of Ino. Coronelli is mistaken in supposing Coron to be the ancient Pedasus, which, according to Strabo and Pausanias, must be sought in Methone."

What is supposed to be the site of Corone, exhibits, however, but a heap of modern ruins. According to M. Pellegrin, who travelled in the Morea between 1715 and 1719, the territory of Coron then comprehended eighty villages. "I am doubtful," M. de

Chateaubriand continues, " if five or six could now be found within the same district. The rest of this devastated tract belongs to Turks, who possess three or four thousand olive-trees. The house of the French Consul overlooked the Gulf of Coron. From my window, I beheld the sea of Messenia, painted with the most beautiful azure. On the opposite side rose the lofty chain of the snow-capped Taygetus, which Polybius justly compares to the Alps, but to the Alps beneath a more lovely sky. On my right extended the open sea; and on my left, at the extremity of the Gulf, I discovered Mount Ithome, detached like Mount Vesuvius, which it also resembles in its truncated summit. What reflections are excited by the prospect of the desert coasts of Greece, where nought is heard, save the eternal whistling of the wind and the roaring of the billows! The report of guns, fired from time to time by the ships of the Capitan Pasha against the rocks of the Mainotes, (with whom he was then at war,) alone interrupted these dismal sounds by a sound still more dismal; and nothing was to be seen upon this whole extent of sea but the fleet of this chief of the barbarians."

The disturbed state of the country rendering it unsafe to proceed to Sparta by way of Kalamata, (a village nearly opposite to Coron on the other side of the Gulf,) M. de Chateaubriand determined to proceed to Tripolitza. Embarking in a skiff, he reached in a few hours the mouth of the Pamisus, " the largest river of the Peloponnesus," where the bark grounded for want of water. Here he landed, and proceeded through Nisi, " a considerable village " three or four miles up that river, directing his course towards Mount Ithome, leaving on the right the ruins of Messene. He passed through " Chafasa, Scala, Cyparissa, and

several other villages recently destroyed by the Pasha, in his last expedition against the banditti.....From the desolation that reigned around me," remarks the learned Frenchman, "it might have been supposed that the ferocious Spartans had again been ravaging the native land of Aristodemus." An uneven plain, covered, like the savannas of Florida, with long grass and droves of horses, conducted him to the extremity of the basin, formed by the junction of the lofty mountains of Arcadia and Laconia. The long and narrow defile which leads out into the plain of Leondari, strongly reminded him of the passage of the Apennines between Perouse and Tarni. We shall not accompany this Writer any farther in his route to Tripolitza; but must now return to Navarino, in order to trace the route of Sir William Gell and Ibrahim Pasha to Arcadia, and complete, from other sources, our description of the Messenian territory.

FROM NAVARINO TO ARCADIA.

THE first stage from Navarino, proceeding northward, is to Gargagliano. The track runs along the eastern shore of the port for some time, and then descends into an alluvial plain, leaving the little villages of Petrachorio and Leuka on the left, and Gephyræ and Lisaki on little knolls to the right.* A little beyond, the road enters a pretty wooded valley, watered by the river Romanus, which is crossed by a bridge; and about three-quarters of a mile further, a woody dell, where the Brussomavo† has also its bridge. Here, Sir William Gell was delighted with a thicket

* In the Itinerary written, Geophyre and Lirachi.
† In the Itinerary, Brisomero Nerro

of arbutus, which formed a beautiful shrubbery on either hand. The aspect of the intermediate country was neither fertile nor inviting, and much of it was neglected. Near the Romanos, there was a tract cultivated with lupins, and a crop of maize had recently been gathered from the plains. A steep and difficult ascent conducts from the arbutus grove to a summit affording a fine view of the sea and Prote; and Gargagliano soon becomes visible, distant from Navarino five hours and a quarter. Through the whole of this uninteresting journey, the travellers did not meet a single individual on the road.*

"Gargagliano is a very large Greek village, probably built under the Venetians, the name being evidently Italian. It is placed on a high flat, with a very steep descent towards the sea and the lower country on the coast, which terminates in a promontory opposite to the island of Prote: this is overlooked, though at some distance from the village. Prote is at present remarkable only for the number of oxen which it maintains, and for a port where small vessels frequently take shelter. Gargagliano is distinguished by the number of cypresses with which it is ornamented: these, together with the situation, give the town an air of prosperity and consequence from without, which

* Sir William's account of the road is truly appalling. "Nothing," he says, "can equal the impracticability of a Greek road over a district of pointed limestone rocks perpetually appearing at the surface, except that across the succeeding valley or plain, when it has been well soaked by the autumnal rains. The short herbage, beginning to spring up in the winter, renders it necessary for the traveller to attend to his own involuntary agitations; while the luggage-horse, after a thousand slips and as many recoveries, almost invariably puts a stop to further progress for a short time, by receiving a desperate fall, after a slide of several feet, and a succession of unavailing struggles."

the interior is ill calculated to maintain."* The village abounded with droves of swine ("the sure symptom of a Christian population in the East,") not absolutely wild, but with long legs and backs well arched and fringed with long bristles, resembling the boars on antique gems. Mill-stones are cut from a rock near this place, but the learned Traveller could hear of no other production for sale.

"Quitting Gargagliano at seven A.M.," continues Sir William, "we descended to the lower country on the coast, leaving the path to Prote on the left. On the right we observed several caves, and one called Barytospelia, once producing, as the name imports, nitre for the manufacture of gunpowder. Having passed an open grove of Velania oaks, and a plain spotted with shrubs, we descended to the river Longobardo, which we passed over a bridge of two arches. On the descent was a pretty fountain, with a Turkish inscription, and other eastern decorations added by the Turk who had erected it, and had conveyed the water for the use of travellers; but the pious zeal of some Greeks had just deprived it of its ornaments, and destroyed the water-course, by way of rendering a service to the cause of religion. The country had here and there small patches of cultivation, producing grain and lupins. After passing another river, called Agia Kyriaki, the hills receded from the coast, and we saw, over the tops of the nearest, the peaked summit of the lofty Mount Mallia, or Mali, which may be considered as the centre from which all the other hills of the south-western point of the Morea proceed.

* Gell's Narrative, pp. 62, 71. In the Itinerary, the houses of Gargagliano are stated to be good.

"Three hours' ride from Gargagliano brought us to the village of Philiatra, after passing through a very rich tract of vineyards and olive-grounds, and under a large oak with the ruins of a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicolo. The number of trees, and particularly of cypresses, formed so marked a feature in this spot, that we were not aware of the houses before we were on the point of entering the place.

"Philiatra is a large and straggling village, situated in a plain, forming a cape between the mountains and the sea. The habitations are so interspersed with trees and vineyards, that scarcely any two are distinguishable together; and the site was then to be recognised from a distance only by a groupe of cypresses, one of which, of great height, is visible from a considerable extent both of sea and land. Philiatra may properly be styled a Greek village, though a few Turks, and among others, our Janissary Mustapha, had acquired property there. These Turks, as we were informed, held their lands upon a very uncertain tenure, for, by the strict letter of the law, they are not permitted either to buy or to inherit land from the Greeks; a regulation intended to prevent injustice, and probably one of the articles of the capitulation between the Turks and the Venetians on the cession of the Morea. By a law also of their own, a Turk is not allowed to buy land at any place where there is no mosque; yet, a mosque cannot be erected without a special licence from the Mufti, and a very considerable expense. In such circumstances, these Turks, being in some degree dependent on the good-will of their neighbours, become very good citizens, equally removed, by their condition, from the rapaciousness of tyrants, and the meanness of slaves.

"We remained at Philiatra only a few hours. It

contains nothing worthy of observation; and the lanes which serve as streets, are during the winter rendered impassable, except on horseback, by the frequent recurrence of deep and muddy sloughs. A church or two in decent repair exist in the village; and several years after, I saw from a ship at sea the slender minaret of a newly-erected mosque, possibly the consequence of the very journey which we were making in the Morea. It is now in all probability, with the other buildings of Philiatra, reduced to a heap of ruins; as the village, being totally devoid of the means of defence, must have been sacked alternately by Christian and Turk. The Mainote pirates, attracted by the flourishing state of its olives and vines, have nevertheless made vain attempts to plunder Philiatra; for the inhabitants, headed by the few resident Turks, have always repulsed them with loss.

"After dinner we again pursued our journey toward the city of Arcadia, the capital of the district. The river of Philiatra, a rapid mountain-current in a deep ravine, is passed by a lofty bridge near the villages of Kanaloupon and Kalazoni, the inhabitants of which cultivate the red and sandy soil of the plain, which here expands on each side. A mountain on the right is called Geranion; and we were told of a plain with an impregnable fortress upon a conical hill on Mount Mali, where there had been a great battle between the Turks and the Venetians, and which may probably again become the scene of contention, as it has always been the refuge of banditti.*

"On the right, we saw the village of Balaclava, a name reminding us of the Tatars of the Crimea, which

* This is probably the spot where Pappa Flescia had entrenched himself, to dispute Ibrahim Pasha's advance on Arcadia. — See page 234.

we could account for in this place in no other way than by supposing it a colony of Armenians, who might at some period have settled at the next village of Armeniou. We crossed by a bridge, a river called from its branches Duopotamo, and passed through a country well covered with olives, and capable of any species of cultivation. This sort of scenery continued till the mountains again approached. On the right, near a fountain called Rondaki, and on a rocky summit attached to their most western point, the towers of the castle of Arcadia were discovered above the trees. The situation is so commanding and picturesque, that we could not but imagine we were approaching a magnificent city, none of the houses being visible. After a short ascent, however, and passing two ruined chapels situated on projecting points of the mountain, the wretched cluster of habitations which form the town broke at once upon the sight, and destroyed the illusion, though the prospect was more beautiful than ever."

ARCADIA.*

"THE town of Arkadia is long and narrow, and contains three mosques besides that in the fort: the inhabitants are Greeks and Turks. Its population (1806) probably does not exceed 4000. Some remains of the acropolis of *Cyparissiai* † enclose the modern

* Col. Leake writes this word Arkadhia; and Mr. Dodwell, Arkadia, for a fanciful reason, "to distinguish it from the ancient territory of that name," which he writes with a c.

† "It is written indifferently in the singular or the plural in ancient authors. I have followed Pausanias."—DODWELL. Col. Leake writes it Cyparissus; Sir W. Gell, Cyparissia. Pausanias speaks slightly of the place, but mentions the temples of Apollo and Minerva.

fortress, which is in ruins. It contains one mosque and some houses for the garrison. In the plain near the town are the few remains of a small Doric temple. The view from hence is highly interesting and extensive. The eye stretches over the broad expanse of the Cyparissian Gulf to the Ionian Sea, in which the Strophades, with the more distant islands of Zakunthos and Cephallenia are faintly visible. Towards the north, the spectator recognises Katakolo Kastro, Castel Tornese, and the low coast of Eleia, which scarcely peers above the horizon. At the extremity of this low coast begins the Cyparissian Gulf (Gulf of Arcadia), where the first objects are the hill of Samikon, the khan of Zakaro, the ancient city near Strobitza, and the range of the Messenian mountains, overtopped by those of Arcadia, among which Olenos is the most conspicuous. The plain and acropolis of Cyparissiai and the modern town terminate the view. Mount Lycæon and the temple of Apollo Epikourios were concealed by the intervening hill of the fortress."* Arcadia has no port. The surrounding country is described by Sir William Gell as a fine grove of olives; but, in spite of its romantic name, the place itself is altogether insignificant.

Mr. Dodwell reached Arcadia from the north; and, as it will complete the description of this part of the Arcadian coast, we shall give his route

FROM OLYMPIA TO ARCADIA.

It was two hours and a half before the Travellers could effect their passage, and get every thing over the rapid and intractable stream of the Alpheios, by

* Dodwell's Classical Tour through Greece, vol. ii. p. 350.

means of a rude canoe which is employed for the purpose.* The passage of the horses was the most difficult part of the undertaking, as they were to be driven into the water, when they swam across, after having been carried for a considerable distance down the stream. They landed at the wooded foot of a steep and picturesque hill, which they ascended by a narrow and dangerous path, bordered by the precipitous banks of the Alpheios on the left, and by projecting rocks on the right. It took them an hour to ascend to the Greek village of Palaio Phanari, consisting of about twenty-five thatched cottages, with a tower (*pyrgos*), then inhabited by a hospitable Turk. To the west of the village rises a pointed or conical hill, crowned with the remains of an acropolis, built of large square blocks, supposed to be that of Phrixa. The view from the summit is very extensive and interesting, commanding the course of the Alpheios meandering through the verdant meads of Olympia to the Ionian Sea. Katakolo Kastro is perceived as a spot upon the coast. On the opposite side of the river is seen the flourishing little town of Lalla, on some flat hills towards the north.† To the east is an extensive plain, bounded by

* The ferry boat, called a *monoxylon*, is the trunk of a large tree hollowed out, flat at one extremity and pointed at the other. Only one person at a time can embark in it, besides the two rowers, who sit at its opposite extremities; and whirled about by the violence of the current, it is carried down the stream, often a considerable way, before it reaches the shore. It is directed by two oars, shaped nearly like a spade, which also serve as rudders. "This kind of boat was used by the ancients: they are the *μονόξυλα πλοια* of Polybius, and are alluded to by Virgil (Geog. I. 136):

'*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas.*'"

† Lalla is described by Mr. Dodwell as a town recently built, containing about 1000 houses, the inhabitants all Turks. They are, in fact, an Albanian tribe of Moslems, who took possession of the district by force.

the Arcadian mountains, and animated by the sinuous current of the Alpheios. The nearer hills are covered with forests, and the distant mountains also appear to be well wooded.

At five hours and a quarter (about fifteen miles and a half) from Palaio Phanari, is the Greek village of Vrina, very pleasantly situated. The road is "superlatively bad," but lies through "beautifully tortuous vales, in a state of variegated cultivation," and over hills covered with the waving pine. "There was something so peculiarly beautiful in the country," Mr. Dodwell says, "that it appeared a region of enchantment, as if we had reached the

——— locos lætos, et amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas." *

Near Vrina (Βρινα) rises a fine pointed hill, surmounted with its *palaio kastro* or ancient citadel,—conjectured by the learned Traveller to be the ancient Minthe. An hour from Vrina is the village of Kallonia (by Sir W. Gell written Alona), on the left bank of a stream which waters a rich agricultural plain; and forty minutes further is a ruinous *derveni* or custom-house, above which rises a rocky hill crowned with the ruins of an ancient city, probably Samia or Samikon.† The walls and square towers are well preserved. This place is now called indifferently

* Virg. Æn. iv. 638. Mr. Dodwell travelled towards the end of January, when the fruit-trees at Vrina were all in blossom. "This early flower falls, and when the winter is over, a second blossom appears, which gives birth to the fruit."

† Strabo calls the city Samia, and the mountain Samikon. It was celebrated for a temple of the Samian Neptune, which stood in a grove of wild olives. It probably took its name from its lofty situation, as the Greeks called high places Σαμοι. Strabo and Pausanias take Samikon to be the same as Arene, which Homer places near the river Anigros.—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 344.

Derveni and *Kiaffa* or *Kleidi* (the Key), as being the pass or key of two contiguous plains. The foot of the hills is on the confines of an extensive marsh, covered with pines, reaching to the sea, which appears at the distance of about half a mile to the west. A precipice rises near the marsh, containing two large caves, which are entered by the waters of the marsh and of some springs at the foot of the hill. "Strabo mentions the two caves, one of which was sacred to the nymphs Anigriades, while the other was famous for the adventures of the Atlantides, and for the birth of Dardanus, son of Jupiter and Electra, daughter of Atlas, King of Arcadia. He says, that the marshes have been produced by the fountain near the cave of the Anigriad nymphs, mixing with the Anigros, which is deep and sluggish, while the surrounding country is sandy and low. Pausanias says, that the Anigros is fetid from its very source, which is at Mount Lapithos in Arcadia: he adds, that the mouth of this river is often retarded in its influx into the sea, by the violence of the winds, which prevent the progression of its waters. It is now called *Mauro-potamo*, the black river."*

The whole country was so much overflowed when Mr. Dodwell travelled, that it was difficult to distinguish the river from the marsh. There is a fishery here, in a lake formed by the waters of the Anigros: the fish are admitted in summer time by a canal, which is afterwards closed by sand-banks. The soil is a deep sand. Near where the lake ends, a road leads off to the left to Xerro Chorio. At two hours and

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 345. In like manner, the scirocco sometimes blows with such violence at Ostia in the rainy season, that the Tiber stagnates at its mouth, and occasions inundations in many parts

twenty minutes from the *derveni*, near where a stream flowing from the hills on the east enters the sea, is the Khan of Agio Isidoro (pronounced Ayo Sidero), a melancholy spot, nearly deserted. About two miles inland, ascending this stream, is a village called Biskini or Pischini, near which are small remains of an ancient city, conjectured to be the site of the Triphyliatic or Lepreatic Pylos, " and the river may be the Amathos."

The track continues to run along a cultivated plain, bounded by the sea and by sand-banks clothed with pines on the one hand, and by gentle hills on the other. At the end of about an hour and three quarters from the khan, a road to the left turns up a pretty wooded glen with a river, leading to the village of Strovitza. Mr. Dodwell left the road to Arcadia, to explore the traces of an ancient city in this direction. In three hours from the khan, he reached the first traces of the city, near where a rapid rivulet falls down the hill, turning some small mills in its course; and half an hour more brought him to the acropolis. " Two entire gates are remaining, of the common square form: one of them is almost buried under the ruins and earth, which reach nearly to the architrave. The towers are square; one of them is almost entire, and contains a small window or arrow-hole. Three different periods of architecture are evident in this fortress. The walls are composed of polygons: some of the towers consist of irregular, and others of rectangular quadrilaterals. The ruins extend far below the acropolis on the side of the hill, and are seen on a flat detached knoll. It was evidently an extensive city. Its situation corresponds nearly to that of Lepreos in Triphylia." Strobitza is about a mile and a half to the north. An extensive view is obtained

from this summit. Mr. Dodwell regained the road to Arcadia at the bridge of Boutzi, over the Neda; having passed in his way, an ancient site, distinguishable by old foundations and broken pottery, which he supposes to be Pyrgos, the last town of Triphylia.

The Neda rises on the west side of Mount Lycæon, forming a deep and rocky glen, on the right bank of which are the ruins of Phigaleia, about two hours from the bridge. It anciently separated Triphylia and Messenia. It is not broad but deep, and, after hard rains, very rapid. The road now lies through swamps and pine forests, approaching the sea, and crosses a clear and shallow river, which has changed its course, rendering a fine bridge useless. Soon after, the olive re-appears. At three hours and twenty minutes from the khan near the bridge of the Neda, the traveller arrives at Arcadia: distance from the ferry of Palaio Phanari nearly fourteen hours.

FROM ARCADIA TO MESSENE.

From Arcadia, Mr. Dodwell proceeded to visit Mount Ithome and the fertile region at the head of the Gulf of Coron. At the end of five hours (4h. 21min. in the Itinerary) he reached Kleissoura, which derives its name from being near the gorge or defile that leads to the great Messenian plain. The inhabitants were chiefly Greek klephts. Near the village are some imperfect vestiges, "perhaps of the city of Dorion." Three quarters of an hour beyond this village, a rapid stream, called Kokla, runs southward to the Gulf. Forty minutes further, on the right, is seen a high insulated mount, of pointed form, crowned with a ruined Venetian castle, which is called indifferently, *Palaio-kastro*, *Klephto-kastro*, and *Mila-kastro*. The

ruins are fine modern towers, perhaps on old foundations. This part of the road, which is a narrow defile, was reckoned particularly dangerous from the robbers.* Soon after, the spacious expanse of the Messenian plain, encircled with mountains, bursts on the view, and Mount Ithome appears in all its beauty. At the end of three hours from Kleissoura, is the large Greek village of Konstantino. From a neighbouring hill, "the rich plain of Messenia was seen in its full extent, with Mount Ithome, the summits of Taygeton, and the broad Pamisos, winding its way through the vale of Stenykleros to the Koroneian Gulf."

From Konstantino to Mavrommati (or *Maura-matia*, black eyes), four miles and twenty-three minutes. The road lies through the village of Alitoura, half an hour beyond which are the ruins of a most curious ancient bridge, "perhaps unique in Greece," but resembling the triangular bridge at Croyland in Lincolnshire. It is built over the confluence of two rivers which run southward; the principal one, the Balyra, and the tributary stream, either the Leukasia or the Amphitos. The lower part of the bridge is ancient; it is constructed with large blocks of stone, with two pointed buttresses that are still left: the upper part

* The Author was witness to a regular battle at the village of Alitoura, between the klephts, who, to the number of 140, had obtained possession, and a besieging force, consisting of about 100 Greeks and 60 Turks. He afterwards met 30 armed Greeks headed by a *papas*, repairing, as a reinforcement, to the scene of action. The issue was not very bloody. Very few were killed on either side: and in the night, the robbers cut their way through the besiegers, and effected a retreat to their castle and to the forests of Ithome. "They were headed by a Greek, the terror of the Morea, known by the name of Captain George, who, as they told us, spared neither Greeks, Turks, nor Franks." His real name was no other than *George Kolokotroni*. He subsequently took refuge in Zante, and entered the English service.

is modern. Two piers remain above water, and one to a considerable height, whence arches, in three different directions, lead to the three points of land formed by the confluence.* At three hours from Konstantino is a monastery, beautifully situated on the side of Mount Ithome, the foot of which is here composed of little hills intersected by small valleys cultivated with corn. Nothing, Mr. Dodwell says, can exceed the beauty and interest of the view from this solitary spot: he pronounces it to be one of the finest in Greece. The magnificent range of Taygetus, covered with snow, and broken into a diversity of gigantic forms, was seen shooting up into the air, far above the rich and level plains of Messenia; while the continuity of the outline was finely broken by a beautiful cluster of cypresses in the fore-ground. The monastery, which they found deserted, but with signs of recent habitation, is of considerable extent. In the walls, are "two beautiful feet of a white marble statue." Having climbed still higher, the traveller reaches the summit of the pass between Mounts Evan and Ithome, and passes the walls of the ancient acropolis of Messene; he then descends to the village of Mavrommati, situated in the centre of the ancient city, at the southern foot of Ithome, now called Vulkano. It had been Mr. Dodwell's intention to remain some days at this interesting spot, in order to accomplish an accurate investigation of these "stupendous ruins, which are so perfect that they exhibit a complete picture, and excite a most satisfactory idea of ancient Greek fortifications." The disturbed state of

* Sir W. Gell says, that the bridge "seems to have been constructed with approaching blocks, not an arch," a presumptive proof of its antiquity.

the country, and the panic alarm spread by the robbers, defeated his plans.

MESSENE.

"PAUSANIAS," remarks the learned Traveller, "appears to have felt great interest in the history of the Messenians. His description of their wars is more minute and more animated than any other part of his narrative. His account of the city gives us a grand idea of what it must once have been; and the present splendid remains produce a conviction of his veracity. He says: 'The walls enclose not only Mount Ithome, but also a space which extends towards the Pamisos under Mount Evan. The town is enclosed by a good wall of stones, and defended by towers and battlements.' He adds, that the fortifications are the best he ever saw, and superior even to those of Ambrysos, Byzantium, and Rhodes.

"The village is situated on the ruins, about three-quarters of a mile from the great gates, the most magnificent ruin of the kind in Greece. A circular wall, which is composed of large regular blocks, encloses an area of sixty-two feet in diameter. In this wall are two gates, one facing Cyparissiai, and the other opposite, looking towards Laconia. The architraves have fallen; but that which belonged to the Laconian gate remains entire, with one end on the ground, and the other leaning against a wall. It seems to be pervaded by a fissure, which was occasioned probably by the fall; and it is likely that, in a few years, this magnificent block, which is nineteen feet long, will be broken in two pieces. Within the circular court is a square niche in the wall, apparently for a statue.

"These noble walls were probably constructed with the assistance of the army of Epaminondas, and the lintel was perhaps thrown down by the Spartans at the final subjugation of the Messenians, as its destruction could not have been effected without violence. Among the ruins of Messene are the remains of the stadium and of a theatre which is one of the smallest in Greece. Several other traces, masses of fine walls, and heaps of stones that are scattered about the plain, are overgrown or nearly concealed by large trees or luxuriant shrubs. Pausanias mentions a gymnasium, a stadium, a theatre, ten temples, and an infinity of statues, and particularly an edifice called πρυτανειον, which contained statues of all the gods worshipped in Greece. This, however, is inconceivable, as their number must have amounted to many thousands. Perhaps he means only the great gods.*

"Many abundant founts and springs, issuing from Ithome, diffuse verdure and fertility over this interesting spot. Pausanias notices Klepsydra and Arsinoë, which still remain. The magnificent walls near the great gate are almost entirely preserved; they are composed of square stones of a prodigious size, rustic and chipped. The pavement consists of large square stones, in which we discern the track of ancient wheels. The towers are square, and composed of much smaller stones than the walls. A few steps lead up to the door in each tower, in the second story of which are two windows of the same form as the doors, diminishing towards the top."

* "The Abbé Fourmont, who visited these ruins (Mycenæ) seventy years ago, counted thirty-eight towers then standing. I think M. Vial" (the French Consul at Coron) "informed me that nine of these yet remain entire."—CHATEAUBRIAND, vol. ii. p. 94. The Abbé cannot, however, be depended upon as an authority.

"We ascended by a steep and winding way to the summit of Ithome. We passed by several blocks and foundations, and, in a small plain on the side of the hill, observed the few remains of a Doric temple of moderate proportions, consisting of some columns and capitals, and blocks of the *cella*, thrown down and almost covered with bushes. There was a bronze statue of Minerva on Ithome; perhaps, this was the temple dedicated to that divinity. The form of the area enclosed by the walls of this celebrated fortress, is an oblong square. In some places, the foundations only can be traced; in others, some masses of the walls remain, composed of large blocks, well hewn and united, but with some irregularity in their angles, which are frequently not right angles, but obtuse or acute. These were probably erected prior to the time of Epaminondas.

"The town of Ithome consisted merely of what was afterwards the acropolis, that is, the summit of the mountain; as the lower town of Messene owed its origin to the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra. Ithome was strongly fortified by the Messenians in the first Messenian war, * when the inhabitants of the country abandoned most of their small cities, which were probably not fortified before that period. Indeed, few remains of very ancient date are observed in Messenia. The polygon or cyclopian walls are very rare, while they often occur in the neighbouring and warlike Arcadia. Most of the Messenian cities were re-established by Epaminondas.....It is difficult to imagine how the Messenians, when they abandoned their other cities, could be collectively crowded within the walls of Ithome. Probably, the declivities of the

* This began 743 B.C. and lasted twenty years.

mountain, outside the acropolis walls, were covered with habitations; and this locality is still marked by several traces, composed of small stones and tiles. In time of danger, the inhabitants abandoned their temporary abodes, and retired within the walls. The temple of Jupiter Ithomates, of which there are no remains, is now replaced by the monastery of St. Elias, at the northern extremity of the hill, upon the edge of a steep precipice. The festival of Jupiter has ceded its oaken crown to the laurel-rose, with which the modern Greeks deck their heads in the annual dance which they perform on the summit of Ithome. An even pavement of a circular form, which appears modern, but which is composed of ancient slabs of stone and marble, forms the theatre for the celebration of this dance, which is attended by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and in which much pomp and ceremony are displayed.

"Mount Ithome has a flat summit rising gently towards the north, where the monastery is erected. Few places in Greece combine a more beautiful, and at the same time a more classical view. It overlooks the whole extent of the once rich and warlike Messenia, which, however, in the time of Strabo, was greatly depopulated, as the cities mentioned by Homer had either entirely disappeared, had left only faint vestiges, or had changed their names. Vicissitudes, similar to those which occurred between the time of Homer and that of Strabo, have continued from the time of the geographer to the present day. This beautiful and fertile region is not half cultivated; and though irrigated with numerous rivulets, and blessed with a delicious climate, at present exhibits only a few moderate villages scattered through the country."*

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 359—366.

On quitting Mavrommati, Mr. Dodwell proceeded along the northern side of Ithome, having in front the old Venetian castle of Mylæ, and soon came to a ruined church, with a long block of stone and tumulus near it; he then crossed a stream, and in an hour and twenty minutes from the gate of Messene, reached the triangular bridge over the Balyra, (now called the *Mavro Zume*, or black broth,) which, according to Pausanias, was thirty stadia from the city. He then struck across the plain, crossing a rivulet running N.E., and in twenty minutes passed by the foot of an insulated rocky hill of inconsiderable height, rising in the middle of the plain. Leaving the road to Scala on the right, he reached, at the end of three hours and a half from the gate of Messene, the khan of Sakona, a wretched hovel * at the foot of the mountains called Makriplai, which form the connecting link between Lycæon and Taygetus, and the line of separation between Messenia and Arcadia. From this place, he proceeded to visit the ruins of Megalopolis. Before, however, we accompany him farther in this direction, we shall rejoin Sir William Gell at this place on his road to Maina, in order to complete our description of the southern coast.

FROM SCALA TO MAINA.

THE road from the khan of Sakona to Scala traverses the Stenyclerian plain in a southerly direction, crossing several streams, and having on the left a pro-

* "This edifice consists, as usual in remote situations, of a long and low shed, with a sort of court, surrounded with smaller hovels and ill-constructed walls about eight feet high. There was also some attempt at a garden, or enclosure, attached to the khan, surrounded with a most dangerous hedge of tall Indian prickly fig."

jection from the great range of Taygetus, which, under the name of Mount Pala, advances towards Mount Vulcano (Ithome). The plain is marshy, but produces maize, and the whole country in this neighbourhood, when Sir William Gell travelled, seemed covered with wild lavender or hyssop, which, when trampled by the horses, sent forth an agreeable aromatic odour. Droves of buffaloes were "wallowing in the marshes." Scala stands on a knoll, part of a low range of hills, dividing the plain of Stenyclerus from that of the Pamisus. It is an inconsiderable village, with several gardens protected by hedges of prickly Indian fig. Near this place, Sir William noticed a singular effect produced by a thin undulating stratum of rock, which being cracked into innumerable fragments, presented the appearance of an immense mosaic pavement. The view from these hills is described as very interesting. On the right are seen the two summits of Mount Ithome, beautifully wooded, each crowned with a little chapel, one of which occupies the site of the temple of Jupiter. Below is the monastery with its cypress-grove. Beyond Mount Vulcano, the peaks of Mount Mali, extending its branches westward as far as the town of Arcadia, and to Coron and Modon on the south, terminate the prospect on that side. Mount Pala forms the eastern boundary;* but, to the south, all is open to the gulf, the towers of Coron being distinctly visible in a S.W. direction, while Capo Grosso, the western promontory of Maina, is seen in the S.E. Below spreads the extensive plain of the Pamisus,† partially inundated by its broad stream, and bordered by many little villages, placed on the prettiest green

* Sir William Gell says, that Mount Pala formed the boundary on the west (Narrative, p. 192.); but this must be an error.

† Now called Pirnatza.

hills imaginable. In the lower part of the plain are two towns, Andrutza and Nisi; the latter in a sort of island, as its name imports. The whole plain is naturally fertile, and the eastern part of it near Kalamata is a scene of rich cultivation. The fields are divided by high fences of cactus, and large orchards of the white mulberry-tree are interspersed with maize-fields, olive-grounds, and "gardens almost worthy of Alcinous himself." The fineness of the climate is indicated by the presence of the *palma Christi*, here called *agra staphylia*, or wild vine, from which is obtained castor-oil.

About half an hour from Scala, in the plains, are the vestiges of a small temple, below which is a rock with a fountain, the source of the Pamisus. In the pool which it here forms, Pausanias states, the ceremony of ablution was anciently performed on infants.* At a short distance from this is another rock with vestiges of an ancient edifice, and a second source gushes forth, forming a river at once. A little farther is a third, equally limpid and copious, which has been walled round. Some fine trees here form the remains of a sacred grove, and a chapel dedicated to *Agios Giorgios* (St. George) marks the site of a fane dedicated to the old idolatry.† The road over the plain

* The waters were believed to have medicinal virtue. See *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. chap. 40.

† The *agiasmata*, or holy fountains, may be ranked among the most classical superstitions of the modern Greeks. Circumstances of various import have conferred the reputation of sanctity upon many springs within the walls of Constantinople; but a romantic and solitary situation, the neighbourhood of a cavern or a grove, is the usual characteristic of an *agiasma*. To these fountains multitudes will flock at certain intervals, to invoke the saint (the *genius loci*) whose protection they are peculiarly thought to enjoy, and, by their songs and dances, to express the gay and joyous feelings which such situations have ever excited in the glowing constitutions of the Greeks. Their sick are brought in crowds to drink

is very excellent, owing to the gravelly soil. Several villages occur on either side: that of Palaio-castro, which is seen on an eminence on the left, a little way beyond a bridge over a strong stream from Pedimo, exhibits vestiges of antiquity, which mark the site of the ancient Thuria. In about two hours from Scala, the traveller arrives at a large brick ruin, called *Loutro* (the bath). That it was destined for that use, is evident from the pipes and aqueducts yet remaining: the building has been considerable, and is probably of Roman construction. The medicinal waters might yet be found on the hill: at present, they seem lost in the neighbouring marsh. After passing two ruined churches, the road, no longer good, runs between two high hedges of cactus, that, almost meeting over it, threaten to shed their brittle and prickly branches upon the passengers. The mountains on the left cease at a point near the village of Delli Hassan. The town of Nisi, of considerable extent, lies on the right. The plain produces figs and olives in abundance: under some of the larger trees are the stones of chapels long since destroyed. The village of Aïs Aga is well planted with cypresses; and towers and hamlets, with their gardens and orchards, occur in rapid succession, presenting all the delights of a southern coast. At the village of Asprochomo (white earth), the soil assumes a red appearance, and there are several scattered sand-hills. On a mount to the left is the monastery of Agios Gas. The road now descends into a hollow,

the waters, which, destitute of all medicinal qualities in themselves, owe their influence entirely to the patronage of some superior being; and it would be thought the greatest impiety and ingratitude in those who receive, or fancy they receive his help, to neglect affixing a lock of hair or a strip of linen, as the *votiva tabula*, which may record at once the power of the saint, and the piety of his votary." DOUGLAS *on the Modern Greeks*, p. 61.

planted with the mulberry-tree, the mastich, the fig, the cypress, the orange, the lemon, and the olive; and in another half hour, after crossing a rivulet, (the ancient Nedon,) which descends from Taygetus, the traveller enters the town of Kalamata, delightfully situated in the midst of these gardens on the banks of the stream: distance from Scala, four hours and a quarter; from Sakona, nearly six hours; and nine hours and a half from Leondari.

"Sheltered as Kalamata is from the north by the high projection of Taygetus, and by the main mass of the mountain running down to Cape Matapan on the east, it is not surprising," remarks the learned Traveller, "that a fruitful plain should produce every thing in the greatest luxuriance, and that the climate, compared with that of the interior, should be of the most delightful temperature, about 61° of Fahrenheit early in the month of March, which is perhaps the most disagreeable season in the year on the shores of the Mediterranean."

Kalamata * derives its name from Kalamæ, a village about two miles further inland, which still exists, and retains its ancient name. The cultivation of the plains, and the modern buildings erected during the period that the Venetians possessed this fertile territory, have nearly obliterated the few remains of antiquity. Mr. Morritt, who travelled through this district in the year 1795, thus describes the appearance of the place. "The modern town (consisting of perhaps 300 houses) is built on a plan not unusual in

* Mr. Morritt suggests, that Kalamata may probably occupy the site of Pheræ, which, according to Pausanias, stood at six *stadia* from the sea, in the way from Abia to Thuria, and near where the Nedon fell into the sea. The mouth of the stream of Kalamata is about a mile below the town.

this part of the Morea, and well adapted for the defence of the inhabitants against the attacks of the pirates that infest the coast. Each house is a separate edifice, and many of them are high square towers of brown stone, built while the Venetians had possession of the country. The lower story of their habitations serves chiefly for offices or warehouses of merchandise, and the walls on every side are pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry, while the doors are strongly barricadoed. A small Greek church stands near the Nedon in front of Calamata; and behind the town, a ruined Venetian fortress rises on a hill, over the gardens and dwellings of the inhabitants. The Greeks who lived there, were rich and at their ease; the fields in the vicinity of the town belonged to them, and they had also a considerable trade, the chief articles of which arose from their cultivation of silk and oil. * They were governed by men of their own nation and appointment, subject only to the approval of the Pasha of the Morea, who resided at Tripolizza, and to the payment of a tribute which was collected among themselves, and transmitted by a Turkish Vaivode, who, with a small party of Janissaries, was stationed here for that purpose, and for the defence of the town against the Mainotes." †

The town has since been laid in utter ruin by Ibrahim Pasha; but the adjacent country, when Captain Hamilton passed through it in September 1825, exhibited few or no traces of Turkish devastation. Women were seen labouring in the vineyards; plantations of fig-tree and mulberry abounded in the plain; and in passing through the green shady lanes, formed by

* A quantity of figs (about 5000 okes) are annually exported to Coron and Trieste. SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 211.

† Walpole's Memoirs, p. 35.

the hedges of prickly pear, its red oblong fruit hung in rich clusters, festooned with bunches of grapes and blackberries.

Mr. Morritt describes some considerable ruins which occur between Kalamata and Palaio Castro, which might be taken for the place described by Sir William Gell, were not the direction in which they occur, apparently far to the eastward of his route. "Leaving Calamata," he says, "we passed the village of Kutchuk-Maina, (Little Maina,) and skirting the mountain of Taygetus, which rose on our right-hand, we came in about an hour to the ruins of ancient baths, of which the buildings that remain are very considerable. The structure is of brick. The principal entrance, which is to the south, leads into a large vaulted hall with groined, semicircular arches: on each side of the entrance are rooms which had rows of pipes in the walls for the conveyance of hot water, of which pipes the fragments still remain. The hall has a large arch on each side, and extends beyond the arches to the east and west extremities of the building. An arched passage between other bath-rooms, corresponding to the entrance, leads from the north side of the hall into a spacious saloon, the ceiling of which is also vaulted with groined arches; the aspect is to the north. In these bath-rooms remain contrivances for heating the apartments, and in one, the wall is cased with tiles, perforated for the admission of steam. A small bath is at the end of the eastern suite of rooms, which has been lined with stucco. This has been supplied with hot water from the pipes. The water used here appears, from the sediment near the pipes and on the walls, to have been impregnated with sulphur. A detached semi-circular reservoir, still traceable to the east of the building, supplied the water for

its use. The rooms to the north-east are in ruins; the rest, though stripped of the marble ornaments which once adorned them, remain entire. The bricks are of the size and feature of the Roman bricks, and probably the building itself must be referred to that people, though it appears to have been used long after the decline of the Roman dominion."

From this place, Mr. Morritt continued his journey to Palaio Castro, where he found a village, still inhabited, in the midst of the ruins of the ancient city. These cover an area of nearly two miles in circuit, and parts of the ancient wall of Thuria may still be traced, by the foundations that remain on a hill at the foot of Taygetus, which retains many vestiges of the former town. Among them were scattered several marble *tympana* of fluted columns of the Doric order; "probably the remains of the temple dedicated to the Syrian goddess." A large oblong cistern or tank hewn in the rock, still retains in some places the coat of cement with which it was lined: it is twenty-three yards in length, by sixteen in breadth, and about fourteen in depth, but is partially filled up. The vestiges of the city subsequently built in the plain, are far more indistinct: the soil there is rich and deep, and is broken into platforms and angles of a singular appearance by the waters from the mountains. Some of these are so regular as to present almost the appearance of a modern fortification. "Here, however, the Aris, an inconsiderable stream, still flows to the Pamisus; and while the ancient walls are visible on the hill, the fertility of the plain has obliterated the more recent habitations of the Thurians.

> 'Deep harvests bury all their pride has plann'd,
> And laughing Ceres re-assumes the land.' "*

* Walpole's Memoirs pp. 37—39.

From Kalamata, the road runs eastward for about twenty minutes, before it turns to the south, to skirt the shores of the bay of Koron, while another branch turns off to the left to Kutchuk-Maina, and through the mountains to Mistra.* In about forty minutes, the number of trees and the signs of cultivation diminish, and on crossing a river, the traveller enters the Mainote territory. The road now lies under Mount Jenitza, within a few hundred yards of the sea, at the angle of the gulf formed by the mountains of Maina and the plain of Kalamata. The land is cultivated with corn, where tillage is practicable; and Sir William Gell noticed many stone enclosures, about thirty feet square, intended as a protection to young olive-trees. Here and there were fields of chamomile and lupins. A village called Kalithea-Chorio is seen on the side of a hill on the left, and near the road, the learned Traveller observed a new chapel, "a rare occurrence in any part of Turkey." On the right, a few minutes further on, is a saline spring, the waters of which are used as medicine by the Mainotes. At the distance of about an hour and a half from Kalamata, a deep ravine, the bed of a mountain torrent, crosses the road, affording a strong natural defence of the territory, which the Mainotes have improved by walls and two towers, so as to secure the pass between

* Dr. Bronsted of Copenhagen undertook to pass by this rugged and perilous route from Mistra to Kalamata, in 1804; and he accomplished his hazardous enterprise in personal safety, but with the loss of his watch, medals, and other valuables: these, however, he suceeded in recovering. "After a long ascent and passing a cultivated valley which extends on the east side of Taygetus between the main mass of the mountain and the lower range at its foot, he arrived at Pischino-chorio. Thence he employed six hours on the road to Kutchuk Maina, and from that place descended in three hours to Kalamata." GELL'S *Narrative*, p. 252.

Mount Jenitza and the sea.* The place is named from the salt source, Almiro. High up in the mountains is seen the village of Selytza.† Half an hour further, after crossing the beds of two more torrents, is a spot called Mylæ (the Mills), where a furious stream of salt water, gushing at once from a cavern at the foot of the mountain, turns the wheels of two or three mills, which give its name to the place.‡ The natives say, that the water runs through subterraneous channels from the Gulf of Kolokythia at Marathonisi, and that the volume increases whenever the wind blows strongly from the south-east; but this "strange fancy," which prevails in other parts of Greece, Sir W. Gell ascribes to the vulgar notion that all salt springs must have their origin in the sea. Close to the mills is a square stone tower, the residence of a Mainote chieftain;

* "We are assured," says Sir William Gell, "that this had been the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the Turks and the Mainotes, wherein the former had been completely routed, and beyond this line had never penetrated into Maina."

† "Armyros (Almiro) is at the distance of about a league and a half from Calamatté. This is, properly speaking, only a port where a tower has been built, with some shops occupied by bakers and other venders of provisions. The town of Selitza, to which this is the port, stands upon the declivity of a mountain facing the N. W., and contains about 300 houses. Its inhabitants, a hardy, athletic race, do not unite in marriage with the Greeks in the towns under the government of the Turks: proud of their liberty, they can with difficulty submit to their own bey. The little commerce they carry on in the Gulf of Coron is, however, negotiated entirely by this magistrate." POUQUEVILLE'S *Travels, translated by A Plumptre*, p. 108.

‡ Mr. Morritt remarks, that these salt streams were anciently between Pheræ and Abia, "and now divide the district of Calamata from the Maina." Sir W. Gell, however, makes the boundary to be a river forty minutes from Kalamata, and about twice that distance from Mylæ. Almiro must be in the Mainote territory.

and near some old cypresses, is a manufactory of common tiles. Medenia, a small town, is seen on the left.* The road now runs under a low, overhanging cliff, which projects so as to leave room for only a narrow path along the beach, and after passing two little capes, leads to Palaio Chora (the old town), "now reduced to a single church, near which are several wells; and the broken tiles, together with the name, seem to shew that a population once existed on this spot. There is a fountain here, where ships sometimes water." † The high snowy peaks of Taygetus are now visible. A little farther, the traveller passes another neglected church in a glen, and near it, a well, on a rapid and dangerous rocky descent, leading down to another tile-manufactory, at the head of a

* "Mandinies" (the Medenia of Sir William Gell,—Mr. Swan calls it Madela) "is the second town upon the coast immediately dependent on the Bey. It lies two leagues and a half from Calamattè, one league from Armyros, and half a league from the sea. The town, though consisting of not above 150 houses, is divided into Great and Little Mandinies. The latter division is built on the slope of Mount Saint Helias, the highest summit of Taygetus: the Great Mandinies stands at the foot of the slope. Its chief productions are oil and silk, and it is particularly celebrated for the purity of its air. The valley which runs at the foot of this mountain, is embellished with several hamlets picturesquely situated: in following the course of a little river which flows through it, we come to the ruins of an ancient town....called by the inhabitants, Palæochori. From the ruins of some temple, they have built a church, which is called *Stavros*. It is not surrounded with houses; but it is a place of assembly on festival days, and the inhabitants of Mandinies repair thither to hear mass,' &c. POUQUEVILLE'S *Travels*, p. 108.

† This is apparently the place referred to by Mr. Morritt as the site of Abia, although the distance does not quite agree. The ruins, he says, are on the shore, about a mile southward of the salt springs. "One old piece of wall of massive masonry, of a circular form, and the remains of a mosaic pavement in the floor of a modern Greek church, are all the vestiges of antiquity that ascertain the spot where Abia stood, except the platform and marks on

little bay. On descending from the rock, some caves and another church are seen on the right. After crossing a glen watered by a little stream from Taygetus, another pass, between a projecting rock and the sea, leads to a bay with a stream; and now the towers of the castle of Kitries assume an imposing appearance, well seated on a rocky promontory, overlooking a little dark bay in which ships may anchor. The distance from Kalamata is rather more than three hours and a half.* Mr. Morritt thus describes the general appearance of this part of the coast.

"From Myla, the mountains of Taygetus rise in high ridges to the east, and descend in rocky slopes to the sea. The country is barren and stony beyond conception; and yet, the earth, which is washed by the rains and torrents from the higher parts, is supported on a thousand platforms and terraces by the indefatigable industry of the inhabitants; and these were covered with corn, maize, olives, and mulberry-trees, which seemed to grow out of the rock itself. Through such a country we arrived at Kitreés, a small hamlet of five or six cottages scattered round a fortress, the residence (in 1795) of Zanetachi Kutuphari, formerly Bey of the Maina, and of his niece Helena, to whom the property belonged. The house consisted of two

the ground which indicate that other buildings formerly existed. In the tradition of the country, the circular ruin had been a bath." The distance of Abia from Mylæ, according to Mr. Morritt, answers, however, more nearly to the situation of the caves and church mentioned by Sir W. Gell, a quarter of a mile from Palaio Chora. M. Pouqueville supposes Palaio Chora to be Pheræ.

* Kitries, which is in the canton of Zarnata, is reckoned ten miles from Kalamata, and thirty from Vitulo; eight hours from Mistra by the shortest route; or, over Mount Taygetus, ten hours; and twenty hours from Tripolitza; fourteen miles across the bay to Coron, and thirty to Modon.

towers of stone, exactly resembling our own old towers upon the borders of England and Scotland; a row of offices and lodgings for servants, stables, and open sheds, inclosing a court, the entrance to which was through an arched and embattled gateway."*

The reception which the English Traveller met with from the old laird was most hospitable, and the description conveys a pleasing idea of the manners of these Laconian highlanders.

"On our approach, an armed retainer of the family came out to meet us, and spoke to our guard who attended us from Myla. He returned with him to the castle, and informed the chief, who hastened to the gate to welcome us, surrounded by a crowd of gazing attendants, all surprised at the novelty of seeing English guests. We were received, however, with the most cordial welcome, and shewn to a comfortable room on the principal floor of the tower, inhabited by himself and his family; the other tower being the residence of the *capitanessa*, his niece, for that was the title which she bore.

"Zanetachi Kutuphari was a venerable figure, though not above the age of fifty-six. His family consisted of a wife and four daughters, the younger two of which were children. They inhabited the apartment above ours, and were, on our arrival, introduced to us. The old chief, who himself had dined at an earlier hour, sat down, however, to eat with us, according to the established etiquette of hospitality here, while his wife and the two younger children waited on us, notwithstanding our remonstrances, ac-

* Sir W. Gell was struck with "the effect of the architecture," as being "exactly that produced by many of the castles of Scotland, and at the same time full of picturesque beauty." Under the castle is a great natural cavern, where cattle are kept.

cording to the custom of the country, for a short time; then retired, and left a female servant to attend us and him. At night, beds and mattresses were spread on the floor, and pillows and sheets, embroidered and composed of broad stripes of muslin and coloured silk, were brought in. The articles, we found, were manufactured at home by the women of the family. As the Greeks themselves invariably wear their under garments when they sleep, the inconvenience of such a bed is little felt.

"As the day after our arrival at Kitreés was Easter Sunday, we of course remained there, and had an opportunity of witnessing and partaking in the universal festivity which prevailed, not only in the castle, but in the villages of the country round it. In every Greek house, a lamb is killed at this season, and the utmost rejoicing prevails. We dined with Zanetachi Kutuphari and his family at their usual hour of half-past eleven in the forenoon, and after our dinner, were received in much state by his niece Helena in her own apartments. She was in fact the lady of the castle, and chief of the district round it, which was her own by inheritance from her father. She was a young widow, and still retained much of her beauty; her manners were pleasing and dignified. An audience in form from a young woman, accompanied by her sister, who sat near her, and a train of attendant females in the rich and elegant dress of the country, was a novelty in our tour, and so unlike the customs which prevailed within a few short miles of the spot where we were, that it seemed like an enchantment of romance. The *capitanessa* alone was seated at our entrance, who, when she had offered us chairs, requested her sister to sit down near her, and ordered her attendants to bring coffee and refreshments. We

were much struck with the general beauty of the Mainiot women here, which, we afterwards found, was not confined to Kitreés; we remarked it in many other villages; and it is of a kind that, from their habits of life, would not naturally be expected. With the same fine features that prevail among the beauties of Italy and Sicily, they have the delicacy and transparency of complexion, with the brown or auburn hair, which seems peculiar to the colder regions. Indeed, from the vicinity to the sea, the summers here are never intensely hot, nor are the winters severe in this southern climate. The same causes in some of the Greek islands produce the same effect, and the women are much more beautiful in general than those of the same latitude on the continent. The men, too, are a well-proportioned and active race, not above the middle size, but spare, sinewy, and muscular. The *capitanessa* wore a light blue shawl-gown embroidered with gold, a sash tied loosely round her waist, and a short vest without sleeves, of embroidered crimson velvet. Over these was a dark green velvet Polonese mantle, with wide and open sleeves, also richly embroidered. On her head was a green velvet cap, embroidered with gold, and appearing like a coronet; and a white and gold muslin shawl, fixed on the right shoulder, and passed across her bosom under the left arm, floated over the coronet, and flung to the ground behind her. Her uncle's dress was equally magnificent. He wore a close vest with open sleeves of white and gold embroidery, and a short black velvet mantle, the sleeves edged with sable. The sash which held his pistols and his poniard was a shawl of red and gold. His light blue trowsers were gathered at the knee, and below them were close gaiters of blue cloth with gold embroidery, and silver gilt bosses to protect the ancles.

When he left the house, he flung on his shoulders a rich cloth mantle with loose sleeves, which was blue without and red within, embroidered with gold in front and down the sleeves in the most sumptuous manner. His turban was green and gold; and, contrary to the Turkish custom, his grey hair hung down below it. The dress of the lower orders is in the same form, with necessary variations in the quality of the materials, and absence of the ornaments. It differed considerably from that of the Turks, and the shoes were made either of yellow or untanned leather, and fitted tightly to the foot. The hair was never shaved, and the women wore gowns like those of the West of Europe, instead of being gathered at the ancles like the loose trowsers of the East.

"In the course of the afternoon we walked into some of the neighbouring villages; the inhabitants were everywhere dancing and enjoying themselves on the green, and those of the houses and little harbour of Kitreés, with the crews of two small boats that were moored there, were employed in the same way till late in the evening. We found our friend Zanetachi well acquainted with both the ancient and the modern state of Maina, having been for several years the bey of the district. From him I derived much of the information to which I have recourse in describing the manners and principles of the Mainiots. He told me that, in case of necessity, on attack from the Turks, the numbers they could bring to act, consisting of every man in the country able to bear arms, amounted to about 12,000. All of these were trained to the use of the rifle even from their childhood, and after they grew up, were possessed of one, without which they never appeared; and, indeed, it was as much a part of their dress as a sword formerly was of

an English gentleman. Their constant familiarity with this weapon had rendered them singularly expert in the use of it. There are fields near every village, where the boys practised at the target, and even the girls and women took their part in this martial amusement.

"We left Kitreés, not without regret on our part, or the kind expression of it on that of our hospitable friends, who supplied us with mules, and sent with us an escort to conduct us to Cardamoula, the ancient Cardamyle."*

Kitries is described by M. Pouqueville in 1799, as little more than a heap of ruins. "Burned by the Albanians, it is now composed only of some shops and a sort of castle or tower where the Bey resides: in fact, it is only the port to another town which lies eastward half a league inland.† This town is called Dolous: it stands in a fertile valley, which runs some way among the mountains of Taygetus, extending

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 45—48. Zanetachi Kutuphari (or Coutoufari) was descended from one of the first families in Maina. Morosini, the Venetian general, conferred on John Coutoufari, one of his ancestors, the honour of knighthood. The family were in possession of the lordship of three villages in the district of Kalamata, and had several mills—probably at Mylæ. They lost the greater part of this property owing to the troubles brought upon the Morea by the Russian war. In 1776, Zanetachi was appointed Bey of Maina by the Capitan Pasha, which had nearly proved his ruin. For some time he was a fugitive in Zante; and M. Pouqueville will have it, that in 1787, he was strangled by order of the Capitan Pasha; but if so, he must have come to life again in 1795, when Mr. Morritt was his guest.

† In like manner, Almiro forms the port to Selitza. This may serve to account for the deserted state of the coasts, which give little idea of the condition of the interior. Sir W. Gell ridicules the Greeks for submitting to the inconvenience of residing in the sterile fastnesses of the mountain tops, "for the sake of calling themselves free," when under the mild and beneficent government of the

almost half a league in breadth. Dolous is divided into the higher and lower towns, one-half being upon the declivity of the mountain, and the other spreading out in the valley. It is very populous, the number of houses being estimated at more than 500: they are all inhabited by numerous families, and, if necessary, the town could easily furnish 600 warriors. On the slope opposite to Dolous, and about half a league from it, stands a large village called Varousi, where the bishop of the canton (who is always called the bishop of Zarnata*) resides. Varousi is very inferior to Dolous in extent and population, as it does not contain above 150 houses; but, to make amends, it abounds with churches, and is inhabited by a number of clergy and papas. Half a league further eastward, on the same slope with Valousi, stands Moultitza, another village of the canton of Zarnata, consisting of about 100 houses. Silk, oil, wine, and corn abound in all this part of the country, and its population has increased exceedingly during the last twenty years. Some rivulets and a number of springs water these defiles. At the bottom of the valley near Varousi, is a village called Cambro Stavro."

In 1825, when Captain Hamilton landed at Kitries on his way to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, the village, though consisting of not more than eight or ten cot-

Turks, (the objects of Sir William's unbounded admiration,) they might live "in the luxury and plenty of the plain below." The fact appears to be, that the coasts are rendered unsafe by piratical depredators.

* M. Pouqueville asserts, that there is no town or this name, but that it is a canton, "the richest, the most populous, and the most fertile of the whole country," containing fifty villages not very widely scattered. Mr. Morritt, however, enumerates it among the villages.

tages, was crowded with inhabitants, the retainers of the far-famed Pietro Bey Mavromikhalis, who was then residing here. The Bey had 200 followers constantly about him. Mr. Swan thus describes the place. "Kitries stands upon a rock deeply embayed within surrounding mountains. The northern shore presents a series of natural terraces rising one above the other. There is great depth of water in the bay, even up to the very rocks, so much so, that it is necessary to secure vessels by a hawser attached to the shore. The place abounds with fig-trees. Behind the Bey's house is a small ruined castle, once held by the Turks, but blown down with cannon during a civil war." The Bey himself is thus described:—"A goodly personage, corpulent and short. His features expressed extreme goodnature, but not much understanding. His eyes project; his face is broad and chubby; and his mustachios, by undue training, unite with his whiskers, which are clipped above and below, but suffered to run wild in the centre, and are therefore drawn out to a prodigious length. He wore an Albanian dress, begirt with a splendid shawl of rich gold embroidery: a silver gilt pistol, highly chased, was attached to his belt. His presence was that of a respectable old gentleman, of about fifty years of age, over whom the finger of care has moved lightly, leaving none of those impressions which prey upon and overpower the mental energies.* He was attended by a number of military chiefs, in a common sort of chamber, for the appearance of which he thought it neces-

* See p. 200, *note*. M. Pouqueville, with his accustomed disregard of accuracy for the sake of effect, speaks of his "*port majestueux, pareil à celui des races héroïques, de beaux traits, &c.!*"—*Histoire de la Regen., &c.*, tom. ii. p. 579.

sary to apologise. It was a *barrack*, he said; his house was upon Capo Grosso, where his family then resided.

"We were called to dinner," continues Mr. Swan, who gives the account, "at five o'clock; and though a fast day with our worthy host, he entertained us sumptuously, while he abstained himself. As the night drew on, a dependent with a long black beard held over us a lighted lamp, and stood like a statue the whole time we were eating. This again reminded us of ancient Highland torch-bearers; an instance of which, if I mistake not, we find in the 'Legend of Montrose.' Soups and fishes in every form, all excellently cooked, with country wine of admirable flavour, were abundantly supplied. At eight, our couch was spread (for we were to start at daylight) where we had dined. That part divided from the rest, and called the divan, (it had once, doubtless, been a Turkish residence,) with the space between, was occupied by our company, including the Greek and Turk who travelled under our escort. On the left of the entrance was a small door leading to a kind of balcony, which overlooked the sea. Here, with the clear blue sky for a canopy, and the murmuring ocean for their lullaby, our host had deposited the females of his family, among whom was an Arab slave, the most comely-looking creature of the kind that I have seen. Close by, in our own apartment, the Bey took up his rest. Two other Greeks, his attendants, lay on the side opposite to him, where stood a lamp, suspended from a short wooden stick. Over the partition forming the divan, was a small recess, in which the PANAGIA (All holy, applied to the Virgin) slumbered — or watched over her votaries, assisted by a lamp of oil, lighted up as the dusk approached, and secured by

a small glass door covering the recess. The whole scene before us was very striking. Our situation being at the higher end of the chamber, we had a good prospect of its entire length, for the lamp was suffered to burn through the night. The party were extended on mats in various portions of the room, the walls of which were decorated with weapons — guns, pistols, and swords; a broad-head lance or two rested in the corner. I could scarcely prevent my fancy from revelling in all the luxury of romantic adventure. Our old host, having divested himself of his scull-cap, outer drawers, and jacket, lay along his mat in the shape of a huge mound, swelling gradually to the apex. His secretary kneeled beside him, armed with pen, ink, and paper, and employed in scribbling the despatches he was dictating for Colocotroni and the captains we were likely to meet with in our way. The lamp stood near them, and cast a strong gleam upon their countenances, made more picturesque by the long hair of the Bey, which swept the ground as he reposed.

"In the morning, we resumed our conference with the Bey relative to the release of his son. Tears stood in his eyes when he told us the misfortunes of his family. One of his children fell at Carysto, another at Neo-Castro, while a third remained prisoner at Modon: one of his nephews was killed at the beginning of the Revolution, and his brother, at this time, was a member of the senate at Napoli. These circumstances he enumerated to prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and to shew the exertions his family had made. He had supported the Revolution almost from the very commencement; and could we be the means of emancipating his son, nothing within the compass of his ability should be wanting to testify his gra-

titude — not though it were the last drop of his blood."*

We now return to Mr. Morritt, whom we left on the point of setting out for Kardamoula, distant three hours (about ten miles) from Kitries. The southern point of the bay is formed by a rocky promontory about half a mile in length. "On leaving the village," continues Mr. Morritt, "we ascended by a winding road in a south-easterly direction, until we came to the top of this stony ridge, and looked down on a valley enclosed by mountains still more to the east. Several little villages and churches are scattered over the vale and on the sides of the hills that surround it. Behind them rose a high, black, and barren range of mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow. In one of these villages we were shewn, on inquiring after antiquities, an old ruined tower, of a construction more recent than the Grecian age, and we thought it was probably of Venetian workmanship. The valley itself and the lower hills were cultivated like a garden, and formed a scene of great beauty. The principal villages in this tract are Dokyes, Barussa, and Zarnata, and among these may perhaps be discovered the traces of some of the ancient towns of the Eleuthero-Laconians, enumerated by Pausanias, near Gerenia.

"We were amused, in passing through several of these little hamlets, with the simple curiosity of the people. The men who escorted us, requested with great submission that we would stop on the road, until they could apprise their friends of our arrival, because most of them had never seen a stranger, and none of them had ever seen an Englishman. The word was no sooner given, than off they ran, and as

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 202—9. See p. 220, and 226.

the tidings were spread, and shouts were heard and answered from the fields, labour stood still, and men, women, and children flocked round us on our approach. Their appearance was such as I have described; the men well-formed and active, the women in general fairer than the other Greeks, and very beautiful. The men in succession shook us cordially by the hand, and welcomed us to their country, and crowds followed us as we proceeded on our journey. The road from hence led us in a southerly direction over a most stony and barren ridge to the shore, and afterwards continued along the sea until our arrival at Cardamyla. The country round it, though cultivated in the same laborious manner, was still more stony and barren than at Kitreés. Even in the small fissures of the rock, olives and mulberries were planted, and spots of only a few feet in diameter were dug over, and sown with corn and maize. On the hills, there were many apiaries, and the produce is of the finest sort of honey, equal almost to that of Hymettus, but of a paler colour.*

* "The dry, stony rocks of Cardamoula, exposed to the sea air, abound with the wild thyme, the favourite food of the bees; and, on our return, we were served with a plate of honey, to which even that of Hymettus yielded in point of flavour and pureness, being of a transparent amber colour. We were also served with some *phaskomelia*, sage-apples, the inflated tumour formed upon a species of sage by the puncture of a *cynips*."—*Extracts from Dr. Sibthorp's Papers in Walpole's Memoirs*, p. 62. Dr. Sibthorp made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the summit of Taygetus from Cardamoula. He had proceeded about six hours, and had advanced two-thirds of the way up the mountain, when he was compelled to halt, the guides agreeing that, from the snow and the distance of the summit, it would be impossible to reach it and return to Cardamoula before night. "Though we had reached the region of the silver fir," says Dr. S., "we were not sufficiently advanced to find those Alpine plants which the height of the summit promised. We dined under a rock, from whose side descended a purl-

"Cardamyla* is now a small village, in which were three or four towers, the property of chieftains who possessed the country round it. We had letters to them from Zanetachi Kutuphari, and from the merchants of Calamata, and a dispute again arose for the pleasure of receiving us. At last, we were shewn to the largest of these towers, and treated with all possible hospitality. The whole village flocked to our house, and we found that nearly all the men were relations of the chiefs and of each other; as, in these districts, families seldom migrated, and the different branches of the clan remained with the principal stock, in whose house there was a collection of brothers, and nephews, and cousins, to a remote degree of affinity, who, as they became too numerous, settled themselves on the land in other houses, but seldom at a distance from the family.

"Behind the town is a small rocky eminence, on whose summit were a few vestiges of the ancient acropolis of Cardamyla. Just enough remained to point out the situation; the rock itself was split by a deep chasm, ascribed by tradition to an earthquake. At the foot of this rock was seen a heap of stones, the monument of Turkish invasion. These were pointed out to us with all the enthusiasm of successful liberty,

ing spring among violets, primroses, and the starry hyacinth, mixed with black *satyrium*, and different-coloured orches. The flowering ash hung from the sides of the mountain, under the shade of which bloomed saxifrages and the snowy *isopyrum*, with the *campanula pyramidalis*, called χαρισόνη, and yielding abundance of a sweet milky fluid. Our guides made nosegays of the fragrant leaves of the *fraxinella*; the common nettle was not forgotten as a pot-herb; but the *imperatoria* seemed the favourite sallad. Among the shrubs, I noticed our gooseberry-tree, and the *celtis australis* grew wild among the rocks."—*Ib.* p. 63.

* Sir W. Gell writes it Scardamula.

such as I had witnessed and remembered among the Swiss on shewing the monuments of their former glory, before they yielded their independence and their feelings to the thraldom of France. Here, amid the scenes of slavery that surrounded us, the contrast was still more striking. Below the acropolis were several caves, and the remains of ancient sepulchres. We were shewn the spot where the children of the village are taught the use of the rifle, and found that they practised it at ten, and even eight years of age. A groupe of girls and women on the village green were slinging stones and bullets at a mark, and seemed very expert. Their figures were light and active, but neither these nor their faces were more coarse or masculine than those of their enervated and languid countrywomen. The chief of Cardamyla assured us, that, in their petty wars, they had more than once followed their fathers and brothers to the field, and that the men were more eager to distinguish themselves before the eyes of their female companion, and partakers in the danger. Dances on the green succeeded in this season of festivity to these female gymnastics, until the evening closed on our gaiety.

"We remained great part of the next day at Cardamyla, in compliance with the wishes of our host and of his neighbours, and partook of the amusements on the green. After dining with him and his family, he attended us in his boat, the inland road being scarcely passable from the stony, rugged hills that it surmounts. We viewed the situation of Leuctra, a small hamlet on the shore, still retaining its ancient name, but found there few and inconsiderable traces of antiquity. About two miles and a half from hence we came to the little creek of Platsa, shut in by the rock of

Pephnos, near which was a tower, the residence of the Capitano Christeia, a chief to whom we were recommended.

"We had sent our letters to this chief by a messenger from Cardamyla, in consequence of which he met us at the port on our landing, attended by a large train of followers. We took leave of our friends of Cardamyla, who paid us a compliment at parting, not unusual in this country, by firing all their rifles over our heads. As this was not very carefully or regularly performed, and the pieces were always loaded with ball, the ceremony was not altogether agreeable. The tower of Capitano Christeia was at a small distance from the port, and adjoining to it were outbuildings and a long hall of entertainment as at Kitreés.

"Here, according to Pausanias, was formerly the little town of Pephnos, the situation of which is now marked only by the rocky islet of the port. The place was at that time inconsiderable, and the island contained nothing except two small bronze figures of Castor and Pollux, which were, however, miraculously immovable, even by the winter's storm and the sea which beat upon them. The miracle is no longer performed, and the statues are gone.

"We walked from the shore with our host to his castle. Capitano Christeia, the owner of it, was one of the most powerful, and at the same time the most active and turbulent chieftain in the district. He had paid the price of the renown he had acquired, for he bore the marks of three bullets in the breast, the scars of two more upon his face, besides slighter wounds on his legs and arms: in fact, his life was a continued scene of piracy by sea and feuds at home. He was about forty-five years of age, and shewed us

with much satisfaction the spoil he had amassed in his expeditions.

"In the tower to which we were shewn, we lived in a neat and comfortable room; but the walls were thick and strong, the windows barricadoed with iron bars, and barrels of gunpowder were arranged along the shelves below the ceiling. The men who attended in the castle had an air of military service, and the whole place bore in its appearance the character of the master. We stayed a day at this singular mansion, and were prevented in the morning by a heavy rain from extending our rambles beyond the castle. We dined with the family at twelve o'clock, and after dinner, went to the great room of the castle. In it, and on the green before it, we found near a hundred people of both sexes and of all ages assembled, and partaking of the chief's hospitality. They flocked from all the neighbouring villages, and were dancing with great vivacity. The men, during the dance, repeatedly fired their pistols through the windows, as an accompaniment to their wild gaiety; and the shouts, and laughter, and noise were indescribable. Among the other dances, the Ariadne, mentioned in De Guy's Travels, was introduced, and many which we had not yet seen in Greece. The men and women danced together, which is not so usual on the continent as in the islands. On my complimenting the Capitano on the performance of his lyrist, who scraped several airs on a three-stringed rebeck, here dignified with the name of λύρη, a lyre, he told me with regret, that he had indeed been fortunate enough to possess a most accomplished musician, a German, who played not only Greek dances, but many Italian and German songs; but that in 1794, his fiddler, brought up in the laxer morals of Western Europe, and unmindful

of the rigid principles of the Maina, had so offended by his proposals the indignant chastity of a young woman in the neighbourhood, that she shot him dead on the spot with a pistol. As evening approached, the strangers departed to their homes after a rifle salute. We again passed the night at Christeia's house, and set out for Vitulo the next morning.

"We left Platsa on mules, attended by a strong escort of armed men, sent with us by the chief's direction. We first proceeded eastward, up a narrow rocky vale, and then turning to the south, ascended by a winding road up a high ridge of crags. We passed some villages with scanty spots of cultivation round them, and keeping high along the side of Taygetus, came in about two hours to the verge of Christeia's territory. Here our escort left us, and a guard belonging to one of the chiefs of Vitulo took charge of us, and conducted us down the southern side of the promontory of Platsa to their master's, which is at two hours' distance.

"The whole of this tract is as barren as possible. The mountain of Taygetus is a continuance of naked crags; the cultivation disappeared as we proceeded, and the coast which lay before us towards Cape Grosso, seemed more bare and savage than any we had passed. The villages seemed poorer, and the people less attentive to comforts and cleanliness, from the extreme poverty of the country. Still, in the scanty spots where vegetation could be produced at all, their industry was conspicuous. Not a tree or bush is seen. We found many specimens of variegated marble in the mountains, and passed by some ancient quarries. We at last came to Vitulo, formerly Œtylos, a considerable town in this desolate country, built along a rocky precipice. Below it is a narrow, deep creek,

that winds inland, and is the haven to the town. A mountain torrent falls into it, through a deep and gloomy glen that is barely wide enough to afford a passage for its waters. On the opposite rocks that bound this glen to the south, is another village with a square Venetian fortress. Our guides conducted us through a street, filled with gazing crowds, to the house of a chief to whom we brought letters of recommendation. We found the master of the house was absent, but were hospitably received by his family, and remained there till the next day.

"In the afternoon, we examined the situation and environs of Vitulo for the remains of the ancient town of Œtylos. We found in the streets several massive foundations and large hewn stones still left, supporting the more slight buildings of modern times. We went to the church, which, in most places built on the situation of the old Grecian cities, contains the fragments of ancient architecture. We found there a beautifully fluted Ionic column of white marble, supporting a beam at one end of the aisle. To this beam the bells were hung. Three or four Ionic capitals were in the wall of the church, employed for building it, together with common rough stone-work. The volutes and ornaments were freely and beautifully executed, and different in some degree from any I have elsewhere seen. The cord which encircles the neck of the column is continued in a sort of bow-knot round the scroll of the volutes at each side of the capital, and is very freely carved. On the outside of the church are seen the foundations of a temple to which these ornaments in all probability belonged."*

* Œtylos (sometimes written Betylos, and by Ptolemy, Bitula) was, as well as Leuctra, in the time of Pausanias, a city of the

Mr. Morritt was very desirous of pursuing his survey of the Maina as far southward as Cape Matapan, and of visiting the site of the ancient Tænarus; but he was informed that, from Vitulo, the road is impassable even for mules; and the country round Tænarus was in so disturbed a state, that none of the chiefs could undertake to conduct the travellers thither in safety. Of the ancient cave and temples there, he could obtain no consistent account.* Sir Wm. Gell was told,

Eleuthero-Lacones, who possessed, by virtue of a grant from Augustus, some of the maritime towns of Laconia. Of these, nine were on the promontory of Taygetus, to the south and west of Gythium, which also belonged to them: viz. three on the eastern side, Teuthrone, Las, and Pyrrhichus, Cœnepolis at Capo Grosso, and on the Messenian Gulf, Œtylos, Leuctra, Thalamæ, Alagonia, and Gerenia. The rest were beyond the Laconian Gulf on the Malean promontory, Leuctra, Cardamyle, and Pephnos, Mr. Morritt remarks, we are enabled by decided remains of antiquity or coincidence of situation, to fix at Leutro, Cardamoula, and Platsa. Thalamæ, which Meletius erroneously fixes at Kalamata, was only eighty stadia from Œtylos, and must be sought for between Platsa and Vitulo. Gerenia, Mr. Morritt supposes to have been near Kitries. In the account of the villages of Maina furnished by the Bey, given in Gell's Itinerary, there occurs the name of Garanos "near the sea," on the shore of the Laconian Gulf, between Vathi and Kolokythia. The latter he supposes to be Gythium, and the coincidence of name seems to favour the opinion; but Gythium, according to Polybius, was only thirty stadia from Sparta. Above Kolokythia is a castle called Leucadia, and in the sea are ruins and inscriptions. Mr. Morritt was told that there are considerable remains of an ancient city on Capo Grosso, agreeing, so far as the distances could be ascertained, with Pausanias's description of Cœnepolis. At Gerenia, was the tomb of Machaon, the son of Esculapius, who was worshipped and had a temple dedicated to him at Abia.

* "Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is sufficiently large to contain a great number of ships, is situated near a cape of the same name, on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. These sacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, stands in the middle of a consecrated grove, which serves as an asylum to criminals. The statue of the god is at the

that above Cape Matapan is a castle called Kisternes, from the number of cisterns it contains; and at a place called Borlachias, there were said to be ruins of a temple of Diana and Bacchus.* The southern extremity of the peninsula is called Kakaboulia, and the natives bear a very bad character, even among the Mainotes, for their barbarous and piratical habits. The precise limits of this district are not easily ascertained. M. Pouqueville says loosely, "On the other shore of the Bay of Vitulo is the town of Tchimova (Gimoba) containing about 250 houses, and commanded by a captain named Pietro Mavromikhalis.† Beyond this begins the country of the Cacovouniotes or Cacovougnis (Kakabouliots)," whose name, he says, signifies mountain-robbers; and he gives the following account, of course from hearsay, of the district and the people.

"The rugged rocks with which this region abounds, their summits blackened by thunder or by time, the red earth which appears at intervals among them, present but a fearful coup-d'œil to the navigator. A few scattered habitations are seen among the mountains, while here and there, on the borders of some

entrance; and at the bottom opens an immense cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks....You behold, said the priest, one of the mouths of the infernal shades....It was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light, and that Orpheus returned with his wife....We left Tænarus, after having visited in its environs some quarries, from which is dug a black stone as valuable as marble."—*Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. ch. 41.

* "Every information which I was able to obtain respecting this country," says M. Pouqueville, "confirmed me in the assurance that it is rich in remains of antiquity. It was, according to Pausanias, full of temples."

† Mr. Swan, however, makes Mavromikhalis say, that his family residence was at Capo Grosso, in the supposed country of the Kakabouliots.

creek made by the sea, stands a solitary village. The principal of these are Kolokythia, Boularias (Bourlachias), Cariopolis, Mezapiotes,* and Porto Caillo,† upon the Gulf of Laconia: the former of these is considered by the Cacovouniotes as their capital. The country is every where barren and destitute of wood, and depends almost entirely for a supply of the first necessary of life, water, upon some springs and natural cisterns found in their caverns. They have only one river, the Skyras, in the neighbourhood of Porto Caillo; but this has water the whole year through. The land is not sufficiently productive to support the inhabitants; and they would be constrained to abandon their country, if the sea did not offer inexhaustible resources in their fisheries, and the rocks were not the asylum of an immense quantity of birds, partridges, and other game. At the times of the equinox before the seas are agitated by the turbulence of the winds, thousands of birds of passage assemble at Cape Tenarus, previously to taking their flight towards the country of Libya.

"The Cacovouniotes, the wretched remains of the people of Nabis, whose very name denotes the estimation in which they are held by other nations, these pirates, few in number, but equal in ferocity to the Arabs of the Syrts, form a distinct society from the Mainotti. Bold and adventurous upon the element from which their chief support is drawn, they fall, equally under favour of a tempest or of a perfidious calm, upon all vessels who come within their reach, and are not of sufficient force to defend themselves;

* In the Itinerary, Messapo castle and port.

† Written by Sir W. Gell, Porto Kallio, "the Port of Achilles," and Porto Quaglio.

a fate more terrible to them than being struck with lightning or dashed upon the rocks. Neither the fear of danger nor of punishment can destroy in the Cacovouniotes this dreadful propensity to plunder; they cannot resist, they say, the alluring spectacle of so many European vessels continually passing before their eyes.

"A Cacovouniote may be distinguished at the very first glance from a Mainote. The latter is well made, has a florid complexion, and a tranquil cast of countenance: the former has a dark and suspicious eye, and is squat and stunted like the plants of his country; he has a withered skin and an expression of countenance which betrays at once the gloomy assassin. The tone of voice of the Mainote is full and sonorous; that of the Cacovouniote is hoarse and guttural. The one walks with a brisk and airy step; the other rushes forward like a wild boar. The Mainote attacks with fury and plunders with delight the Turk, whom he detests: the Cacovouniote has but one enemy, but that enemy is the whole human race, whom in his blind fury he would gladly tear to pieces and extirpate."*

There is probably not a little of the exaggeration of romance in this account; and it may be questioned, after all, whether the Cacovouniotes are a race more distinct from the other inhabitants of Maina, than

* Pouqueville's Travels by Plumptre, pp. 112—14. From this statement, it would seem that Kakaboulia lies principally on the coast of the Laconian Gulf, and it seems to answer to what Zanetachi-bey called "the coast of Pagania;" Vathi, however, which is on that coast, belongs to Maina. South of Kolokythia, is a port called *Porto Pagano*, near, and probably formed by, the Island Scopes. The name of this port seems connected with that of Pagania.

the smugglers, wreckers, and fishermen of the southern coast of England are from the other people of Cornwall and Devon.

Abandoning with reluctance the journey to Tænarus, Mr. Morritt resolved to strike across the Peninsula to Marathonisi,* then the residence of the Bey of Maina, and claiming on that account to rank as the capital of the territory. He gives the following account of his journey.

"A very steep and rugged road descends into the little glen below Vitulo, and continues winding along the banks of the torrent for several miles, shut in by rocky and wooded precipices. Emerging from these defiles, we came to a more open and fertile tract of country, covered with groves of oak and a few scattered villages. The chief at whose house we had been at Vitulo, was in one of these, and our guards gave him notice of our arrival by a discharge of all their rifles. Their salute was answered from the village by a similar discharge, and the Capitano issued immediately with about sixteen armed followers, and welcomed us in the plain. He then, with this additional escort, went forward with us to Marathonisi. We had come about ten miles, and had nearly the same distance to proceed. The country grew more open and better cultivated, as we approached the eastern shore of the Maina. We came in about an hour within sight of the sea, and then pursued our journey in a north-easterly direction through several villages, in one of which was a square Venetian fortress, until we arrived at Marathonisi.

"This town, then the residence of the Bey, and

* The proper name of the town appears to be Marathona, and that of the island, Marathonisi.

the capital of the Maina, consists of little more than a single street along the shore, in front of which is a small road-stead, formed by the island of Marathonisi, the ancient Cranaë of Homer. The Bey of the Maina, Zanet Bey, had a large and strong castle within half a mile of the place, but received us at a house in the town, where he was resident at this time, with great kindness and cordiality. We found he was of a character more quiet and indolent than many of the subordinate chiefs we had visited. This, as Christeia told us, was the reason why they had chosen him in the room of Zanetachi Kutuphari, the more intelligent and enterprising chieftain of Kitreés. After an early dinner, he retired to his siesta, and we went to view the situation and ruins of the ancient Gythium, which stood a little to the north of the present town. What vestiges remain of Gythium, appeared to me to be chiefly of Roman construction, and the buildings of earlier date are no longer traceable. The situation is now called Palæopolis, but no habitation is left upon it. The town has covered several low hills which terminate in rocks along the shore, on one of which we found a Greek inscription, but so defaced as to be nearly illegible. A salt stream that rises near the shore out of the rocks, was probably the ancient fountain of Æsculapius. The temples and other monuments enumerated by Pausanias are now no more. Marble blocks and other remains of antiquity are still found occasionally by the peasants who cultivate the ground; and the pastures in the neighbourhood are even now famous for their cheeses, which were, in the time of the Spartan government, an article of trade much esteemed in the rest of Greece.

"The rock near the salt-springs which I have

mentioned, is cut smooth, and marks remain in it of beams, which, with the roof that they supported, have disappeared. There are two large tanks, lined with stuccoed brick-work, once vaulted over, and cut in the rocky hill, divided by cross walls into two or three separate reservoirs, for the supply of water. Beyond these are two adjoining oblong buildings of brick, with niches for urns, containing the ashes of the dead, exactly similar to the *colombaia*, now so well known in Italy. The doors at the end of the buildings are their only entrances. There are also near the shore, ruins of baths, much like those of Thuria, but far less perfect; on which, however, we found a scallop-shell ornament in stucco still remaining in one of the niches. There are other ruins on the shore, of which a part is now under water; but a floor of mosaic work may be still seen. Rubbish and old walls, many of which are of brick, cover great part of the ancient Gythium, but we sought in vain for the temples or any antiquities of value. The following day was spent in examining those parts of the old city which we had not previously visited. The island Cranaë is rather to the south of Gythium, and secured the port. It is low and flat, and at a distance of only a hundred yards from the shore. The ruined foundation of a temple supports at present a Greek chapel."

Marathonisi is represented by M. Pouqueville to be the most important place upon the Laconian Gulf: its principal trade is in cotton and gall-nuts. Above it is a post named Mavrobouni.* At three hours

* According to information received by Sir W. Gell from the natives, proceeding southward from Mavrobouni, it is three hours to Scutari, passing the village of Capitano Antoni; from Scutari to Vatika, three hours, passing Kastri; from Vatika to Vathia, two hours; thence to Kastagnia, six hours; to Porto Quaglio (or

from Marathonisi, in the plains on the eastern side of the Eurotas, is the village of Helos, (corrupted into Helios,) the chief place in the rich but defenceless country of the ancient Helots. From this place, it is reckoned a journey of fourteen hours to Mistra, the road lying along the banks of the Eurotas and through the country of the Bardouniots, a tribe of lawless Mussulman banditti. Before, however, we turn our backs upon Maina, we shall here throw together a few general remarks on the country and the character of the natives.

The whole district of Maina, including Kakaboulia, is formed by the branches of Mount Taygetus, (now known under the name of Mount Saint Elias,) and, with the exception of a long tract of low coast, called by the Venetians *Bassa Maina*, is mountainous and for the most part barren. The mountain, famous in all ages for its bones, is formed of a slippery rock, so hard as not to be broken without difficulty, and bristled with little points and angles on which the gentlest fall is attended with danger. The population is distributed into little villages, while here and there, a white fortress denotes the residence of the chief. According to M. Pouqueville, the province contains about a hundred of these *chorions* (towns or hamlets)

Kallio), six hours; (the port which gives name to the village is two hours below;) to Jalli, four hours; to Pyrgi, two hours; to Cape Matapan, two hours. Distance from Mavrobouni to Cape Matapan, twenty-eight hours. This road, which lies through the interior, leaving the coast at Scutari, has never been explored by any English traveller. Jalli is only one hour from Capo Grosso. Kastagnia, which M. Pouqueville places erroneously to the east of Kardamoula, is said to derive its name from the number of chestnut-trees in the environs. At this place, he adds, "the Capitan Pasha was beaten and put to the rout two and twenty years ago, after having driven the Albanians out of the Morea."

under fourteen *capitanos*; but this appears to be incorrect.* The Maina is, in fact, divided into eight hereditary captaincies, or what in other countries would be termed lairdships, seigniories, or sheikhdoms; the government, in many respects, strikingly resembling the ancient feudalism of the Highland clans of Scotland. Its origin, as well as that of the people themselves, is problematical; but the Italian title assumed by the chieftains, together with the style of the architecture of their castellated mansions, seems to point to the time of the Venetians as the era of its introduction. The jurisdiction, Mr. Douglas states, "was long administered by an assembly of the old men, from among whom the *protogeronte* (arch-senator) was annually chosen. The misbehaviour of the last person who enjoyed that situation, led to the abolition of his office." Since that time, Maina has been nominally governed by a Bey, elected by the capitani from among themselves, but who receives his investiture from the Capitan-Pasha. In what respect the Bey differs in office and authority from the *protogeronte*, who appears to have been the doge or captain-general of the little republic, does not clearly appear, and the change seems to have been little more than nominal.

In the year 1776, Maina was separated from the pashalik of the Morea, and placed, like the Greek Islands, "under the protection" of the Capitan-Pasha. On this occasion, it seems, Zanetachi Kutuphari, of Kitries, was first raised to the dignity of *bey-boiouk*

* Sir W. Gell speaks of the 117 towns and villages of Maina, but cites no authority. Zanetachi, in 1785, stated them at about 100, and the population at about 40,000; while another *capitanos* more distinctly stated, that Maina contained 70 villages, comprising 7000 houses, and a population of 30,000, of which 10,000 were male adults.—POUQUEVILLE'S *Travels*, p. 464. Zanetachi, however, in 1795, estimated the effective male population at 12,000.

by a firmaun of Gazi Hassan Pasha, which constituted him chief and commander of all Maina for the Porte.* He had not enjoyed this post more than two years, when, having incurred the displeasure of the Capitan Pasha through the intrigues of his drogueman, he was compelled to quit Kitries, and to take refuge in Zante. Through the intervention of the French ambassador, he obtained his pardon, and returned to Maina, where Mr. Morritt visited him in the spring of 1795. At that time, Zanet-bey, of Mavromouni in the canton of Marathonisi, enjoyed this invidious office, and he is stated by M. Pouqueville to have held it for eight years; at the end of which he was, by rare good fortune, permitted to retire quietly to his patrimony, and to end his days in peace as a *capitanos*. His successor, Panayotti Comodouro, of Cambo Stavro near Varousi, after holding the office for three years, fell under the displeasure of the Porte, and was, in 1801, a prisoner at Constantinople. To him suc-

* A copy of this firmaun is given by Pouqueville in the Appendix to his Travels. In this document it is intimated, that the Sultan, in issuing this firmaun, had "changed his anger into compassion, his vengeance into clemency," having pardoned all the faults of the therein-mentioned Zanetachi, therein and for ever. The fact appears to be, that the nomination, as Sir Wm. Gell intimates, was a compromise, "into which the Turks entered to save themselves the trouble of an exterminating war," or the disgrace of failing in the attempt, "and the Greeks, for the sake of having no foreigner in the country." The Bey was no otherwise distinguished from the other *capitani*, than as their representative in all public transactions with the Turks, and the responsible agent for the *haratsch* or capitation-tax. But, as all foreign commerce passed through his hands, or could be carried on only with his license, the post must have been a lucrative one. No Mainote engaged in commerce, and this might be one reason for their often turning pirates. The title of Bey seems, however, to have been borne by one of the family of Mavromikhali, before the separation of Maina from the pashalik of Tripolitza.

ceeded Antoni Coutzogligori, of Vathi, who, "at sixty years of age, impelled by the thirst of dominion, solicited the dangerous post, and became the dependent of the Capitan Pasha." In 1805, when Sir Wm. Gell visited the Morea, this same Antoni or Andunah Bey was still in office. He was then at Kitries, to which place he had, it seems, repaired for the purpose of paying the annual tribute of 35 purses (of 500 piastres each), equal to about 800*l*., which the Turkish squadron then in the bay had been despatched to receive: his residence was at Marathona. This tribute, comparatively small as it may seem, was raised with difficulty, so that, if Sir William Gell may be credited, "the Bey, having advanced the sum to the Turks, was obliged to call in their assistance to enable him to obtain the re-payment, in consequence of which he was considered rather too intimate with the Turks." His successor, Constantine Bey, "formerly a merchant, bought his investiture at Constantinople, and, by the aid of an army of Moreote-Albanians, deposed his father-in-law, who had been elected to the office.* His authority, however, was contested, and a civil war was the consequence. What became of him, we are not informed, but, at the breaking out of the Revolution, the ruling Bey was the redoubtable Pedro-bey Mavromikhali, who has been so often referred to.

The Mainotes are said to boast of being descended from the ancient Spartans. "It is the name by which they are known among themselves, while the histories

* The Hon. Mr. Douglas, who visited Greece in 1811, speaking (in his Essay on the Modern Greeks) of Constantine as the "present" Bey, says: "Five, however, of the eight captains are in open rebellion against him, and the power of the veteran Anton (Andunah?) is much more substantial than all the assistance the Turks can confer on the usurper."

of Lycurgus and Leonidas, partly as saints and partly as robbers, are still figured in their popular traditions. On the other hand," remarks Mr. Douglas, "the destruction in which Nabis is said to have involved all the Spartans, greatly diminishes the justice of this claim. Probably, the writers who trace this nation from the Ελευθεροι Λακωνες, or the inhabitants of the sea-towns of Laconia, who were separated from the dominion of Sparta by the decree of Augustus, may be nearest the truth. De Pauw, Pouqueville, and Chateaubriand are at issue upon these points; and perhaps Spartans, Laconians, and Slavonians are all, more or less, confounded in this singular people."* Little stress can be laid, however, on either of these authorities. De Pauw's account of the inhabitants of Maina partakes largely of the fabulous: he ascribes to them the most horrid and unnatural rites, and an unbounded licentiousness. Chateaubriand will not allow them to be Greeks at all, although their customs, as well as their language, preserve the most striking resemblance to those of the ancient Greeks. Even Sir W. Gell speaks of the Mainotes as having "at least more claims to the honour of Grecian descent, than the inhabitants of other parts of the Morea." Mr. Morritt states, that, among their chiefs, he found men tolerably versed in the modern Romaic literature, "and some who had sufficient knowledge of their ancient language to read Herodotus and Xenophon, and who were well acquainted with the revolutions of their country." Possibly, this gentleman's classic enthusiasm may have led him to

* Douglas on Mod. Greeks, p. 172. If there really be the marked difference of physiognomy and character between the Kakabouliots and the other Mainotes, that M. Pouqueville represents, it will strongly favour this opinion that they are of a mixed race.

overrate their attainments; but his testimony as to their general character must be allowed to have great weight. Even their piratical habits seem to have descended to them from the heroes of the Odyssey and the early inhabitants of Greece. The robbery and piracy which they exercise indiscriminately in their roving expeditions, they dignify by the name of war. "But," remarks this Traveller, "if their hostility is treacherous and cruel, their friendship is inviolable. The stranger that is within their gates, is a sacred title; and not even the Arabs are more attentive to the claims of hospitality. To pass by a chief's dwelling without stopping to visit it, would have been deemed an insult, as the reception of strangers is a privilege highly valued. While a stranger is under their protection, his safety is their first object, as his suffering any injury would have been an indelible disgrace to the family where it happened." It would seem that the Homeric maxim is not yet worn out in this country—

τον ξεινον παρεοντα φιλειν, ατεοντα δε πεμπειν·

"Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest."

The hospitable reception which Mr. Morritt met with is the more remarkable, as M. Pouqueville represents them as regarding all foreigners with distrust; and he accuses their papas, more especially, of cherishing in their countrymen that ξενηλασια (hatred of foreigners) which he represents to be the common sentiment of these modern Lacedæmonians. The Rev. Mr. Swan, who, in 1825, accompanied Capt. Hamilton in his journey to and from Mistra over Mount Taygetus, confirms the favourable account given by Mr. Morritt of the state of things thirty years before. "Through the whole of this journey," he

says, " the respect and attention of the Greeks were unremitting. We were placed in circumstances where any disposition to pilfer must have been successful, and where we could not have offered the least effectual resistance. It is true, we were furnished with the pass of Pietro Bey, and we were proceeding on a mission which had for its object the release of his son from prison, as well as that of a large number of Greeks. But the robber finds the opportunity of effecting his purpose, and has no further concern. Before he could be apprized of our views, explanations must be given: for these, the mere plunderer does not wait. He is perched like the eagle in his eyrie, and the talon is fixed upon its prey before the victim is aware that he is on the wing. We slept securely in the wildest passes; our resting-place was known to hundreds of the mountaineers, who guarded them, and we experienced not the slightest alarm. We slept in houses which they occupied, our baggage scattered about the chamber; we kept no watch, we entertained no fear, and we suffered no injury. Whenever we met with them, we were welcomed with a respectful salutation: when we departed, it was with the kind expressions of all. One of our party, at least, who had been carried away with the wretched cant of the utter worthlessness of the Greeks, became a convert. He plainly saw that they were *not* so bad as they might have been. They did not take advantage of our situation; they neither robbed nor insulted us." *

The religion of the Mainotes is that of the Greek church in its most fantastic and barbarous forms. Christianity made no progress among them till many

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. p. 258.

centuries after the conversion of Constantine;* and its precepts are now but little known or regarded. Their churches, Mr. Morritt states, are numerous, clean, and well attended; and their priests have an amazing influence,† which is too seldom exerted to soften or reclaim them. "The papas of Maina," M. Pouqueville says, "are the least instructed of any of the Greek priests. After the example of the major part of their brethren, they allege the dearness of books and the difficulty of procuring them, as reasons for excusing themselves from saying the breviary. Not less determined plunderers than the rest of the Mainotes, they share in all their expeditions, that they may be sharers likewise in the booty." A Mainote priest, to whom the Hon. Mr. Douglas complained of the robberies charged upon his countrymen, replied that it could not be helped; "that it was a custom handed down to them by their ancestors in the νομοι του Λυκουργου (the laws of Lycurgus.)"‡ With such teachers and guides, it is not to be wondered at, that the religion of the Mainotes should differ little

* "Though not to be conquered by human efforts," says Pouqueville, "they submitted to the Christian religion at the epoch when Basil the Macedonian swayed the sceptre of the East."

† In this respect, the Mainotes would seem strikingly to differ from the Suliots and Roumeliots, who are said to pay little deference to their clergy. See p. 53.

‡ A more plausible apology for his lawless countrymen was offered by Zanetachi-bey in a letter given by Pouqueville, written from Zante in 1785. "I can assure you that the character of the Mainotes is that of all people who are not properly enlightened upon subjects of commerce. Deprived of the arts and conveniences of life, interest, or often urgent necessity, leads them to seek illicit means of compensating the want of conveniences, of wealth, or even of necessaries. A Mainote who has wherewithal to satisfy his wants, never seeks fortune by illicit means."—*Travels*, p. 470 "The number of their desert havens," remarks the Hon. Mr.

from that which once prevailed among the rude clans of the Scottish border, or from that of their Pagan ancestors. Their fondness for amulets and charms, and their faith in their efficacy, are the natural effect of superstition, and are not, perhaps, carried to a greater height than among the rest of their nation.

A more pleasing feature in their character, is that domestic virtue which is on all hands admitted to mark the intercourse of the sexes. "Their wives and daughters," says Mr. Morritt, "unlike those of most other districts in the Levant, are neither secluded, corrupted, nor enslaved. Women succeed, in default of male issue, to the possessions of their fathers; they partake at home of the confidence of their husbands, and superintend the education of their children and the management of their families. In the villages, they share in the labours of domestic life, and in war, even partake of the dangers of the field. In no other country are they more at liberty, and in none were there fewer instances of its abuse, than in Maina at this period. Conjugal infidelity was extremely rare, and indeed, as death was sure to follow detection, and might even follow suspicion, it was not likely to have made much progress."

"Amid the sort of barbarism in which the Mainotti are plunged," remarks M. Pouqueville, "one is forced to admire the practice of certain virtues that are conspicuous among them. Their old men are held in the highest respect: their counsels are considered as oracles. Never do the women or young men approach

Douglas, "has always encouraged the crime of piracy among the Greeks. But the cruelty shewn in exercising it is much exaggerated to strangers by the trembling merchants of Scio and Scalanova."

them but with marks of the most profound veneration.*.....The wives of the Mainotti, not less courageous than their husbands, sometimes share with them the greatest dangers: if they fall, their loss is deeply lamented by these women, for they love their husbands with extreme tenderness. The Mainote women are models as mothers, after having been so as daughters." "Under such a government," remarks the Hon. Mr. Douglas, "we are not surprised to find a race of bold and licentious robbers; yet, seclusion from the contagious effects of neighbourhood, has preserved among these lawless men the virtues of constancy, fidelity, and truth. A traveller is immediately struck with the peculiar manliness of their look and carriage; and I have seen the proudest Turks sink into the most abject servility, on discovering that the Greek whom they had insulted was a Mainote."

The climate in the northern and higher parts of Maina is esteemed very salubrious: as the mountains decline in elevation towards *Cape Matapan*, the country is less healthy, and the inhabitants are not equally robust. The produce of the soil consists of oil, silk, vallony and gall-nuts, honey, wax, cotton, and vermillion.† Maina contains six good ports, viz.

* Sir Wm. Gell is ingenious enough to pervert this reverence for the hoary head into the matter of splenetic ridicule. His testimony to the fact is not the less important. "In almost every Greek expedition, on foot, on horseback, or in a boat, this *most awkward veneration for hoary locks* yet exists, as in the history of ancient Sparta....A Greek boat has always some old, obstinate, and ignorant monster on board," &c. Strange, that a learned antiquary should deem either old age, or the reverence for it, monstrous!

† According to Zanetachi-bey, the productions of Maina, in a good year, were about 13,000 barrels of oil; 16,000 lbs. of silk; and of vallony and gall-nuts about 1,500,000 *okes* each. (POUQUEVILLE, p. 467.) In a Table of the Territorial Productions,

Kitries, Vitulo, Porto Kallio, Vathi, Marathonisi, and Trinisa. Porto Kallio, which seems to answer to the ancient Pyrrhicus, is the port opposite to the north-western point of the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera, and the most southerly of the seven Ionian Islands. Of this once celebrated isle, we must give a brief description.

CERIGO

ACCORDING to M. de Vaudoncourt, is situated five miles S. of the island of Servi, and 14 E.S.E. of Cape Malio. It is 17 miles long from N.W. to S.E., 10 miles wide, and about 45 in circumference. The most northern point is Cape Spati (anciently Platanistus), on the extremity of which stands a chapel, occupying, probably, the site of an ancient fane. "To the S.W., opposite to another point, is a rock known by the name of Platanos. Three miles to the S. is a small port, near which is the church of S. Nicholas de Mudari. Four miles farther southward is Cape Liado, opposite to which are three small islands, called Deer Islands (Elaphonisia). From thence to Cape Trochilo, one of the southern points of the island, the distance is six miles S.E. The other southern point, Cape Kapello, is four miles E. of Cape Trochilo; and between these two points, a small harbour opens (Porto Delphino), at the bottom of which, on the declivity of a mountain, is the small town of Kapsali,

given by the same writer, however, those of Maina, from Cape Matapan to Kitries, are estimated at 8000 barrels of oil, at 20 piastres the barrel; 6000 *kilos* of pulse, at two piastres each; 4000 *okes* of vermillion, at eight piastres each; 4000 *okes* of silk; 6000 quintals of vallony; and 2000 *okes* of yellow wax: total value, 272,000 piastres. The annual tribute, according to Sir Wm. Gell, was fixed at 17,500 piastres, being about 15½ per cent.

containing about 4000 souls, which has succeeded to the ancient Cythera. The fort is to the S.W. on the sea-shore, and at the mouth of a torrent. Four miles N. of Kapsali, and near the sources of this torrent, is the village of Potamos, the ancient Scandea.* Between this village and Kapsali, we discover the ruins of the temple of Venus Cytherea. Beyond Cape Kapello, the coast stretches to the N. for about five miles, and then bending to the E. for about two miles, forms a kind of harbour, called Port St. Nicholas or Avlemona. To the N. of this harbour, near an inlet, is a fort, called Palaio-Kastro, which occupies the site of the ancient Menelais. From Point Avlemona, the coast irregularly ranges to the N.W. as far as Cape Spati, and is steep and rugged. The island is barren and little cultivated, and is in want of wood as well as of all kinds of provisions."†

"Though celebrated as the ancient Cythera and the birth-place of Helen, its present aspect," says Dr. Holland, "is rocky and sterile, and the number of inhabitants (in 1811) does not exceed 9000: of this number, 165 are priests, and there are said to be not fewer than 260 churches or chapels of different descriptions in the island. The chief products are corn, oil, wine, raisins, honey, and wax; some cotton and flax also are grown upon the island, and there is a considerable produce of cheese from the milk of the goats which feed over its rocky surface.‡ It is estimated that, in

* This seems to be an error, as Scandea was the port of Cythera.

† Vaudoncourt's Ionian Islands, p. 403.

‡ "The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the most pleasurable ideas. In that island has subsisted from time immemorial the most ancient and most venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus. There it was that she for the first time shewed herself to mortals, and, accompanied by the Loves, took possession of that land, still embellished by the flowers which hastened to dis-

the year 1811, there were in the island, 16,000 sheep and goats, about 1300 horses, and 2500 oxen. The number of bee-hives, the same year, was reckoned at 1,280, producing honey of very good quality."*

Some writers have described Cerigo as a volcanic country, containing many extinct craters; a statement which this writer considers as very questionable, but which claims the attention of future travellers. The rock is limestone, and, as in the Morea, is worn into large caves, some of which are reported to exhibit very beautiful stalactitic appearances. This island sends one deputy to the legislative assembly of the Ionian Isles. Instead of a Lacedemonian, Roman, or Venetian, it has now a British garrison; and from their solitary station, the mountains of Peloponnesus are seen on one side, while on the other, though at a greater distance, may be descried the classic shores of the ancient Crete.

close themselves at her presence. Ah! doubtless, in that fortunate region, the inhabitants pass their days in plenty and in pleasure. The captain, who heard us with the greatest surprise, said to us coldly: 'They eat figs and toasted cheese; they have also wine and honey; but they obtain nothing from the earth without the sweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky soil. Besides, they are so fond of money, that they are very little acquainted with the tender smile. I have seen their old temple, formerly built by the Phenicians in honour of Venus Urania. Her statue is not very suitable to inspire love, as she appears in complete armour. I have been told, as well as you, that the goddess, when she arose out of the sea, landed on this island; but I was likewise told, that she soon fled from it into Cyprus.' From these last words we concluded, that the Phenicians, having traversed the seas, landed at the port of Scandea; that they brought thither the worship of Venus, which soon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated those absurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her rising out of the sea, and her arrival at Cythera." *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. chap. 41.

* Holland's Travels, 8vo. vol. i. p. 61.

FROM MARATHONA TO MISTRA.

We must now transport the reader back to the mouth of the Ere Potamo or Eurotas, at the head of the Laconian Gulf, which seems to be the eastern boundary of the coast of Maina. The port of Trinisi (Trinesus) is between the mouth of that river and Marathonisi, and takes it name from three islands. Here the Mainotes have two small castles. The river flows through marshes, bounded eastward by the rich and fertile plain of Helos, over which lies the road to Mistra. Mr. Morritt, who took this route in 1795, having passed the night at a village called Prinico, near the mouth of the river, proceeded next day across the plain to Helos.* "Soon after," he continues, "we came to the Eurotas, and continued along its banks through a beautiful and varied vale, in some parts so narrow as to resemble a defile, at others wide and fertile, abounding in woods and varied scenery, but everywhere rude and uncultivated, except a few fields immediately near the villages, where a scanty and negligent culture ill provided for the wants of the inhabitants. The villages were the habitations of Albanese peasants, and were dangerous to the traveller, as every crime was easy, and the people were in the habit of marauding with impunity. The plain and mountains were infested alternately by the roving Mainotes, and the Turkish or Albanese borderers." Though conducted by the artifices of their Albanian guides by a circuitous route, in order to persuade them

* From Marathonisi to Helos, three hours. From Helos to Mistra, fourteen hours. GELL's *Itinerary*, p. 234. Mr. Swan, however, states, that, from the plain of Helos to Mistra, including a slight deviation from the road, the distance is only ten hours.

that Mistra was more distant than it was in fact, Mr. Morritt and his friend continued their journey till they arrived there in safety.

The tract of country bordering on the vale of the Eurotas, between Marathona and Mistra, is the district of Bardounia, then inhabited by a colony of Albanian Moslems, resembling the Mainotes in their warlike and predatory habits, but reported to be far more lawless and inhospitable. The capital of this district is Potamia, so named from its river, about four miles from Helos. Five miles from Mistra, on a projecting branch of Mount Taygetus, is another of their villages, called Dakne (written by Sir William Gell, Daphne), which had been set on fire by Ibrahim Pasha, and was still burning when Captain Hamilton passed it in his way to the Egyptian camp. On the plain of Helos, half a dozen villages were smoking, and the conflagration had been spread in every direction. It was here that the interview took place between the English Commodore and the Egyptian Pasha, which has been referred to in our historical sketch.* The object which had led Ibrahim into this quarter, was, to gain possession of the two castles at Trinisi. "When we reached the main camp," writes Mr. Swan, "which might be four miles from the place of action, such a scene of confusion displayed itself as I had never before witnessed. Miserable-looking beings were everywhere stretched upon the ground, oppressed by extreme fatigue, while the whole character of what passed, reminded me of nothing so much as the turbulence, without the merriment, of an English fair. There was but one tent in the plain, and thus, their ragged, wretched bodies

* See page 255. Ibrahim was then retreating to Kalamata from Mistra.

were exposed to the burning heats of noon, except where olive-trees supplied a shade; but the greater part of the army were entirely deprived of such protection. The most fortunate had stationed themselves on the banks of a beautiful stream, which was full of excellent water, and as clear as crystal, broad, but shallow."* That stream was the Eurotas.

FROM LEONDARI TO MISTRA.

Sir William Gell and Mr. Dodwell, whom we must now follow in exploring the antiquities of Laconia, reached Mistra by way of Leondari. This is a large village situated on a rising ground at the southern extremity of the plain of Megalopolis, and was at that time inhabited by both Greeks and Turks. Though deserted and ruinous, it presented the most picturesque groupes of buildings and trees; and in and about the village are ancient vestiges which have been supposed to mark the site of Leuktron, the border town of the Spartans and Megalopolitans.† The mountain to which it gives name, is in fact the northern point of that range of which Mount Taygetus is the nucleus, and which ends at Cape Matapan. Here, consequently, the roads divide to Mistra eastward and to Kalamata on the west. The castle of Leondari stands on one of its lowest rocks, yet is suffi-

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. p. 236. Ibrahim Pasha declared that, "for that time, he spared the territory of the Bey of Maina, out of compliment to the English." He was in fact intriguing to gain over Pedro-Bey.

† Leondari (more frequently written by the Greeks Lontare) is mentioned as a large town by a writer in the fifteenth century. The origin of the name, which signifies lion, is unknown. Some have supposed the castle to mark the site of Belemina (Blenina or Blemmina,) which others fix at a place called Agia Eirene, where are some interesting remains.

ciently elevated above the plain to command a very extensive and interesting prospect, described by Sir William Gell in very glowing terms. "The variety of arable and pasture land, richly interspersed with villages and the country-houses of Turkish Agas, is encircled with vast forests and open groves of oak; and these are surrounded again with the most picturesque and magnificent mountains, full of natural beauties, and exciting a cloud of classical recollections, unrivalled, except in the vicinity of Athens. In front, on the west, lay Mounts Cerausius and Lycæus, where Jupiter was nursed, and Pan was revered. On the summit, human sacrifices are said to have been offered at a period beyond the reach of history. There, the Lycæan games, the temple of the great goddess, the Archaic Lycosura on its lofty peak, the feast of Lycaon, the flaming valley of the gods and giants, and a thousand other circumstances, rush upon the mind. Below, Megalopolis, founded in vain by Epaminondas to check the power of the Spartans, Philopœmen, the Alpheus, are recalled to the senses or to the imagination. The hope, almost amounting to certainty, that, by looking for any object which once existed, its vestiges would surely be found on some now lonely eminence, on some rock, or near that fountain in the forest which induced the founders to settle on that particular spot, the name of Arcadia, and its connexion with all that history has related or poets have sung, conspire to render the view from the castle of Leondari one of the most interesting and enchanting of the Peloponnesus.

"Nothing can exceed," continues the learned Traveller, "the beauty and variety of the glens and eminences which alternately presented themselves on our route: the prettiest valleys, each watered by its little

rivulet, and reminding us perpetually of the parks and pleasure-grounds, which in England are often contrived by art and study, are here produced in endless succession by unaided nature. All the streams flow ultimately into the Alpheus, having first joined the main river of the valley formed by the mountain of Leondari and Mount Chimparou. After a gradual ascent for an hour, and passing the village of Limatero on the left, we reached the highest part or head of the valley whence the currents flow to the Alpheus; and at this elevation, the cold was considerably increased. Perhaps this spot was the confine of the Laconian and Arcadian territories; at least, it seems the natural boundary; and in Greece, the form of the mountain generally decided the extent of the province. There had been a town, either ancient or modern, on the platform or crest, as was proved by the fragments of tiles and pottery on the ground.

"The mountain of Leondari, almost ceasing on the right, is, after a narrow valley, replaced by another branch of the mass, called Cherasia, the source of many torrents, which accompanied or crossed the track by which we now descended towards Mistra and the Eurotas. Here and there we observed vestiges of the ancient road, and of walls, which had once served to retard the predatory excursions of the rival countries. Still descending for another hour, in a beautiful forest, we passed the ruins of a church, vineyards, and habitations of a modern village, now no longer inhabited. A church, with vestiges of antiquity near it, might perhaps be taken for the site of an ancient temple; and after a ride of two hours and twenty minutes from Leondari, we saw some vestiges of antiquity upon a knoll projecting from Mount Cherasia, and near it, on the right, the site of two temples in a field.

"All this valley is copiously irrigated by rivulets, which produce a most delightful shade, by encouraging the growth of magnificent plane-trees, some of which we observed from six to seven feet in diameter. Soon after, we passed a beautiful fountain and a ruined church, the substitute for the temple which once had adorned it; but these were only the appendages of a city, the walls of which we not long after entered, and which stood upon the sides and base of a pointed and conical hill, called Chelmo or Chelmina. If I had not promised to avoid all antiquarian discussion, I might perhaps be inclined to suggest, that possibly Belmina stood here, and that Chelmina might be the remains of the name. The hill of Chelmo, though not high, is so situated in the centre of the valley, that it is seen both from Sparta and Megalopolis. The fields, on quitting these vestiges, seemed to assume a new aspect, and to be better cultivated; we found also vineyards; and descending to the bottom of a valley, between the end of Mount Chimparou on the left, and Xerro Bouno, a name now assumed by the range on the right, we found in a little triangular meadow, watered by a brook, a large green tumulus, probably the burying-place of some one hero, or the common sepulchre of many, probably not difficult to be recognised in the page of history. A road here turns off on the left to Tripolitzá, falling into the valley of Franco-brysso, Asea, or Anemoduri, which occurs in the route from Leondari.

"On the side of the Xerro Bouno, or the Dry Mountain, we observed the large village of Longanico, and crossed the river of the same name, at its junction with another stream, near the foundations of a temple.

"On an ugly ascent from this spot, we found a der-

veni, or guard-house, to protect the road; but, as we had not met a single person during the whole journey, we could not help remarking the wretched prospect which the plunder of travellers must hold out to those who were to gain a support from such a precarious source.

"At the top of this ascent, we found a large flat table-land, spotted with heaps of stone and stunted, wild pear-trees, where we thought we observed the vestiges of a city. Our guides called it Agrapulo Campo, which might be either a corruption from wild pear-trees, or the acropolis of an ancient city. On the descent from this, is the source which might have occasioned the selection of the spot for habitation. It is now known by no distinguishing appellation; for that of Cephalo-brysso, which it bears, is common to any other natural fountain. Here, however, we found the foundations of a temple and other fragments of white marble, and were soon convinced that it was the real fountain of the Eurotas in the valley of Sparta, whether it derived or not its original source from the same mountain with the Alpheus, and sunk in the lake below Anemodouri. The city was probably that called Pellane. The water is clear and excellent, and gushes out of the rock in a considerable stream. A khan now in ruins, has once existed near the spot, founded by some pious Turk, who probably left no money to support it, or did not foresee that no *khangi* could be found to remain in it in times of turbulence, or the prevalence of banditti. A little below the source, the stream joins a river called Platanata, and then assumes the classic name of Ere or Eurotas. After passing two little villages on the left, Partali and Trupes, we came to a fountain with a shade of poplars, now in early leaf; and on the right, after

passing the foundations of walls, we observed the ruins of a citadel, rising in terraces that forcibly recalled to our recollections, the town of Characomæ, or the Bastions, the ruins of which were to be expected in this district. Here we found another khan, which was at that moment tenanted; but it being only two o'clock, the evening fine, and the place not offering any particular object of curiosity, while we were impatient to arrive at Sparta, we proceeded on our journey, which we had on that day commenced at nine. On the hill, about a mile on the right, is the large village of Periboglia, a name implying a wall or *peribolus*, and from that circumstance now used more than κηπος for a garden. Possibly, it might originally have some connection with the neighbouring ruins of Characomæ.

"We had not proceeded far, when, on crossing a river, we observed the foundations of a temple on the right, and, in the same direction, the villages of Alevrou and Alitea. The traces of the ancient inhabitants seemed now to multiply, and the country to become at the present day more populous. The river which rolled on our left, now entered among the little hills, which seemed to impede its further passage. On the left, we saw the village Chorithitza, and a white house called Lai, a name which had a sort of Lacedæmonian sound. A peasant passed us, and offered for sale a large brass medal of Sparta, with the club of Hercules on the reverse; but, as he had formed too magnificent an idea of his good fortune in finding it, and asked something quite preposterous, we were obliged to relinquish the purchase, and he to postpone *sine die* the days of his promised affluence.

"Another great stream from the right adds very much to the volume of the waters of the Ere; and whatever may be the merits of the original Cephalo-

brysso in the summer. most certainly it was entitled, at the time we saw it, to very little honour as the main support of the Eurotas. The glen was now confined to the breadth of the road and the river. Across the flood we observed, on two conical rocks, the churches of St. Georgios and St. Nicola; and, not long after, passed a place, where all further progress had been once prohibited by an ancient fortification at a narrow pass, between the rocks and the river. We passed several islands in the Eurotas; and before the pass opened into a wider valley, we crossed the ruins of two walls, which shewed, that though the Spartans were so loud in the boast, that their city of Lacedæmon was defended without walls, they had taken very good care to render it on every side difficult of access by distant fortifications.

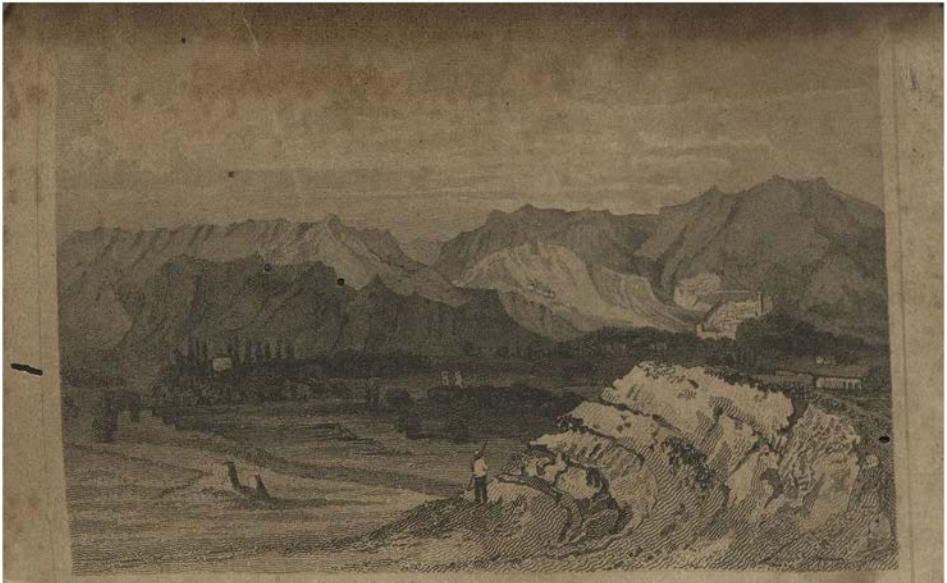
"In many places, we found the road supported by ancient walls of massive blocks; and nothing could surpass the beauty of the tall oleanders, called by the Greeks rhododaphne, or rose-laurel, and which may possibly be the Laconian roses, which flower twice in the year. We crossed, by a bridge, another river from the right, and saw a cave with steps cut in the rock, near which we found an inscription, much defaced. We found other traces of walls of defence, and near the river, two tumuli, one of stones, and the other apparently natural. Here we discovered the little village of Papiote, where we arrived after a ride of seven hours and a half from Leondari." *

From Papiote, a road turns off on the left to the ruins of Sparta, while that to the right leads to Mistra,

* Narrative, pp. 314—23. In the Itinerary, from Lontari to the Khan of Perivolis, 4 h. 57 min.; from Perivolia to Papiote, 2 h. 37 min.; from Papiote to Mistra, 1 h. 14 min. Total distance from Lontari to Mistra, eight hours and three-quarters.

striking into a little range of hills, and leaving the Eurotas on the left. In a valley on the right, Sir William Gell noticed a ruined aqueduct and a church, and soon after, passed "an aqueduct of the lower ages, consisting of a lofty pier, and two smaller, with an arch." Mount Taygetus here begins to assume a more imposing aspect, "rising in bolder masses to a far greater elevation than the surrounding branches, and then producing a forest of pines, above which are seen the peaks of St. Elias covered with snow. On passing the hills, Mistra presents itself in all its magnificence, so well displayed on the sides of its lofty rock, that every house is visible, rising in gradation one above the other, to the grey towers of the citadel on its summit. The city looks more like the capital of a kingdom, than of the deserted vales of Laconia. The Benaky houses, on a nearer approach, form the most conspicuous portion of the ruins above; and the mosques, with the dwellings of the rich Turks, beautifully interspersed with trees, add much, by the contrast of their white slender minarets with the dark cypresses, to the picturesque effect below. I know of nothing," adds Sir William, "that exceeds the first sight of Mistra, though a nearer approach destroys the illusion of magnificence which it has excited. We soon crossed a large stream, before which, on the left, were the ruins of a temple, and, not long after, another river, both rising in Taygetus; (one of them running from Trupæ, a village famous for a cypress-tree of enormous magnitude;) and a few minutes more brought us to the lower houses of Mistra."*

* Mr. Dodwell appears to have followed a somewhat different route, having proceeded from Leontari to Agie Basile, a large vil-



RUINS AND PLAIN OF SPARTA, MOUNT TAYGETUS AND TOWN OF

MISTRA.

THE origin of this place is unknown. There is no reason for supposing it of ancient date, although, as

lage which Sir William Gell left on the right. "It occupies the upper part of a hill called Longaniko, which unites the chain of Taygeton and Lycæon. The spot is picturesque, and ample forests furnish it with verdure and shade. It overlooks a fine plain, or rather a deep hollow, bounded by rugged mountains, and beautifully varied with soft hills and green vales." The village of Longaniko, which Sir William Gell, in his Itinerary, places *on a hill* to the right of his road, Mr. Dodwell saw in a *valley* to the left. At the distance of an hour and a half from Lontari, this Traveller traversed an ancient site, marked by foundations of walls and ancient bricks, which it took him twenty-five minutes to pass over. Having passed the night at Agie Basile, the next day, in forty-five minutes, he crossed three streams, which turn some small mills; and in an hour and thirty-five minutes, came to "a fine *kephalobrusi*, or spring, rushing copiously from the ground, and immediately accumulating into a rapid current in the direction of Sparta. This is one of the sources of the Eurotas. The spot has been much ornamented, and several large blocks of stone and foundations are seen scattered about, which perhaps mark the site of the city of Pellana, as the fountain is the Pellanis." Crossing the stream, Mr. Dodwell proceeded on its western side, through a grove of mulberry-trees, which abound in the Spartan plain, and leaving the village of Trupe at a short distance on the left, in three-quarters of an hour crossed six rivulets, all descending from Taygetus: the last, which is of considerable size, has its source near the village of Kastania, and is called Kastanias Potamos. They all enter the Eurotas, after a short and rapid course. That river, which flowed to the traveller's left, has its left bank supported by a strong ancient wall of considerable length, composed of well-joined irregular polygons. After crossing two other streams, which enter the river, Mr. Dodwell came to some sepulchral caverns, near which he found an ancient inscription; and not far from this spot are two round hills, in the form of tumuli, but apparently too large to be artificial. Forty minutes from this place, he crossed a stream, and came to the ruins of an aqueduct, formed of arches, and built of Roman brick. The view of these remains, with Taygetus in the back-ground, is pronounced to be one of the grandest and most picturesque in Greece. A short way from the aqueduct, he crossed

Mr. Dodwell remarks, " it may appear surprising that so strong and advantageous a situation should have been neglected by the Spartans. It must be recollected, however, that, in early times, even their capital was unprotected by walls: they despised all defence except that which arose from the terror of their name and the valour of their arms, and disdained to be indebted for their security to strong walls and artificial ramparts. It is probable that Misithra arose out of the ruins of Sparta, which appear to have been abandoned by the unworthy descendants of the Heraclidæ about the time of the Turkish invasion, when they sought, in the rocks and precipices of Taygeton, that protection which they could not find in the low hills and gentle eminences of the Spartan plain.

" Misithra was regarded as one of the strongest places of the Peninsula in the lower ages. The despots of the Morea made it their principal residence; and the despots Thomas and Demetrius, brothers of the last Constantine, took refuge in this strong hold, when the Morea was ravaged by the troops of Mohamed II. It was occupied for some time by the Venetians, and finally retaken by the Turks. It is at present (1806) governed by a voivode, and contains nearly 7000 inhabitants, who are principally Greeks, and carry on a considerable commerce in silk. Several ancient inscriptions and some sculptured and architectural fragments may be seen at Misithra, which have no doubt been brought from Sparta or Amyklai.

a rivulet; in forty-six minutes further, a river, supposed to be the Tiason; and in twenty minutes more, reached Mistra, distant six hours from Agie Basile.—DODWELL, vol. ii. pp. 398—400. Sir W. Gell, in his Itinerary, makes Mistra only five hours from where he saw " Agios Basili on a high part of Mount Cherasia."

The sculpture is generally indifferent; but, near the southern extremity of the town, is a marble sarcophagus, now serving as the receptacle of a fountain, which is ornamented with sculpture in a good style, but much defaced by constant friction."*

The best account of Mistra is that which is given by M. Pouqueville, who was there in 1798: it conveys no very high idea of the Laconian capital. † "Mistra rises in an amphitheatre upon a mountain which faces the east. Exposed thus to the rays of the sun, the heat in summer, not being tempered by the north wind, is insupportable. It is commanded to the west by Mount Taygetus, whence, in the great heats, snow is brought to cool the sherbet and other liquors. The castle stands on the summit of the mountain of Mistra, on a platform of about 500 fathoms in circumference. It is governed by a *sardar* or commandant, who has under his command some cannoniers. The artillery by which it is defended, consists of about a dozen pieces of cannon, every one of a different calibre. The magazines, if such a name may be given to two or three cellars and half a dozen sheds, have no powder but what the Bey delivers out, and which he purchases in the neighbouring maritime towns for the celebration of the *baïram* and the *courban baïram*, and for firing upon some extraordinary occasions. There are no magazines of corn; funds are wanting to incur an expense of any magnitude; and I believe

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 401. The population must be under-rated at 7000 souls, and M. Pouqueville's estimate is supported by Sir William Gell.

† "It is not very obvious," remarks M. Pouqueville, "whence this name is derived. M. Scrofani tells us that it means *soft cheese*, which is as good an etymology as if one were to derive Neufchâtel from the cheeses of that name. That of Sparta, Σπαρτιον, describes extremely well the nature of the ground on which it stands, covered with broom."

that, since the expulsion of the Russians about thirty years ago, this citadel has not been considered as of any importance. The Russians themselves, at the time that they gained possession of Mistra, did not appear to concern themselves much about the citadel. It cannot, indeed, be of any other importance than as it gives the power to overawe the town in case a disposition to revolt should appear there. A mosque, some cisterns of marble, and some wretched habitations, built with the spoils of antiquity, compose the *tout ensemble* of this citadel. The form of the enclosure is an octagon: it is surrounded with a regular crenated wall, the parapet of which is tolerably broad, but very much in ruins; for the ravages made by time are never repaired, and the Turks themselves have ceased to consider the fortress as impregnable.

"In descending from the castle, the eye embraces without difficulty the whole extent of Mistra. The town is surrounded with walls in a very ruinous state, in which are two gates, where a toll is required of all who enter the town: one is to the north, and leads to the castle; the other is to the east. Two principal streets divide the town, crossing each other almost at right angles. The most considerable, in which are some antique remains, is the street of the market.*.... Near the mosque, (built of the ruins of the Aphelion,) is a spacious khan, frequented by a great number of merchants. The metropolitan church of the Christians, ruined by the Albanians, but since restored, merits notice. A metropolitan archbishop officiates there, who is poor as the pastors of the primitive church.

* Called by the half-learned natives, *Aphetëus*, from the erroneous notion that Mistra occupies the site of Sparta. Its being the residence of the bishop of Sparta may have given rise to the mistake.

The place stands recorded to have been the theatre of the most extraordinary miracles, and the sick are daily brought and laid at the doors, as at the gates of the ancient temples, that those who repair thither for the purpose of worshipping the deity, may indicate to them the remedies by which their health may be restored.* To the south is the *Pandanesi*, not less devastated by the horrors of the last war. The nuns who had a convent there, were massacred by the Albanians, and the *Pandanesi* is now only a Greek church.

" The streets of Mistra are narrow, dirty, and very uneven. The houses, surrounded with cypresses, plane-trees, and orange-trees, have a pleasing and picturesque appearance. The gay colours with which the Moslems paint their houses, the brown and sombre hue of those that belong to the Greeks, the domes, the temples, the mosques, — all announce that we are in a foreign country; and when the eye is cast towards the Eurotas, one reflects with astonishment that this country is Lacedæmon.

" On quitting the walled enclosure properly called Mistra, we arrive at Mesochorion (the middle village), which is to the south, inclining to the east. Thirty years ago, this suburb contained 3000 houses, and, though this number is much diminished, it still occupies a considerable space; but the houses are scattered about and mingled with trees and gardens. They form some streets, however, which extend to the bank of the Eurotas. But we no longer visit this spot, to admire the churches of Perileptos and Agia Paraskevi: they would ill repay the curiosity of the traveller since

* By this circumlocutory phrase, M. Pouqueville means, that the papas prescribe for them, or undertake their miraculous cure.

they were plundered by the Albanians. In this second town, there are bazars and immense *conaks*. The air appears better than in Mistra.

" To go from Mesochorion to Exochorion (the outer village—called also *Maratche* and Evreo-castron), the Eurotas must be crossed. The river here is about twenty fathoms wide, and an old stone bridge of six arches connects the one suburb with the other. Exochorion may be considered as a third town: it is principally inhabited by people of that nation which are to be found everywhere, and everywhere are strangers. One might believe one's self suddenly transported into the fields of Idumea, on seeing the multitude of Jews by whom this place is peopled. We hear another language; we see a totally different cast and expression of countenance, different manners and customs, and a different mode of worship. These Jews, being divided into two classes, the orthodox and the heretics, afford the Turks a constant pretence for the exercise of impositions and exactions. The sects will not intermarry nor form connexions with each other in any way. Nay, their burying-places are separate, their mutual hatred being carried even to the grave.* There is nothing in Exochorion particularly worthy of remark.

" The ruins of the temple of Venus Armea are half a league from the fountain called *Doræa* by the natives, in going westward from Exochorion towards Taygetus.....The river is bordered by delightful meadows. One sees the *Platanistas* and the *Dromos* (or circus); and there still remain by the river side, the marbles with rings in them, to which the galleys

* M. Pouqueville must mean the Talmudist and Karaite Jews; but it is not a little remarkable, if true, that any of the latter sect should have settled at Mistra.

were fastened that used to come up to Sparta at certain times in the year. The *Platanistas* is still planted in the centre with plane-trees; on its borders are weeping-willows and cytisuses, hanging over and reflected in the water, while scattered tufts of rose-trees, laurels, and silk-trees, charm the eye and perfume the air. Hither the townspeople come to smoke their pipes, to drink coffee, or to resign themselves to pleasing meditations. From this island the eye wanders over Taygetus, with its snowy summits glittering in the bright rays of the sun. Here it was that, according to Theocritus, the flowers were gathered with which Helen was crowned on the day of her marriage; and hither, in the early part of spring, the daughters of Sparta repair in crowds, and adorning their heads with garlands, join in the festive dance.*

"The men are tall in stature, their features masculine and regular. They are the only Greeks of the Morea who look up to the Turks with an eye of manly confidence as feeling themselves their equals. Why am I obliged to add, that they have an innate inclination to rapine, which, joined to a sort of natural ferocity, renders them extremely vindictive and dangerous? Even the Turks of Mistra, who are born of Spartan women, are more intrepid than other Mussulmans; there is not the same apathy and taciturnity which form the distinguishing characteristics

* We have not thought it worth while to insert the writer's very poetical eulogy on the flaxen hair, large blue eyes, pride, modesty and majesty, lustrous charms, enchanting attitudes, and thrilling tones of the Spartan ladies, the "rivals of Diana." De Pauw, as determined a μισελλην as Sir William Gell, describes the Laconian Greeks as the impure remains of a parcel of wretches who have escaped punishment; an imputation on M. Pouqueville's "Dorian Spartans," which he resents with warmth; and their panegyrist has certainly the advantage of their calumniator.

of their nation. Less zealous observers of the precepts of the Koran, they drink wine publicly, and swear, like the Greeks, by the Virgin and Jesus Christ. The common language of Mistra is that of the other Moreotes: the Mussulman inhabitants of this town speak it in preference to the Turkish, or, if they speak the latter, it is with the Greek accent. The Jews among them commonly make use of the Portuguese tongue. The Turks rank them very much below the Greeks, teazing and vexing them in various ways, and treating them with the utmost contempt; they are, however, forced to make use of them, and finish by being their dupes, as the Jews are always the agents for commerce and exchange, and the interpreters of the country. The population of Mistra is not so much diminished as that of some other parts of Peloponnesus, since the town is supposed still to contain from 15,000 to 18,000 souls: of these, a third are Mussulmans, and about an eighth Jews." *

The town, Sir W. Gell says, is divided by the natives into five parts: the Kastro, Meso Chorio, Kato Chorio, Tritsella, and Parorea. The castle is situated on a magnificent detached rock, on the south side of which, in a tremendous chasm, flows the river Pantalimona. It is a Venetian fort, occupying, probably, the site of the ancient acropolis, and is now in ruins. The surrounding country is luxuriant to a high degree. The plain, when Sir William Gell travelled, was well wooded and cultivated. Olives and fig-trees were abundant, and the high lanes were bordered with vineyards, where the grapes hung in beautiful clusters. The ravine next to the castle has a paved causeway up to

* Travels, pp. 87—93.

the mountains, of extreme beauty, lined with fruit-trees and other trees. The opening upon the plain, which affords a glimpse of the town and the distant mountains, is uncommonly grand. On the *lofty* conical rock upon which the Venetian fortress stands, are the remains of an old town, built, apparently, when the place was in the possession of the Republic. The architecture, Mr. Swan describes to be a mixture of Saxon and Gothic.

This last-mentioned Traveller reached Mistra from Tripolitza, having followed the track of Ibrahim Pasha, who was retreating towards the coast in September 1825. He thus describes the appearance which the country at that time presented. "On reaching Bruliah, a point of our descent towards Mistra, the whole range of Taygetus, now called *Pendedactylon** (five fingers), whose summits we had perceived for some *time*, opened upon us with surprising magnificence. A deep ravine close by, lined with olive-trees, led to an opposite mountain, on which, immediately after our appearance, we heard signal guns fired, one by one, along the whole line of the

* Taygetus is designated by this name, Πενταδάκτυλος, by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, on account of its five principal summits. Its outline, particularly as seen from the north, is of a more serrated form than the other Grecian mountains. It runs nearly north and south, its western side rising from the Messenian Gulf, and its eastern foot bounding the level plain of Amyklai, from which it rises abruptly. This adds considerably to its apparent height, but it is probably inferior, Mr. Dodwell remarks, only to Pindus, Cyllene, and Olympus. It is visible from Zante, distant, in a straight line, at least eighty-four miles. The northern crevices are covered with snow during the whole year, and the vicinity is in winter extremely cold. In summer, it reflects a powerful heat upon the Spartan plain, and, by intercepting the salubrious western winds, renders it one of the hottest places in Greece, subjecting the inhabitants to fevers.—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 410.

station. Twenty or thirty Greeks presently surrounded us, who skipped like goats over the rocks. After chattering at a great rate for some time, hearing and imparting news, and examining the pass of Pietro-bey, they permitted us to proceed, saluting us with the mountain farewell, καλὸ.

"From this place we observed Mistra, and saw with regret that the town was smoking in a variety of places. The way conducted us through many beautiful valleys, ornamented, as well as the higher regions, with olive-trees. Lanes of the laurel-rose were intermingled with a multiplicity of flowering shrubs,* and watered by fine streams. We presently crossed the celebrated Eurotas, Βασιλὶ Ποταμος (the king of rivers),† once covered with swans, and worshipped by the Spartans as a god,—now shallow, muddy, and neglected. The late rains had caused it to swell, and it ran at this time very rapidly. An hour and a half's ride from Mistra, and on the right of Sparta, we passed the brick pier of a double arch, formerly an aqueduct. In the same line, we also distinguished a

* Beyond Mistra, Mr. Swan describes the road as lying through groves of olive and mulberry-trees at the foot of Taygetus; and "after a while, the country assumed the appearance of nicely arranged shrubberies, all the plants usually seen in English pleasure-grounds, being found indigenous here."

† "According to Plutarch, the first name of the Eurotas was Marathon" (the name still preserved in the town on the Laconian Gulf); "it then took the name of Himeros, from a son of Lacedæmon and the nymph Taygeta, who drowned himself in it. It afterwards assumed the name of the Spartan Eurotas, who also perished in its stream. But Pausanias asserts, that it received its name from Eurotas, because he made a canal which conducted its waters to the sea. It was also called Basilopotamos, which name it retains to the present day, though its most common name is Iri (Ere or Eres.)"—Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 409.

ruined gateway. Sparta is close by. We observed on our left the walls of an acropolis, or of a temple, dedicated, possibly, to Jupiter Acreus. As we drew near to Mistra, fire broke from the houses, but not a soul was visible. A few Greeks, attracted by the hope of collecting what had not yet perished, appeared afterwards. We entered the town, and beheld the flames all around us; household utensils were broken and scattered in all directions;—nothing, in short, could equal the desolation, or the interest which it excited. In one place, a cat remained the only inhabitant; in another, a dog barked at us as we passed. The Greeks before mentioned conducted us to a house yet untouched, although surrounded with flames. Here we slept, expecting, indeed, to be aroused in the night; but the escape was so easy, that we had no apprehension of the consequence. Ibrahim left Mistra in the state I have described only this morning (the 14th). He is gone forward burning and destroying: we shall follow, and be eye-witnesses of the devastations he has caused."*

SPARTA.

THE ruins of Sparta are about three-quarters of an hour from Mistra, the way leading across the plain in an easterly direction. After crossing the river from Trupæ, in half an hour the traveller reaches the ham-

* Swan, vol. ii. p. 231.—Three days after, they again passed through the town on their return from the Egyptian camp. On the way, between three and four miles S.E. of Mistra, they found, on the summit of a small hill, a church, of which the Turks had consumed all that they could. The door-posts were formed of ancient inscriptions still legible, which Mr. Swan commends to the attention of future travellers.

let of Magoula,* where there is a bridge over the rapid stream, supposed to be the Tiason. Here he reaches the first remains of the Lacedemonian capital, consisting of uncertain traces and heaps of large stones tossed about in promiscuous wreck: the spot is now called Palaio-Kastro. In ten minutes from Magoula, he arrives at the remains of a magnificent theatre, apparently of Roman construction. The *koilon* or pit is excavated in the hill, which rose nearly in the middle of the city, and which served as an acropolis. The walls of the proscenium are principally of brick, and the white marble, of which Pausanias says it was composed, has disappeared. Near the theatre are the remains of a Roman brick tower, which, Mr. Dodwell was assured by his Greek cicerone, was the *pyrgos* of Menelaus! †

Sparta, however, can boast of scarcely any thing that can with certainty be cited as a remnant of the real city of Lycurgus. A fine sepulchral chamber of a square form, regularly constructed with large blocks, is found nearly opposite the theatre, at a short distance from it: it has been opened, and the interior is composed of brick-work. This may possibly be one of the monuments of the Spartan kings Pausanias and Leonidas, which, according to Pausanias, were oppo-

* By Sir W. Gell written Maoulia and Magoulia, and calculated to be 28 min. from Mistra: 17 min. further, are an aqueduct and ruins; and in seven minutes more a Doric metope, and the city of Sparta is entered by an ascent.

† A traveller, Mr. Dodwell remarks, must not expect to derive any correct information respecting the antiquities of the country from the generality of Greek natives. The individual referred to was a wealthy and hospitable archon of Mistra, who, to evince the lively interest he felt in the history of his Spartan ancestors, had named one of his sons Lycurgus, and the other Leonidas, while he taught them the Hellenic language. His name was Demetrius Manusaki

site the theatre. Many other detached ruins are dispersed in this direction, some of which are evidently Roman. They appear to have suffered more from sudden violence than from gradual decay, and have, no doubt, been torn to pieces, to supply materials for the modern town of Mistra. Several imperfect inscriptions have been found among the ruins, and many others, Mr. Dodwell says, might yet be discovered, notwithstanding the infamous labours of the Abbé Fourmont, who gloried in having exterminated every relic of Sparta.* The idiotic vanity of this Gallic

* The Abbé Fourmont travelled in Greece, by command of Louis XV., in the year 1729. On his return to France, he produced a vast mass of inscriptions; (he says he copied 1,500,—300 at Sparta alone;) many of these are authentic, and have since been copied in Greece, and published by Dr. Chandler and other travellers. But with regard to the most curious and most questionable part of his collection, his inscriptions of Sparta and Amyklai, he boasts, in a letter to the Count de Maurepas, of having destroyed the inscriptions, that they might not be copied by any future traveller. Mr. Dodwell has cited several passages from his original letters, in which he glories in his real or pretended dilapidations. "*Sparte est la cinquième ville de Morée que j'ai renversée; Hermione et Trezène ont subi le même sort—je n'ai pas pardonné à Argos, à Phliasia,*" &c. "*Je suis actuellement occupé à détruire jusqu'à la pierre fondamentale du temple d'Apollon Amyclèen,*" &c. "*Depuis plus de trente jours, trente, et quelques fois quarante ou soixante ouvriers, abattent, détruisent, exterminent la ville de Sparte,*" &c. "*Je n'ai plus que quatre tours à démolir.*" That he obliterated many inscriptions is pretty certain. After Mr. Dodwell had copied some at Sparta, he observed Manusaki turning them over and concealing them under stones and bushes; and the reason he assigned for this precaution, was, that many years ago, a French *milordos* who visited Sparta, after copying a great number, had the letters chiselled out and defaced. He actually pointed out some fine slabs of marble from which the inscriptions had evidently been thus barbarously erased. The Abbé's principal object is supposed to have been, to acquire the power of blending forgery and truth without detection, and his fear of competition was subordinate to that of being convicted of palæographical imposture. Sir Wm. Gell, however, has triumphantly proved the falsehood of some of Four-

Alaric has led him to exaggerate the extent of the mischief he achieved; and the fact is, that the proximity of Mistra and its numerous population, together with the effect of earthquakes,* will sufficiently account for the few vestiges which are left of the Lacedemonian capital. The hill which rises from the theatre, and which, apparently, is not more than sixty feet above the level of the plain, has been surrounded with walls, which appear to have been constructed in haste, being composed of fragments of columns and inscribed marbles, small stones, bricks, and mortar.† A minute

mont's statements, while Mr. R. P. Knight had already exposed the suspicious character of some of his pretended inscriptions. The story is in the highest degree incredible, that, in a country governed by the jealous Turks, and watched by the still more envious Greeks, M. Fourmont really went about tearing down marbles and overturning cities unobserved or unpunished. And the fact is, that in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ, Sir W. Gell found a great many inscriptions, which exhibit no signs of any extraordinary ill-treatment. Among others, the Abbé discovered, at Amyclæ, two marbles of an era so remote, that human sacrifices were represented, the feet of the victims being already cut off. "These broken marbles," says Sir William, "I saw at Amyclæ quite perfect. The human feet, proofs of primeval barbarism, have long been recognised as *the slippers* of the priestess, with her other trinkets and ornaments." Yet, this mendacious Abbé has found vindicators in his learned countrymen, MM. Raoul Rochette and Louis Petit Radel!—See GELL'S *Narrative*, pp. 339—347. DODWELL'S *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 405—8.

* "Laconia was very subject to earthquakes; and Strabo mentions a traditionary report, that one of the summits of Taygeton had been precipitated into the plain. We know from Diodorus, Plutarch, Pliny, and others, that, in the reign of Archidamos, the whole of Sparta was destroyed by an earthquake, except five houses. According to Strabo, the Κτάδια were fissures in the mountains, formed by earthquakes; and to the same cause we may ascribe the *barathron* upon Taygeton, down which, according to Plutarch, deformed children were precipitated."—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 410.

† Sparta was originally without walls, and Lycurgus prohibited their erection; but it was surrounded with walls by the tyrants

description of the principal remains is furnished by Sir W. Gell.

"The theatre, which we visited first, is partly scooped out of the little hill, which may in after times have formed a sort of citadel, and partly erected of stone, projecting at each side from the eminence. If it be very ancient, which I much doubt, it has been restored at a late period; but it must have been intended for the amusement of a very great population, as the radius of the orchestra is 70 feet, and the diameter of the whole is 418. The scene seems to have been only 28 feet deep, and the seats were divided into three cinctions, of which the breadths ascending were 20 feet for the lowest, 23 feet for the next, and 40 for the highest. Above this was a space only 13 feet wide, and behind that, the last, which might have been a portico, was 32 feet deep. The upper surface of each seat was divided into two portions, of which a sinking, one foot four inches in breadth, received the feet of the person who occupied the seat above, and a space only one foot one inch in width was left for the seat of the person below. About twenty yards to the northward is an opening in a wall, which may have been the entrance to the upper seats. The whole is a strange mixture of good and bad workmanship. Stretching to the southward from the theatre is a long wall, not exhibiting the appearance of very remote antiquity: it has at some period served as a defence to that part of Lacedæmon which might be called the citadel, and is connected with the theatre. In this wall, which is about a stadium in length, and may possibly have formed part of one, though we found the pipes of a bath, we observed an

and strongly fortified by Nabis. These walls, however, must have been of modern date

inscription, perhaps a dedication of some temple to Apollo, by the emperor Julian. The marble on which this is cut is white, and is formed for the pediment of a small edifice. There were upon it the marks of a pick-axe, very recently made, as if with the design of effacing the letters, though without effect: whether this was done by some traveller, whose jealousy found gratification in preventing his successors from copying it, or by some native who wished to appropriate the slab to another use, I could not determine. In either case, the failure was equal, for the inscription, which was only a fragment, remained legible, and the marble was still in the wall of which it formed a part.

"There is scarcely any thing else at all curious on this elevation, except the remains of what I have no doubt was a small temple, or other very ancient edifice, the plan of which might yet be ascertained. It consists at present of two doors, distant about forty-six feet six inches from each other. We found a piece of mutilated, but beautiful sculpture, in pure white marble, on the spot. I imagine the doors, the architraves of which yet remain, and consist of large single blocks of marble, were the opposite doors of a cell; and that the columns, or at least the plan of the whole, might be ascertained by excavation. The architraves are seven feet eight inches long, two feet deep, and three wide; the doors are four feet eight inches wide; and on the east side of the edifice, there is a flight of steps, or the seats of a theatre, of ancient workmanship, which rise from the doors to the distance of forty-eight feet. There seems no reason to imagine this a staircase, except that the doors are now filled up almost to the architraves, which proves that the pavement is at a very considerable distance below the present soil. It might be a school, and on

these steps persons might have been disposed as in a theatre. At all events, this is almost the only relic of ancient Sparta; and it appears as if it would afford a variety of curious information, and possibly inscriptions or sculptures, to any one who should undertake the excavation of it, when such a work shall become again feasible. The hill of the theatre, being the highest, has been esteemed the citadel of Sparta: the still higher elevation on the north does not seem certainly to have been included in the city. It would appear, that, at some period, the theatre itself has, with its immediate vicinity, served as a species of castle.

"Considering the northern groupe of elevations as one hill, Sparta may be considered as having stood upon four insulated eminences, lying along the right or western bank of the Eurotas, a river running on the eastern verge of a plain, bounded on that side by a chain of red hills, anciently called Menelaion, and on the west by the mighty Taygetus, from the foot of which, at Mistra, the theatre is about 4000 yards distant. Between this main hill and the next, toward the south, a road must always have passed to the Eurotas, which is there separated into two streams, by an island covered with oleanders. The descent from the eminences to the river lies between two ranges of rocks, about twenty feet high, and about forty yards asunder. This glen has been fortified at some period or other, or very much filled up with buildings which answered the same purpose; and from the river, which is 380 steps further eastward, I remarked how Lacedæmon was enabled to boast that she had no need of walls, by being situated on a chain of eminences, which would, in those days, have been rendered impregnable by the contiguity of the habitations alone, and the long chain of rocks, which

at once rendered unnecessary 880 yards of wall, from the hill of the citadel to the southern elevation. There was a bridge over the Eurotas, but of what age I could not determine. I passed the stream without difficulty, in March, on horseback. The river Tchelephina falls in a little above the ruins."*

Little addition, in fact, Mr. Dodwell remarks, can be made to the brief but accurate description of the ancient city given by Polybius. He says: "It is of a circular form, forty-eight *stadia* in circumference, situated in a plain, but containing some rough places and eminences. The Eurotas flows to the east, and the copiousness of its waters renders it too deep to be forded during the greater part of the year. The hills on which the *Menelaion* is situated, are on the south-east of the city, on the opposite side of the river. They are rugged, difficult of ascent, of considerable height, and throw their shadows over the space which is between the city and the Eurotas. The river flows close to the foot of the hills, which are not above a *stadium* and a half from the city."†

The Menelaion hills, which bound the eastern side of the plain, are not, however, Mr. Dodwell says, so high as would appear from this description: "their

According to the Abbé Barthelemy, around the hill on which stood the acropolis, with a temple of Minerva and sacred grove, were ranged *five* towns or distinct suburbs, separated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each occupied by one of the five tribes of Sparta; viz. 1. that of the *Limnatæ* (from λιμνη, a lake or marsh, which formerly occupied the ground to the northward of Sparta); 2. that of the *Cynosuræans* (supposed to take its name from a branch or spur of Taygetus, resembling the tail of a dog); 3. that of the *Pitanatæ*, whose hamlet extended in front of and included the theatre; 4. that of the *Messoatæ*, near the Platanistas; and 5. that of the *Ægidæ*, between Messoa and Limne.—See *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. ch. 41, and note 27.

† *B.* v. p. 399. See Dodwell.

sides are steep, furrowed and shattered by earthquakes, but they are mere hillocks when compared with Taygetus. Their summit forms a flat and extensive surface. From the western side of the plain rise the grand and abrupt precipices of Taygetus, which is broken into many summits. The bases also of the mountain are formed by several projections distinct from each other, which branch into the plain, and hence produce that rich assemblage and luxuriant multiplicity of lines, and tints, and shades which render it the finest locality in Greece." "All the plains and mountains that I have seen," adds Mr. Dodwell, "are surpassed, in the variety of their combinations and the beauty of their appearance, by the plain of Lacedæmon and Mount Taygeton. The landscape may be exceeded in the dimensions of its objects, but what can exceed it in beauty of form and richness of colouring?"

About two hours to the south of Mistra is the village of Sclavo-Chorio, which occupies the site of the ancient Amyclæ. The road runs in a southern direction along the foot of the mountain, leaving the site of Sparta on the left, to the large village of Parora, which joins the suburbs of Mistra. Here, some of the finest precipices of Taygetus rise in fantastic forms, from glens covered with wood and irrigated with numerous streams. In an hour and forty minutes, the traveller reaches the pretty village of Agiani, ornamented with a beautiful mosque and fine orange-groves, and watered by a fine stream, called *Kephalo-brysso*. Sir William Gell explored the source, and found there a beautiful fragment of sculpture, representing a stag and hounds, and, in a village near it, a large marble, sculptured with a well-preserved *relievo* of the battle of the Amazons. He supposes

that a temple of Diana may have stood here. In ten minutes from Agiani, he came to the Greek village and church of Agiani Cheranio, and not long after, crossed the little river of Tsoka, descending from a village of the same name in the mountain. Ten minutes further, is another *kephalo-brysso*, or spring-head, with a mill, and the village of Godena is seen on the left.* In less than a quarter of an hour beyond this, the traveller reaches Sclavo-Chorio,— "a straggling hamlet, like all the others in the plain of Mistra, with houses, towers, and gardens of oranges and cypresses." This place exhibits "a more confused wreck of ruins than even the Spartan capital. Accumulations of stone, broken inscriptions, imperfect traces and foundations, that are almost covered with bushes, mark the site of the place which was celebrated for the birth of Castor and Pollux and for the death of Hyacinthus."

Amyclæ was an episcopal city, and a place of some importance in the lower ages, as is testified by the number of ruined churches scattered over the surface. It still retains its nominal dignity, and the bishop of Lacedæmon and Amyclæ resides at Mistra. The place was known by its present name, however, as early as the year 1447: from what circumstance it arose, does not appear, but it would seem to imply

* There is a strange discrepancy here, between Sir W. Gell's Narrative and his Itinerary. In the latter, the supposed site of the temple of Diana, with an Ionic capital of white marble, a stag and hounds well sculptured, a statue, and some architectural fragments, is placed at the source of the second *kephalo-brysso*, to the right of Godena, written Kodina; not at that of the stream of Agiani. The site of the temple is moreover stated to be occupied by a church. In the Itinerary, the distance from Mistra to Sclavo-Chorio, is stated to be only one hour, forty-five minutes; in the Narrative, two hours, twenty-three minutes.

the settlement of some Slavonian emigrants in this neighbourhood. The Καθολικον, or cathedral, is described by Mr. Dodwell as "almost destroyed;" Sir W. Gell mentions a church which contained a portion of an Ionic cornice, the pillar which sustained a table for offerings, a small Ionic and two Doric capitals, a granite column, a headless dog in marble, and an inscribed fragment, with the word Amyclæ still legible. The former Traveller speaks also of the remains of a large temple, "perhaps that of Apollo, composed of large slabs of variegated marble, near which are some imperfect bas-reliefs in a bad style." Polybius speaks of the temple as magnificent, and the colossal statue and throne of the Amyclæan Apollo were among the wonders of Greece. Above these ruins rises one of the detached hills of Taygetus, upon the summit of which are the remains of a fortress; perhaps, the site of an ancient acropolis. Not far from its base, Mr. Dodwell was informed, there is an entrance to a subterranean aperture, of artificial formation, possibly an ancient quarry. Strabo informs us, that the rich marbles of this mountain were excavated by the Romans. Both here and at Sparta, are many fragments of serpentine of a green colour, and some with a purple hue; evidently, from their number and size, the production of some spot in the vicinity. The principal colour is a dark green, with spots of red and white, resembling, Mr. Dodwell says, the species called by the Italians *Affricano*, but inferior in quality to that which is seen at Rome.

According to Plutarch, the ancient name of Taygetus was Amykleos; or rather, perhaps, this was one of the names under which different parts were known. The summit, according to Pausanias, was named Taleton, and was sacred to the sun, to whom horses and

other victims were sacrificed on the spot now occupied by the church of Saint Elias,—a corruption, probably, of Ηλιος. The country round Amyclæ abounds with olives, mulberry-trees, and all the fruit-trees of Greece: it was anciently reckoned the most fertile part of Laconia.*

"The mountaineers of Laconia," Mr. Dodwell says, "the Tzakoniotes, are the finest people in Greece. Robust, warlike, and hospitable, they retain more of their ancient customs, language, and liberty, than the inhabitants of any other part of the Peninsula. They are the remains of the Eleuthero-Laconic confederation which was rendered independent of Sparta by Augustus. They name their country Tzakonia, an evident corruption of Laconia." It would seem that this Traveller is speaking of the Mainotes under this general appellation. Zakonia is now generally understood to be the term applied to the country eastward of the Eurotas, stretching along the western shores of the Argolic Gulf, and terminating in the Maliac promontory. Of this district little is known, as it

* "Proceeding from Amyclæ toward the Eurotas, at the distance of about two miles, is a church on an eminence, called *Agio Kuriaki*, from which there is a fine view of the course of the Eurotas, near the banks of which Mr. Gropius discovered a curious circular edifice resembling the treasury at Mycenæ. Potamia and Daphne are seen to the south."—GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 225. The church is probably that to which Mr. Swan refers. The circular edifice appears to be what is thus described by Mr. Dodwell: "On quitting the ruins of Amyklai, we left the mountain on the right, and proceeding about an hour to the S. E., came to a small hill or tumulus near the village of Baphio. The side of the hill has been excavated, and a gate discovered, similar to the entrances of the treasuries of Mycenæ, but of smaller dimensions. It is impossible to penetrate the building, as it is filled with earth and stones, the roof having apparently fallen in. There is every reason to suppose that it is a circular building, resembling those of Mycenæ. This ruin is not generally known."—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 415.

does not appear to have been visited by any English traveller. Here, however, at the distance of fourteen hours from Mistra, is the important maritime town of Monembasia, commonly called Napoli di Malvasia, which gives name to the excellent wine called Malmsey. We must have recourse to M. Pouqueville for an imperfect description of this part of the country.

"The distance of Monembasia from Mistra is two long days' journey, which may be estimated at twenty-four leagues. The road lies almost entirely among mountains, on which are large forests of fir, with a great deal of brushwood and heath. There are also some ponds and woods, but the principal features of the whole country are large rocks of granite. The place of rest for the night is at Zizima, the inhabitants of which always come out to meet travellers, in hopes of getting something from them. There are commonly some of them posted on the look-out for persons who approach the village; and when they see any one coming, they hail him by blowing a large shell, in order to advertise him that a village is to be found among the rocks. On quitting Zizima, we traverse a fine valley intersected by a river, in which there is some appearance of cultivation. Four leagues further to the east, after passing some high mountains, whence the sea is to be seen, we come to a large village of Albanian shepherds, standing on the left bank of a river which flows toward the south. All this tract of country deserves to be visited by a geologist, who would find here granites and lava, as in the vicinity of a volcano; but little would be found to gratify the antiquary, and the botanist would discover only a few plants in a stony and arid soil. The productions of nature are not more worthy of admiration as we approach Monembasia: the town may be said to

be cased up in the mountains by which it is bounded on the west. I know not how its wines have obtained their high reputation, as I am informed by M. Roussel, the French commercial agent in the town, that they are in reality of a very middling quality.

"Nauplia di Malvasia, or Monembasia, as it is called by the Turks, is built from the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus Limera,* upon a little island. It is the seat of a bey, the residence of an archbishop, and contains a population of nearly 2000 inhabitants, Turks and Greeks. Its port is little frequented at present, because it is not considered as very secure; yet, it still maintains some commercial relations with Nauplia di Romania, twenty-six leagues further to the north. A chapel dedicated to St. George has inherited in part the reputation of the ancient temple of Esculapius: it is much visited by the people around, who carry with them *colyva*, (a sort of boiled wheat,) cakes, and wax tapers, as presents to an old papas who is chaplain there." †

Having now completed our *periplus* of the Arcadian, Messenian, and Laconian coasts, we must take leave for a while of the Grecian highlands, with all the picturesque remains and heroic recollections which give them pre-eminent interest, and proceed to visit the remains of the Turkish capital of the Morea,

* Pausanias states, that the Laconian Epidaurus was a colony from the mother town of the same name in the Gulf of Argos, where stood the more famous temple of Esculapius. M. Pouqueville calls the island on which Monembasia is built, Minoa; but, according to Pausanias, his Translator remarks, Minoa appears to have been the cape by which the bay is closed to the N.E.: the island is on the south-western side, and is connected with the continent by a wooden bridge of twelve arches. Epidaurus stood on or near the promontory of Minoa.

† Pouqueville's Travels, pp. 95—7.

where other ruins will present themselves than those which charm the imagination of the poet, or fascinate the antiquary. We must then, after visiting some other interesting sites in Arcadia, explore the Argolic peninsula and the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, terminating our survey with a notice of the coast of Elis, which forms the north-western angle of the Peninsula.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

GREECE.

TRIPOLITZA.

THE plain of Tripolitza is the Yorkshire of Peninsular Greece. In travelling from Kalamata to the capital, in the month of March, Sir Wm. Gell says, "we had left Kalamata in a summer of its own, Mistra in spring, and were now approaching a second winter at Tripolitza." The town stands at the southern foot of Mount Mainalion or Mænalus, (now called Roino,) which, extending far to the north-east, bounds the western side of the plains of Mantineia and Orchomenos; a tract of country which even the ancients stigmatized as cold and wintry (δυσχειμερος).* To this very circumstance, however, the excellence of the Arcadian pastures was probably attributable." Sir William Gell cannot help expressing his wonder, "that any pecuniary advantages should have tempted the Pasha of the Morea to fix his court in one of the

* Pausanias in Dodwell. "The excellence of its pastures rendered it one of the favourite residences of Pan. It is not, however, to be compared with Taygetcn, either for grandeur or for beauty."

coldest plains and the only very ugly spot in his dominions,"—"in a large, dirty, gloomy, ugly city, situated in the most uninviting spot and the worst climate possible." "It is sacrificing a great deal to circumstances," he adds, "to remain, during the winter, in a climate worse, on the whole, than Yorkshire during that season, while the sun is shining and the violets are blooming in the plain of Argos, only a day's journey distant. Perhaps no country presents such a contrast of climates in the same extent of territory as Greece.* I have, on more than one occasion, lived for some days at Corinth, suffering from the sleet and wind, to which its position is peculiarly liable, while from the hill above, the sunny citadel of Athens was seen shining bright under the splendour of a cloudless sky."

Tripolitza (called Tarabolitza by the Turks) has been supposed to derive its name from the three ancient cities in its vicinity, Tegea, Mainalos, and Mantineia, from the ruins of which the Greeks imagine it to have been built.† Mr. Dodwell suggests, however, that it most probably occupies the site of the Laconian Tripolis, which was on the confines of the Megalopolitan territory, called also Kalliai by Pausanias. The first *coup d'œil* of the place, on reaching the rising ground before the gates, is

* Narrative, p. 161. This remark is sufficiently correct, taking into consideration the slight difference of elevation. The journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico exhibits a still more remarkable contrast.

† Sir William Gell says, "Tegea, Mantinea, and Pallantium." Tegea was at Piali, near the road to Argos, about an hour and a quarter, or four miles, from Tripolitza. Mantinea was on the river Ophis, at Palæopoli, distant two hours. The site of Mainalos has not been ascertained. Pallantium is at Thana, on the road to Leondari, distant about five hours and three quarters.

somewhat imposing, and with a setting sun, throwing the town into shadow, and lighting up the fine range of mountains beyond, rises to magnificence. "Ugly as it is," says Sir William Gell, "and ill-situated on a dead flat, without a single tree of any size, it has the air of a large city when viewed from a distance, being surrounded with a high wall in good repair, perfectly defensible against small arms, which are all that can easily be carried to the spot to be employed against it. I should imagine the wall to be about three miles in circuit, which would make it about the size of Athens, which contains 10,000 souls; but Tripolitza is entirely occupied with houses, while the wall of Athens incloses large tracts of neglected ground." The walls, which are of stone, were constructed, M. Pouqueville says, by the Albanians, not more than fifty or sixty years ago. There are six gates. The khan, he states to be the only solid edifice in the town: it is built of stone, and closed by doors well strengthened with iron, which at night were barricadoed with large chains. There is a magnificent lintel, which once decorated the principal gate of Megalopolis, as the inscription upon it attests; it is now part of a basin which serves to water the cattle. In the mosques also, are "many precious antique columns and inscribed marbles." The appearance of the Turco-Grecian capital in 1799, is thus described by the French Traveller.

"The seraglio, or palace of the Pasha, a vast wooden building, capable of containing 1,200 men, is at the north-eastern extremity of the town, between the gates of Napoli and Calavrita. It is, in fact, a sort of suburb, having its own particular walls and gates. Towards the middle of the principal street, which intersects the town from north to south, is the

bazar. This is divided into a variety of streets, and is shaded by planes and other large trees, upon which the storks build their nests very peaceably, although this is the place of public execution, those who are sentenced to be hung being suspended from the branches. Fountains extremely well kept, are to be seen all over the town, and every house has its well; but the water, which is at a small depth in the ground, is generally of a very indifferent quality. The town has no running water, except what comes from the mountains to the north-west: this stream supplies the public baths and the tanneries, but is commonly dry in summer. A canal from the south conveys the waters of another small river to the town, but the supply is by no means abundant. The Pasha, apprehensive of an invasion from the French, had ordered a redoubt to be thrown up to protect this canal, this being an object of the greatest importance.....There are four large mosques and five or six Greek churches, which are in a very ruinous state. The streets, except the principal one, are paved only in the middle, and are intersected by drains, which receive all the waste waters and ordure of the houses, and are extremely offensive: over them are many small bridges. Some of the rich and powerful Turks have very large houses, but the poorer inhabitants, driven into the streets which run along the ramparts, inhabit houses, or rather huts, with the roof for a ceiling; the fire is made upon the ground, and the smoke finds its only vent through the numerous vacancies in the tiling."

The palace of the Pasha no longer exists, having been rased to the ground by the Greeks in 1821; and the town, alternately sacked by Mainotes and Arabs, exhibits an unsightly mass of ruins.* "Nothing can

* See vol. i. pp. 138—145

be worse," says Mr. Swan, "than the present state of Tripolitza: it could not be defended half an hour against a regular attack. The gates are in so dilapidated a condition that they might almost be kicked down, and the walls are in little better condition than the gates. The greater part of this extensive town is in complete ruin." The recommendations of the site are so few, that, notwithstanding its central position, the town is scarcely likely to regain its former importance, and it is certainly ill adapted for the capital of the Peninsula. Tripolitza is twelve hours from Mistra, (it may sometimes be accomplished in ten,) six and a half from Leondari, eight and three quarters from Karitena, nine and a quarter from Argos, (it may be performed in seven and three quarters,) and twenty from Kitries. Before we proceed further northward, we shall retrace our steps to accompany Sir William Gell on his route

FROM ARCADIA TO TRIPOLITZA.

DESIROUS of exploring the ruins of Phigalia, the learned Antiquary took the road to Sidero-kastro (Saint Isidore's Castle*), distant not quite four hours to the N.E. The road lies over the plain of Arcadia, which, strange to say, is in Messenia: in about an hour and a half, it crosses, at a ford, the river of Arcadia, and at length enters a very narrow glen, almost choked up with shrubs. The wildly undulating country thus far is covered with the oak, the arbutus, the myrtle, and the salvia. The village of Sidero-

* It is a constant practice of the modern Greeks, we are told, not only to cut off the first, and often the last, letter from a name, but, as a general rule, to reverse the long and short syllables, so as to turn *Agios Isidoros* into *Ayo Sidero*.

kastro is placed in a hollow between the two points of a steep hill, on one of which are the ruins of a small castle of modern architecture, "without a trace of antiquity beyond the age of the Greek emperors." The houses of the village (thirty-two in number) are built of rough stone, without any ceiling to the roof; the windows are only closed with shutters; and the whole furniture of the hut in which our Traveller obtained a lodging, consisted of a single brass kettle and two pans of coarse earthenware. In fact, it is what Sir William would call a genuine Greek village. The population, amounting to about 150 souls, were "possibly among the most indigent in Greece." "We here," he continues, "first began to use our own beds, which were extended upon carpets on each side of the fire, having brought with us every thing necessary for our own comfort. We found this sort of night's lodging commonly our lot in the mountains; but, as we ascended and quitted the shore, we were obliged to content ourselves with only one side of the fire, leaving the other to our attendants. Indeed, more than once it has happened to me, to find so little room for the whole party, that the horses became part of the society; and I have even been obliged to get up and shorten my horse's halter, to prevent his treading upon me as I slept. Sleep, however, can, in that case, take place only at intervals, as the Greeks insist upon keeping the saddles upon the backs of the poor animals all night, causing them, as they shake themselves, to produce from the brazen stirrups an alarming harmony like the bells of a team of waggon horses." It does not appear that the inconveniences of Greek travelling are greater than the traveller has to encounter in other mountainous regions,—for instance in Spain; and "the

difficulty in providing for the table in Greece," is less in general, Sir William admits, than in the remote parts of Italy.

From Sidero-kastro, our Traveller proceeded by a rocky and dangerous track, to the village of Paulitza, distant four hours.* The route crosses several little glens, watered by the heads of the Neda. At rather more than two hours from Sidero-kastro, an abundant and limpid fountain, forming a pretty waterfall, and producing the most luxuriant vegetation around, with its grove and ruined chapel, probably on the site of a pagan fane, presents one of those romantic and sequestered spots which have always been so sacred to the imagination of the Greeks. The place is called Drymæ. "In a few minutes," proceeds the Author, "we came to another source, the stream of which ran in the opposite direction, and accompanied us on our descent toward the north. This fountain has been decorated with some kind of edifice, now ruined, and near it we observed the vestiges of a circular tower under some ancient trees. In a short time we descended into a most beautiful and romantic dell, shaded by tall laurels, or bays, and evergreen oaks, which, even in winter, almost excluded the beams of the sun; and where, in summer, the additional foliage of the numerous planes bordering the brook must render the obscurity still more remarkable. In this glen we found the traces of a wall, which, with the towers we had just passed, probably denoted the boundaries of some ancient or

* From Sidero-kastro, Cape Katacolo bears N.W. by N.; Arcadia, S.W. by W. ½ S.; Ithome, S.S.E. "Somewhere in this neighbourhood must have been the cities of Dorion and Aukon, and not far distant, Ira." To the left of the road to Paulitza is seen "the pretty village" of Platania, overlooking a valley watered by one of the branches of the Neda, where are ruins of another fortress.

modern divisions of territory, and not impossibly the district of Phigaleia, and even of the region of Arcadia itself. We crossed the brook and its adjuncts four times, once at a picturesque mill, and lastly under a roaring cataract, beautifully overhung with bays, above which the gloom was continued and deepened by the knotted trunks and dark shadows of the ilex.

"The agreeable sensations which the singularity and beauty of this scenery inspired, were nevertheless considerably counterbalanced by the extreme danger and difficulty which we encountered in the descent from the height to which we had been insensibly conducted, above the main stream of the glen. We reached the bottom by a zig-zag path of tremendous declivity, sometimes obliterated by fallen rocks, and only practicable with the greatest care and precaution. It was here that we found ourselves on the banks of the celebrated Neda, flowing rapidly through one of the most singular chasms in the world, under magnificent precipices, which tower to an astonishing height on each side, and seem to oppose the passage of its waters; leaving, in fact, no space but that which time and the incessant flood have worn between the most prominent of their enormous masses.

"The district of the Nomian mountains did indeed differ essentially in its circumstances from almost all other tracts of pastoral occupation, generally too remote to derive benefit from that civilisation which is produced by the intercourse with cities and the sight of strangers; whereas these were not only surrounded by populous cities, at small distances from each other, but contained within their own confined circuit, cities of no inconsiderable extent, and were frequented by the inhabitants of all the surrounding states, on the occasion of the Lycæan games, which took place on

one of their summits. They appear also to have been, to a certain degree, exempt from the horrors of frequent war; partly protected by the sanctity of the region, and partly by the impregnable nature of their fastnesses.

"Phigaleia, a very considerable city, as may be seen by the circuit of its walls, extended over a rugged and elevated tract. We crossed the Neda near a waterfall, and ascending by a steep path, came immediately to the foundations of what must have been the gate of Phigaleia, after a ride of about four hours and thirty minutes. Another rugged ascent, which in one part consists of a road supported by ancient masonry, conducted us in about ten minutes to the little village of Paulitza, or Paolitza, the present representative of the Arcadian city.

"Of the ancient city, the walls alone remain: they were flanked with towers, both square and circular. One gate, toward the east, is yet covered with blocks which approach each other like the under side of a staircase. There has been a temple of fine limestone, of the Doric order, and we found one inscription. In the church of the Panagia are other vestiges of a small temple; and it is not easy to imagine what has become of the remaining fragments, considering the impracticability of removing any heavy stone from a place so situated. We saw also an Ionic capital. The walls of the church were daubed with the blackened pictures of Greek saints.....In our way over a bare hill, forming part of the hill of Paulitza, we observed a heap of ancient stones, said by the people of the country to have been a reservoir for the citadel of Phigaleia: being, however, on a lower level, we imagined them to be the remains of a bath."

After exploring these ruins, the learned Traveller, mistaking his way, descended, in half an hour, to the village of Graditza, situated in a little cultivated valley with a copious fountain, and containing a population of about 100 souls in twenty houses. Turning eastward, he thence took the direct road to Tragoge, (or Tragode,) a village situated on the mountain anciently called Cotylion, not far from the ruins which were the object of his search. He found the road in the valley almost impassable from the number of shallow rivulets which ran over the slippery turf; till at length, in an hour and a quarter, he arrived at the bridge of the rapid Limax, "in the bed of which stands a chapel on a rock, shaded by a fine groupe of those beautiful planes which seem the natural produce of every river of the Peloponnesus. The place is very picturesque, and is immediately under the rock above which the little village of Apano Tragoge (Upper Tragoge) is situated."

Having passed the night at this village, the learned Traveller proceeded the next morning to explore the remains of the celebrated temple of Apollo Epicurius at a place anciently called Bassæ, but now known only under the name of the Columns. "The path lay under the spreading arms of ancient oaks, up an ascent not too rugged to prevent the enjoyment of the sylvan scene, which presented itself in all the reality of an Arcadian forest.

"In one place we found a little triangular cultivated hollow, watered by a fountain, which may be taken for a source mentioned by Pausanias, and is the nearest we discovered to the temple. Proceeding for a few minutes, we arrived at the ruin itself, which is by far the most stately and best preserved of any in

the Morea, and placed in the most singular and romantic situation that painting could desire, or poetry imagine. The position is the ridge of a hill, rapidly declining to the east, but not liable to the objection of 'bare and bald,' which would accompany the most elevated summit; and as the mountain rises still higher to the north and to the south, the temple may be considered as placed on a species of saddle between the two points. There is just that accompaniment of old oaks which serves to embellish, without concealing the architecture; and that solitude, so rarely found among ancient ruins, where no sort of cottage, with its dirty appurtenances, intrudes to destroy the repose of the scene.*

* Gell's Narrative, pp. 99—110. Mr. Dodwell, who subsequently visited this temple, reached it from Karitena by a different route. In an hour and a half from that town, he reached a flat-topped hill, called Kourounu (Korognia?), where are the foundations of a modern fortress, probably Venetian. The route lay through a mountainous tract, rugged with rocks and bushes, and exhibiting a few chesnut-trees and small oaks. A fine range of mountains rose to the right, and the plain of Megalopolis lay beneath him on the left. In three hours and a half, he reached the village called Kareas (Karles), situated near a hill of the same name, on which are ancient remains. Many small streams rise in this hill, which, stealing through the sinuosities of the mountains, ultimately swell the current of the Alpheus. In forty minutes from Kareas, the road descends to a fountain and grove of planes and oaks; and for twenty minutes more, it continues to wind through venerable forests clothing the steep declivity, till, at the foot of the hill, the traveller crosses a rivulet, and arrives at the village of Ampelone, five hours from Karitena. This place takes its name from the extensive vineyards in this vicinity. The ancient Phigalians were strenuous votaries of Bacchus. The road to the temple from this village is "steep and rocky, and one of the worst in Greece." In an hour, Mr. Dodwell passed through two small contiguous villages, Skleru Apanu (Upper Skleru—from Σκληρος, difficult) and Skleru Kato (Lower Skleru); in which the cottages are roofed with the slate found near the spot. After an ascent of fifty minutes from Skleru, he reached the temple.

According to Pausanias, this temple was, next to that of Minerva at Tegea, the most beautiful in the Peloponnesus, both for its materials and the harmony of its proportions. It was dedicated to Apollo *Epikourios* (the helper), on account of his having delivered the country from the plague.* The spot on which it stands seems to have been chosen, Mr. Dodwell says, "in order to excite surprise and to inspire awe in those who approached the shrine of the deity. It is skreened from the view by the steep rocks that rise from the road; nor does it meet the eye until, on turning round the edge of a precipice, it presents its front within a few yards of the astonished traveller. It has the same effect in whatever direction it is approached, as it is situated in a small plain closely environed by hills on all sides, except on that towards the descent to Ampelone. Its lofty and solitary situation has happily averted the destruction of this elegant edifice, and the greater part of it still remains.

"The temple stands nearly north and south, contrary to the general rule of Grecian temples, which usually stand east and west. It is built of a fine close-grained stone or lithomarge found near the spot, which equals marble in the hardness of its texture and the polish of its surface. Its colour is a light brown,

* The architect was the same Ictinus who, in the time of Pericles, erected the celebrated temple of Minerva.—PAUSANIAS, lib. viii. cap. 41. (See Travels of Anacharsis, vol. iv. ch. 52.) A temple was in like manner erected at Athens in honour of Apollo *Alexikakos* (the destroyer of evil), in gratitude for his having liberated the Athenians from the plague. "The fact is," Mr. Dodwell remarks, "that it is the great heat which is inimical to the contagion, for which reason it was fabled to be destroyed by Apollo. Saint John is at present invoked on these occasions, and the plague is supposed to cease its ravages in Turkey on the 24th of June, the anniversary of the saint."

with a suffusion of yellow. There were originally six columns on each front, and fifteen on the sides. The capitals resemble in their form those of the Parthenon. The temple was composed of forty-two columns, besides the insulated Corinthian column and the ten pilasters of the Ionic order within the cella, the capitals of which were of white marble. The statue of the divinity (which was of bronze and twelve feet in height) is conjectured, but without any plausible reason, to have been placed against the Corinthian column which was opposite the entrance of the cella. There are at present thirty-six columns standing, besides some of the *frusta* of the pilasters. The lower part of the *epystilia* is almost entire, but many of the columns are out of the perpendicular. The architrave has consequently been disjointed in several places, and menaces an approaching fall. The roof and the walls of the cella have fallen, and the sculptured frieze was covered with the ruins. The interior of the temple has since been cleared out, and the frieze which surrounded the interior of the cella, sent to the British Museum.* The length of the temple is 125 feet by 48 in front; that of the cella is 58 feet, the breadth 20. The columns, including the capital, are about 20 feet in height.

"The Phigalian frieze is composed of two subjects. One is the old story of the Centaurs and the Lapithai, upon eleven slabs, and consisting of forty-seven figures. The other subject, which is on twelve slabs, represents the battle between the Amazons and the Greeks,

* "The marbles were excavated in the year 1812, by Mr. Robert Cockerell and Mr. John Foster."—DODWELL. Sir W. Gell says, "the temple was cleared by Barons Linckh and Haller, and Messrs. Foster and Cockerell were present at the original discovery."

and consists of fifty-three figures. Many of the combatants are naked, and the greater part are without helmets: they are armed with the *aspis*, or Argolic shield. The accessories were of metal, as the perforations and bits of bronze and lead still remaining on the marble, indicate. Their motions are extremely varied, but, for the most part, neither dignified nor natural, and some are preposterously caricatured. Their relief is nearly as high as that of the *metopæ* of the Parthenon. The height of the frieze is two feet, and the entire length of what was found in the temple, and is now in the British Museum, is 96 feet. The frieze was carried round the hypæthral part of the cella on the interior, and received its light from above. The proportions of the figures are so decidedly bad, that, even in their original position, these defects must have been visible, as they occupied a place which was a little more than twenty feet from the ground. The general proportion is five heads in height, and some are even less. The feet are long, the legs short and stumpy, the extremities ridiculous in the design, and imperfect in the execution; and they resemble the style which is observed on the better kind of Roman sarcophagi. They are so far inferior to the general composition, that they were probably sculptured at the quarries by artists of little note. They are not, however, altogether without interest, and a certain pretension to merit." *

The view from the temple is very rich and extensive, its site being sufficiently elevated to enable the eye

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 385—8. These marbles, the Writer remarks, would be seen to much less disadvantage in the British Museum, were they not so immediately confronted with the matchless sculptures of the Parthenon; but, in order fairly to judge of them as architectural decorations, they ought to be raised to their

to range from the Strophades and the city of Arcadia to Mount Ithome and the Messenian Gulf; while, on the east, the two highest summits of the Nomian mountains, Tetrauzi and Diophorti, terminate the view over hills covered with thick forests of oak.*

Pursuing his journey in a northerly direction, Sir W. Gell followed the course of the Limax, which, above the springs of Tragoge, is a mere rivulet. Half an hour from the village, some old fig-trees mark the site of a deserted village called Palaio Tragoge. Half an hour further, is a fountain called *Tou Kalili Idris*,† with a ruined chapel near it, shewing that the spot has at one period possessed the attractions of an *agiasma*. After another hour of abominable road through the most beautiful scenery imaginable, formed by hill, and grove, and brook, the fount of Panoura (or Banoura) presents itself. On the banks of a rivulet about a mile further, are found fragments of green and red jasper. The same sort of scenery continues, with a succession of rivulets, till the traveller reaches a height within a short distance of Andrutzena, where an extensive view of the vale of the Alpheus opens upon him. On the left, on a lofty peak of the Nomian range, are seen the ruins called Zakonka, on the north side of which is the large modern town of Phanari, surrounded with clumps of cypresses; and on

original height, which was twenty feet six inches from the pavement, and consequently about fifteen feet from the spectator's eye; their want of symmetry would then, at all events, be less apparent, and the general effect probably be very different.

* "Across the Neda and south of the temple, is a village called Kacoletri, near which are ruins, which some think those of Ira, the capital of Messenia in the time of Aristomenes."—GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 84.

† Perhaps Του Καλιλι Ἰδρυσις. Sir W. Gell supposes it to have been named from the Turk who constructed it.

the south, in the forest, is the village of Vervitza. Towards the Alpheus are seen the village of Koupho-poli, and, on a rocky summit, the fortress of Nerro-vitza (the site of Alipheræ). The snowy peaks of Mount Olonos tower in the distance above the tops of a magnificent range, only less striking by comparison. Passing through the villages of Sanalia and Upper Andrutzena, the traveller enters the large straggling town of Andrutzena, consisting of about 300 mean dwellings picturesquely grouped amid groves of the evergreen oak. Distance from Tragoge, three hours and a quarter; from Arcadia, thirteen hours and a quarter. Yet, it is less than thirty miles from that city.

From Andrutzena, Sir William Gell's route lay eastward along the northern base of the Nomian range, and in a direction nearly parallel to the course of the Alpheus, to Karitena; a distance of five hours and three quarters in time, but not more than ten computed miles. At the end of the first hour and a half, a rugged descent through a grove of ilex, leads to the river Sourtena, which is crossed by a bridge of one arch. In a little triangular plain, where this river is joined by another stream from the mountains, are vestiges of a town, with its *palaio-kastro* on the summit of a conical mount, now called Labda. The beautiful fountain which once supplied the city, issues from under a rocky hill; and above the source, a ruined chapel dedicated to the Panagia, with a spreading plane, marks the site of a more ancient temple. On the top of an ascent from this place is caught the first view of Karitena, proudly seated on a rocky summit in the midst of the most enchanting scenery. "The fore-ground is a height covered with oaks, from which, on the right, many wooded ridges of the No-

mian hills fall in rich succession of forms and tints to the rapid stream of the Alpheus, here seen forcing its way through a deep bed of rocks below. The junction of the Katchicolo (Gortyna) is also seen, running from high mountains on the left; and above the fortress of Karitena, the immense mass of Mount Mænalus rises in a variety of majestic peaks, among which, that called *Salto tes Elatas* is distinguished, black with the firs whence its name is derived. The road now descended for more than an hour in steep and dangerous declivities to the banks of the Alpheus, which we had scarcely time to admire, before we found our path intercepted by an envious torrent, so beautiful and so copious, that we at first took it for the main stream. After following this branch for a short time, under a thick shade of platanus and ilex, we turned short to the left, over a rock, and were surprised to find that we had passed round the source which issues from its foot. Nothing can exceed the beauty of this sequestered spot; and if deep glens, spreading trees, and gushing waters, constitute the delights of Arcadian scenery, the poets have not sung in vain the praises of this region.

"On looking southward up the mountain of Diaphorte, we descried the village of Tragomano in so elevated a situation, that the descent to the fount occupies nearly an hour. Half an hour higher up is the Hippodrome of the Lycæan games, and twenty minutes more would bring to the summit a person who should be disposed to climb into what is perhaps the most interesting among the most interesting mountains in the world.

"Our fount was not without its temple, or at least its sacred enclosure, of which some indications remain. Hence, we climbed to another summit, where we found

the church of St. Athanasius, and, on our next descent, passed the leaning minarets of a mosque which has long ceased to exist; our guides called the place, Palaio Karitena. The view of the present town and its castle has a fine effect from this spot; but the Alpheus, which flows between the houses and the spectator, runs in so deep a glen and below such tremendous precipices, as to be wholly invisible. At the end of a long descent, we reached the bridge of Karitena, situated at a point where the stream begins to contract, on entering the chasm below the town. The bridge, though a wretched specimen of the art of masonry, is not wanting in picturesque beauty, having a sort of chapel against one of its piers, which would seem to give it a Venetian origin. The river, which is in fact the great drain of the plain of Megalopolis and all the interior of the Morea, is subject to such rapid increase of its waters, that a few minutes are sufficient to render the bridge impassable, and even to carry away the main arch, under which alone it usually precipitates itself in a very deep bed, leaving the others dry. From the bridge, an ascent of more than twenty minutes brought us to the town."*

ASCENT TO THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT LYCÆUS.

Mr. Dodwell, in travelling from Karitena to Leondari, ascended the summit of Mount Lycæus, which is known under the modern name of Tetrauzi or Tetragi. Quitting Ampelone (Ampeliona), he crossed a small stream, and descended into a narrow cultivated vale, which winds into the mountains. In fifty minutes he came to a fine copious spring, rushing

* Gell's Narrative, pp. 129—3.

out of the rock to the left, beneeth the shade of some stately planes: it soon unites with another rapid rivulet, which has its source higher up. This is the real source of the Neda, which, according to ancient fable, was made to issue from Mount Lycæon by Rhea, that she might wash Jupiter after his birth,* and which, lower down, separated the Messenian and Eleian territories. From this place, Mr. Dodwell ascended, among bushes, to a forest of oak and plane, leaving the ruined village of Rassona to the left; and, at the end of two hours and forty minutes, quitting the direct road to Issari and Leondari, turned to the right, to ascend the steep part of the mountain. After proceeding fifty minutes, all appearance of a track disappeared, and the way became so rugged and perilous, that the travellers were obliged to dismount and to keep close to the edge of a most tremendous precipice, rising almost perpendicularly from the craggy ravines and savage glens below, and commanding some of the wildest scenery in Greece.

"The upper part of the mountain," Mr. Dodwell continues, "is a steep cone, composed of loose and jagged stones, with no other vegetation than a few scattered bushes of the lentiscus. It took us three hours and fifty minutes from Ampelone, to reach the top of the mountain, without including stopping. As soon as we arrived at the summit, a cold, bleak wind blew from the north, and some snow fell. Black masses of cloudy vapour hung upon the mountains, the thunder burst below us, and tremulous corusca-

* According to Strabo. Pausanias ascribes that honour to the Limax, which falls into the Neda. The source on the way to Tragomano, Sir W. Gell thinks, must be that of the Plataniston, which joins the Neda near Ampeliona.

tions of lightning gleamed in the valleys.* During the intervals of the thunder, our ears were greeted with a firing of musketry in the valleys, proceeding from skirmishes between the Turks and the bandits. In a short time the clouds were dispersed by the sweeping violence of the northern wind; and when the atmosphere became clear, no words can convey an adequate idea of the enchanting scene which burst upon us. The snow-crested summits of Taygeton rise in rugged majesty and towering pride, above the smooth and even surface of the Messenian Gulf, terminated by the blue horizon of the open sea; and the broad Pamisos is seen winding through the rich plain of Stenykleros, and adding to it its tributary stream. The flat-topped Ithome is distinguished beyond the great plain of Messenia, enveloped in tints of aërial blue. The Cape of Coron is observed shooting into the gulf. The open sea is now and then descried over the undulating surface of the Messenian mountains. The plain and acropolis of Cyparissiai (Arcadia) are distinguished clearly, rising from the Cyparissian Gulf. A long line of open sea is then contemplated towards the west, and, further north, the dim and distant outlines of Zante and Cephalonia. Skollis and Olenos are next beheld, tipped with snow; nor are even the misty summits unseen, which are beyond the Olympic plain. The ramification from Lycæon which forms Mount Kotylion, appears toward the north, with its temple like a luminous speck. The panorama is closed with the flat and verdant plain of Megalopolis, with its ancient capital, the winding Alpheios, and the lofty mountains which rise beyond it. The nearer view is gratified by the sight of abrupt precipices and wooded masses receding one behind another, varied with inter-

vening glens and plains, and adorned with every variety of tint that nature ever combined in her most fantastic mood and most smiling hour.

" The rocks of the mountain are calcareous, and its soil, except towards the summit, is fertile, enriched with pasture, and adorned with wood. A tumulus on its summit is composed of small rough stones and earth, amongst which are some fragments of bones, apparently burned. We also see two ruined churches, built chiefly of small ancient blocks of hewn stone. There can be little doubt that this is the spot where a mound of earth was sanctified by an altar of the Lycæan Jove, fronted by two columns, each of which supported an eagle of gold. The mound still remains, and the two churches probably stand on the site of the columns: the ancient stones, perhaps, constituted their basements. Great part of the Peloponnesus was, according to Pausanias, visible from this spot." *

The other summit of Lycæus, now called Diophorte, appeared to Mr. Dodwell to be nearly of the same height. It is to be regretted that he did not ascend it. According to Sir William Gell, it is only an hour from the village of Ampeliona to this summit, whereas it took upwards of two hours to ascend Tetragi. The sides of Diophorte are covered with thick woods of chesnut, under which the shepherds of the country still feed their flocks, as when Pan, the favourite deity

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 391—3. Some have supposed that Diophorte was the site of the Lycæan altar, and that Tetragi is the ancient Kerausios. Sir William Gell gives it this name; but Mr. Dodwell supposes Diophorte to be Kerausios, as the Neda rises at its foot. The following bearings were taken from Tetragi. A cape of Taygetus in Maina, S. 2 E. Convent on Ithome, S. 20 W. Acropolis of Arcadia, S. 75 W. Southern extremity of Zante, N. 55 W. Mount Skollis, N. 10 W. Lalla, N. 2 E. Sinano, N 85½ E.

of Arcadia, had his temple, and grove, and sacred games on the summit. At fifty minutes from Ampeliona are some ruins on the mountain, called Kastraki, near which, on an eminence, is a chapel beneath a large spreading tree. Here a fair is held in May There are vestiges of a modern village; and in a ruined chapel, near a source and an ancient wall, is the angular triglyph of a Doric temple, with a fluted pedestal and a plain column; large antique vases have also been found here. From this part of the mountain, a very rugged ascent conducts to the summit, leaving to the left in the way, a valley where there is a fountain, "said to be warm." This has been supposed to be that called *Hogno*, the source of the Neda, in which the infant Jupiter was washed. The summit of Diophorte is "a circular level, about fifty yards in diameter, evidently artificial." It commands, like Tetragi, a magnificent view of the plain of Megalopolis, as well as that of Messenia.* There can be little doubt, we think, that the remains of the Doric temple and grove mark the site of the ancient worship celebrated on Mount Lycæus in honour of the god Pan; and it is far from improbable, that the fair held here in May is the genuine vestige of the games mentioned by Pausanias as performed near his fane.† Kerausios, as well as Olympus, Cotylius, Elaius, and Nomia, was but a part of Mount Lycæon, different summits being described under these various appellations; but Tetragi, as being, apparently, the highest summit, would seem

* Gell's Itinerary, p. 106. The following are given as bearings from this summit. Arcadia, S. 64, 30 W. Tetrage, S. 34, 30 W. Ithome, S. 25 W. Sinano S. 55 E. Agios Elias (Taygetus), S. 17, 30 E. Caritena, N. 62, 30 W.

† Pausanias, lib. viii. c. 38. See Travels of Anacharsis, vol. iv. 32.

to have the best claim to the distinctive title of Lycæus, and the ancient vestiges mentioned by Mr. Dodwell leave scarcely room to doubt that that was the spot where sacrifices were offered to the Lycæan Jupiter.

On descending to the eastward from the summit of Diophorte, towards Karitena, there are found several large and well-cut blocks of stone, with the ruins of a Doric temple of white marble; the columns have twenty-one flutes, and are three feet in diameter. "Ten minutes below this, in a little plain near the summit of the mountain, are the remains of a *hippodrome* (horse-course), at one extremity of which is an edifice composed of two sorts of masonry, polygonal and horizontal. On the bank which forms the *hippodrome*, are some stone columns. On the same plain, in the way from the *hippodrome* to Megalopolis, are the ruins of a fortification, near which is a fountain. From this valley, which appears like a crater, after ascending a little to the N.W., a very rugged and rapid descent runs near two sources to the village of Tragomano. The prospects are magnificent, extending beyond Elis to the N.W." From Tragomano, the road leads to the fount already mentioned, which Sir W. Gell supposed to be the source of the Plataniston, and thence, by the chapel of St. Anastasius, to the bridge of Karitena. The descent from the summit to Karitena occupies nearly three hours.*

Karitena appears to derive its name from the river anciently called Gortynius (or Gortyna), which, a short distance to the north of the town, joins the Alpheus. The ancient Gortys, which was reduced to a village in the time of Pausanias, was at a place marked by some

* Gell's Itinerary, p. 108. The hippodrome is, perhaps, the site of the games held in honour of Pan.

ancient vestiges, now called indifferently Marmora and Kachikolo-kastro, an hour and three quarters further northward.* Karitena was a place of strength in the lower ages, and is mentioned as one of the principal towns in the Morea in the year 1459. It derives a sort of renown in our own times, from having given birth to the redoubtable Theodore Kolokotroni. The town, in 1805, contained about 3000 inhabitants, principally Greeks, and was governed by a voivode. There are few, if any, vestiges of remote antiquity about the place; but, on a flat-topped insulated rock which rises above the town, there are ruins of a modern fort, probably of Venetian construction, which may occupy the site of an acropolis. "It is scarcely possible," Sir W. Gell remarks, "that so fine a situation should not have been selected for a city in ancient

* The junction of the Gortyns and the Alpheus is at a place anciently called Rhætea (Raiteai): some vestiges are seen on an eminence between the two rivers. The road to Gortys lies for an hour along a high bank on the eastern side of the Gortynius, and then crosses it at a bridge, "under which the river rolls rapidly amid lofty precipices which throw a shade of wild horror over the adjacent scenery." A rugged and winding path leads from the bridge to the ruins, which stand on a high rock, rising nobly from the north bank of the river. Below the road on the right are seen a monastery and caves in the rock. The remains consist of the foundations of a temple (ninety feet by forty-five), with some scattered fragments of white marble, supposed to be that of Esculapius, mentioned by Pausanias, which was composed of Pentelic marble. Mr. Dodwell was informed that the pavement, which was of the same material, had been taken up a few years before and burned into lime at Karitena. The superstructure has probably shared the same fate. There is a second temple, once an oracle of Apollo, among the ruins. Several masses of the walls (of polygonal masonry) which surrounded the town, still remain. There are ruins of two small gates near each other, and of a larger one facing Karitena. The lintels have all fallen. The town was small, but strongly situated in "a wretched rocky mountain, on a tremendous precipice."

times; but no other place is known to have existed near this place, except a town called Brenthea. The castle is capable of repair, and would then have a fine appearance, and be a place of strength against small arms, but, being surrounded with higher eminences within range, would be quite untenable against artillery."

"Karitena," says Mr. Emerson, "carried on a considerable trade in tobacco, silk, dried fruits, and tolerable wine. It was the residence of the celebrated klepht, Kolokotroni, and being one of the first places to raise the standard of freedom, felt the full fury of the Turks; insomuch that a portion of troops sent from Tripolitza destroyed almost the entire town, while the unfortunate inhabitants were obliged to desert their houses, and flee for refuge to the neighbouring mountains, or inclose themselves within the walls of their impregnable citadel. It now (1825) presents little more than a mass of ruins, the few houses still standing being inhabited by impoverished families, who subsist solely by the partial culture of the fields in the vicinity."*

The Gortyna was anciently celebrated for the coldness of its waters. It was said, that they were never frozen by the severest cold, and that the greatest heats never altered their temperature; they were alike delightful to bathe in or to drink. Pausanias states, that its source was at Theisoa in the Methydrian territory, where it was named *Lousios*, because Jupiter was bathed in it soon after he was born. It now bears the name of Kachikolo, or Atchicolo; and there is a village of this name to the N.W. of the ruins of Gortys. Sir William Gell states, that it runs from a plain

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. p. 76.

beyond Dimitzana, a large town about two miles further to the north, which had, prior to the Revolution, the most flourishing school in the Morea, with a library containing some old editions of the classics. There is a *palaio kastro* near the town.

On leaving Karitena for Tripolitza, the traveller descends into the great plain of Megalopolis, near the western extremity of which the former town is situated, and in less than half an hour, crosses a stream called Khalibashi. As he proceeds, the Nomian range, which bounds the plain, recedes on his right, presenting, among many picturesque points and recesses, the peak called *Sourias to Kastro*, the site of the ancient Lycosura. The road lies along the foot of the range which forms part of Mount Mænalus, just sufficiently on the height to afford a view of every object in the plain. The village of Brahimi is left on the right, and further on are passed Palaio Suli and Palaio Paula. At the end of about three hours and a half, the road begins to quit the plain by a gradual ascent, passes a place called Palaiopoli, and at length, in an hour further, enters a long narrow glen called Langadia, which conducts to the summit of the defile.* Here Sir W. Gell found a *derveni* without a guard, and a khan without a host. The difference of climate at this elevation is very perceptible. The traveller has reached the region of pines, and is not far from that of snow. Half an hour further is another *derveni;* and after another ascent, where the air is still more piercing, he descends into a bare valley, compared by Sir W. Gell to the dreary scenery in the neighbourhood of Skipton and Settle in Yorkshire. Here he crosses the stream of the Helisson, which divided the ancient city of Megalopons. The wretched villages of Daulia, Daveia, and Kalli-

paki (or Gallipaki) are now seen; also, on two peaked rocks, the ruined forts of Kastraki and Daveia. On leaving "the ugly plain of Daveia," the traveller has to pass over another summit, and then descends into the plain of Tripolitza. Another hour brings him to the gates of the city. The computed distance from Karitena is eight hours; but it occupied Sir W. Gell eight hours and three quarters.

MEGALOPOLIS.

THE site of the ancient Megalopolis, the name of which we have had so frequent occasion to mention, is found at Sinano, a village four hours to the south of Karitena, and an hour and a half from Leondari.* The latter town, which stands at the southern extremity of the plain, was erroneously supposed by D'Anville

* Mr. Dodwell reached Sinano from the khan of Sakona. (See vol. I. p. 292.) In fifty minutes he crossed the road from Arcadia to Leondari, and arrived near the ruins of an ancient city, situated on an insulated hill at the foot of Lycæus, called Helleniko Kastro; supposed to be Andania, once the capital of Messenia, and the birth-place of Aristomenes. (Sir W. Gell says that it is still called Sandani.) In two hours and a half after crossing several rivulets, he reached the village of Krano, situated on the ridge extending from Mount Taygetus to Mount Lycæus. Here is a *derveni*; and the place (supposed to be the ancient Kromon,) is probably near the boundary between Arcadia and Messenia. From above the village, (an ascent of ten minutes,) there is an extensive view of the plains of Megalopolis and Messenia, Ithome bearing 5.47 W. On the summit is a forest of oaks. The village of Issari is to the left. After passing some very ancient foundations with tiles, the road becomes a steep descent. An hour from the top of the ridge, Mr. Dodwell crossed a stream, and twenty minutes further, another, (supposed to be the Mallous and the Syros,) flowing to the Alpheus. That river is crossed in a quarter of an hour after entering the plain, running northward. Twenty minutes further is a village on a mount, with walls, called Aias Bey; ten minutes from which brought the travellers to the ruins.

to have been the site of Megalopolis itself.* The route from thence to Mistra has already been described, but we must now briefly trace Sir W. Gell's route from Tripolitza. It was by way of Leondari that Ibrahim Pasha advanced on the capital.

The road from Tripolitza traverses the plain in a direction nearly south, varying to W.S.W. Not far from the gates of the city, Sir W. Gell noticed "certain elevations which mark the site of an ancient city." In about twenty minutes, he ascended by a rocky glen to a barren, rocky moor, and at the end of twenty minutes more, crossed a brook flowing from the right, and terminating in a "marshy sheet of water" at the foot of the hills on the left, called *Limne*, (the lake,) supposed to be one of the sources of the Ere (Eurotas) and of the Roseo (Alpheus). † "These rivers," remarks the learned Traveller, "have the credit, which they have enjoyed for nearly three thousand years, of rising to the surface, and afterwards descending into the earth many times in their courses. Some miles on the left of our present road, I afterwards saw the supposed sources at the foot of Mount Bervena. I observed also, that the stream sinks into the earth in the same valley in the road from Mistra to Tripolitza, and it then falls into this lake, whence there is no visible outlet." At the foot of the hills on the right is the village of Phtane, or Thana, with vestiges of Pallantium. In about an hour, the road leaves this plain, and crosses two ridges

* He was misled, probably, by the notorious Abbé Fourmont, whose account of his journey through this part of Arcadia, Mr Dodwell says, "is a tissue of errors, as he has mistaken Leondari for Megalopolis, and Megalopolis for Mantinela."

† See vol. i. p. 347. In the Itinerary, this lake is simply mentioned as "one of the receptacles of the Alpheus." The plain is occasionally inundated.

of a stony and barren tract.* At the foot of the rugged descent is a *derveni*, beyond which, on the right, is a high tumulus, apparently artificial, with some ancient vestiges. After proceeding for half an hour, the mountains close in on the left, leaving a narrow marshy plain; and at the end of two hours and a half from Tripolitza, the traveller reaches the khan of Francobrysso, so named from the fount at which, close by, "the Alpheus again breaks out, and accompanies the road across the plain, sometimes crossing it most inconveniently without a bridge." A marshy valley with a stream soon after falls into the plain from the right. Ten minutes further, the stream is crossed at a bridge, where rises on the right, "a peninsular rock with a cave, a ruined chapel, and a single tree," on the summit of which are the walls and other vestiges of the ancient Asea. In the marsh, to the left, are the foundations of a temple. At the southern extremity of the plain, Sir W. Gell arrived at the edge of a marshy lake, covered with innumerable wild fowl. This he passed by a long, low, narrow bridge, "at the end of which were four square pilasters, seemingly intended as the supports of the tiled roof of a kiosk, under which some pasha or other great personage had reposed while the ducks were shot by his attendants." This, however, he remarks, may be only a winter lake, as there is a well near the kiosk. "Here the water of the Alpheus sinks for the last time; and the natives pretend, that a straw, thrown into the lake at the *katabathron* or vortex, has been observed to rise again on the southern side of the mountain of Chimbarou, which we now began to

* The second of these is described in the Itinerary as "a steep winding hill, with three roads of different ages."

ascend. On our left was a little village called Anemodouri, and above it, a ruined tower."*

The summit of Chimbarou, which is reached after a very steep and difficult ascent, is crowned with a large ruined church, dedicated to the Panagia, and commands an extensive view. On the right is discerned the whole plain of Megalopolis, bounded by the beautiful ridge of Tetragi. Leondari is seen in front, surmounted by the whole northern extremity of the lofty Pendedactylos with its five points, while, on the left, its branches bound the beginning of the valley, which at length expands into the plain of Mistra. On the southern declivity of Chimbarou, which is now descended by a zig-zag road, remains of gardens and broken tiles are found at the end of twenty-five minutes, near which the Alpheus again rises from some copious springs on the right of the road. To the left is a village beneath a hill, seemingly the site of an ancient fort. After descending an hour through a beautiful forest of oaks, the village of Rapsomata is seen on the right, and half an hour further, the road passes over the site of a small ancient city. Not long after, the traveller crosses another of the branches of the Alpheus, in a country beautifully spotted with oaks, while the projections from the foot of the mountain produce the most pleasing

* In the Itinerary, the fount of Alpheus is said to rise at the *western* foot of Chimparou. The direct distance to Megalopolis from this fount, is only 1 hour 28 min., Leondari being out of the road. The route is thus given. From Sinano to Risvan Aga, crossing two brooks and passing a church with vestiges of a temple, 22 min. To Chapoga village, 24 min. Thence, crossing a brook, in 15 min., to vestiges on an eminence and ruins of a little monastery, with a well: the place is called Palaio Rapsomata. Here, a road runs left two hours to Marmora, a village two hours from the khan of Francobryssi. In 15 minutes more, the Fount.

alternation of valleys and eminences. The glens are watered by pretty rivulets flowing to the Alpheus on the right. After crossing several of these little streams, the traveller ascends the hill of Leondari to the town, distant from Tripolitza, six hours and twenty-three minutes.

On proceeding to Sinano, the traveller again descends the hill of Leondari, and in three quarters of an hour, crosses the Alpheus, here called the *Megalopotamo*. Another forty-five minutes brings him to the ditch which surrounded the ancient walls of the city, near which are a fountain and a brick-kiln. Sinano, the modern village, now consists of only the aga's *pyrgo* (tower) and a few cottages with hedges round them, situated just without the ancient walls, and exhibiting, when Mr. Dodwell was there, a neater appearance than similar habitations in most parts of Greece. If the Abbé Fourmont may be believed, it contained at the time that he travelled, no fewer than 800 houses; and he asserts that, a short time before his arrival, 1,800 of the inhabitants had been swept off by the plague. If so, it must have been a considerable place.

Of the city of Epaminondas, which was fifty *stadia* in circuit, no vestiges of any importance remain, except the ruins of its once magnificent theatre, the largest in Greece. The diameter of the inner semicircle, or orchestra, is 170 feet; that of the whole was at least 1400. It was, as usual, constructed partly against the natural bank, and partly with artificial mounds. "The *koilon* still remains, but the seats are covered with earth and overgrown with bushes. Part of the walls of the *proscenium* also are seen, facing the Helisson, which flows a few yards to the east. The remains of the temples are dubious: some

masses of walls and scattered blocks of columns indicate their situations. The soil is much raised, and probably conceals several remains of the city." Its most valuable sculptures, however, were conveyed to the Laconian capital by Cleomenes, and great part of the city was destroyed by the Spartan conqueror. In the time of Strabo, it was nearly deserted.

From the theatre, which is to the west of the modern village, a fine view is obtained of the site of the city, which was divided by the river Helisson (now Barbitza) into two portions. "The line of the wall of fortification was erected, I think," Sir W. Gell says, "like that of Mantinea, in a circular form, by Epaminondas, when he endeavoured to create an Arcadian city, which should be capable of withstanding the force of Lacedæmon. His plan failed in the end, very possibly from the means employed to ensure a great population, which, had it been found on the spot, or transported thither from another country, might have answered the purpose. Epaminondas seems to have forgotten that his community was composed of the most discordant elements, consisting of the inhabitants of many of the smaller Arcadian cities, most of which had probably some ancient quarrel with their neighbours, and all of whom were compelled very unwillingly, by an arbitrary decree, to quit their native fastnesses, to settle in the new city thus weakened by internal dissension. Megalopolis was exposed also to the additional misfortune of its inhabitants yielding to the temptation of trusting to their last resource, that of fleeing to their ancient abodes, for which the presence of a vigorous enemy would furnish the excuse. It is also to be doubted, whether fortifications constructed only by the hand of man, could be supposed a secure defence against an enemy in any

times. A spot might have been chosen which better united convenience with safety. The object of the great Theban could not have been the creation of a conquering, but of an opposing city, and for this purpose a hill would have served better than the plain. Generally speaking, it will, I think, be found, that no capital has risen to superior eminence, still less to the glories of foreign conquest, which has not been situated in or near an extensive plain. Hills and rocks render more defensible the cities of the mountains, but it is perhaps for that very reason that they are not under the necessity of extending their boundaries, and throwing to a distance their frontiers. Rome, Constantinople, and other cities, might of course be cited as examples of the contrary; but it is scarcely necessary to add, that the 'immortal hills' must be searched for by those who wish to see them, and that in either case, they are not elevations above the plains of Latium and Thrace, but the banks which torrents have separated from each other in their descent to the Tyber and the Bosphorus.

"There is even at present no want of cultivation, nor of villages, in this most celebrated Arcadian plain, and nothing can be more beautifully diversified with fields and groves. The Nomian mountains on the west, near Karitena, and the great Mount Ellenitza, a part of Taygetus, on the east, with Chimparou and its range, and Mænalus, on the north, furnish abundant streams, the banks of which are fringed with plane-trees, and which all fall into the Alpheus. The range of hills uniting Ellenitza with Tetrauzi on the south, toward the ancient Messenia, is not lofty, but very prettily spotted with wood. The village of Isari is seen high seated on Tetrauzi, and the white tower of Delli Hassan, near which Mr. Dodwell found the

ruins of an ancient city, catches the eye in the plain below; but the chief object is the lofty peak of Korounies, or *Sourias to Kastro.*" *

The Helisson, which is a small but rapid river, had its source, according to Pausanias, at a village of the same name, and flowing through Megalopolis, united with the Alpheus after a course of thirty *stadia.* Its banks, Mr. Dodwell says, are picturesque, being shaded with oaks and plane-trees, and it contains fine trout and eels. As it is very low in summer, many relics of antiquity might possibly be recovered without difficulty from its bed. Medals are often found. Those of Megalopolis are common; namely, a silver one with a head of Jupiter on one side, and on the reverse, Pan sitting on Mount Lycæus, holding a branch in his left hand, and with an eagle on his right knee; and a copper one, having the head of Jupiter, and on the reverse, the usual figure of Pan, with a bow in his right hand, and an eagle at his feet. The confederate coins of Arcadia are also common: they have generally the head of Jupiter or of Pan, with the fistula on the reverse. Inscriptions and other antiquities might also, Mr. Dodwell says, be recovered from among the ruins by diligent search. The pyrgos of the aga is partly constructed of inscribed marbles.

Twenty minutes to the S.E. of Sinano, crossing two streams in the way, are remains of a small Doric temple, now converted into a church. Part of the cella is seen, upon which the church is built. Near it lie some fragments of columns, with some fluted pilasters and unornamented *metopæ.* The distance from Megalopolis, (about seven *stadia,*) nearly corresponds to the situation assigned by Pausanias to

* Narrative, pp. 176—9.

the temple of the *Maniæ*, or Eumenides, erected on the spot where Orestes lost his senses on account of the murder of his mother. Still further in this direction, after crossing a small stream, passing through the village of Erisvānaga, and then crossing another rivulet, Mr. Dodwell observed some ancient vestiges; and half a mile beyond, is a small hill or natural mound, on which are some imperfect remains. He then proceeded through a village called Chappoga, near which are some ancient traces, and crossed here the fifth stream from Megalopolis. All these streams originate in the hills which rise on the eastern side of the plain, and after a short and winding course, mingle their waters with those of the Helisson or the Alpheius. From this place, Mr. Dodwell ascended a hill covered with oaks, to the *Kalybia* of Dabano, and in twenty minutes more, reached Palaio Rapsomata, seated on an eminence, on which are only a few imperfect foundations. "An hour and a half from hence, near the foot of the hills which bound the plain, a large source of water, called Marmorea, issues from the rock, and is probably the Κρουνοι mentioned by Pausanias."*

From Megalopolis, roads branched off to Sparta, to Messene, to Tegea, and to Olympia; and remains of them, M. Pouqueville affirms, are still to be found in the directions indicated by the classic Topographer. Its ancient importance would seem to be attested by the circumstance, that all the military roads of Peloponnesus terminate at this spot as a centre. About two hours from Sinano, and twenty minutes from the village of Stala, is a ruined site, now called Agios Georgios, which Mr. Dodwell considers to be undoubtedly the site of Lykosoura,—according to Pau-

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 377.

sanias, "the most ancient city of the most ancient people in the world."* Its walls, the learned Traveller says, manifest signs of the remotest antiquity. The ruins are thus described.

"The acropolis stood upon a fine precipice of an oblong form, the extremities facing nearly north and south. The western side is inaccessible, and the other side, which faces the plain of Megalopolis, is supported by a double terrace-wall, composed of rough blocks like the walls of Tiryns. The gateway is visible, facing the south, but its only remains consist of the foundations and some hewn blocks lying on the spot. Within the acropolis are two ruined churches and several *frusta* of unfluted columns of a dark-coloured marble, with some architraves and a Doric capital. The largest diameter of the columns is only one foot ten inches. A few hundred yards to the S.E. of the acropolis, is an eminence covered with bushes, which may well be supposed to conceal some interesting remains. Several blocks of plain columns, and a ruined church, are the only visible objects. To the north of this is another small elevation, where some fragments of plain columns, and some fluted columnar pilasters and triglyphs, evince the remains of a Doric temple. The whole is fallen to the ground, and, amongst the ruins of the cella, is a mass of white marble, which was probably a statue, but it is too much shattered for any form to be perceived. Between this and the acropolis are the remains of a bath or cistern, about 40 feet in length and 10 in breadth, composed of square blocks, and well preserved. A few feet above it is a small spring, which originally flowed through the bath by

* So the Arcadians styled themselves:

"*Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse ferentur*
Arcades, et Luna gens prior illa fuit." OVID.

two apertures that still remain. Several large blocks lie scattered in the vicinity, which was evidently one of the most ornamented parts of the city. To the east of the acropolis are remains of another Doric building, consisting of fragments of columns and pilasters nearly buried. The principal part of the town occupied an undulating plain to the east of the acropolis. It is difficult to form any certain conclusions with respect to its size, as none of the walls, except those of the acropolis, have been preserved; but it appears to have extended over a circuit of two miles.*

"About twenty minutes from the ruins of Agios Georgios, towards the N.W., and near the village of Stala, is a *kephalo-brussi*, rushing out of the mountain in a deep glen, and forming a rapid stream, which finds its way by the ruins of the city, and entering the plain of Megalopolis to the N. of Delli Hassan, unites with the Alpheus. Another rivulet of more considerable size rises near the village of Issari, and running to the S.W. of Agios Georgios, also joins the Alpheus. One of these is probably the Plataniston.

* Notwithstanding the remote antiquity of some of these remains, the work of demolition had but recently been completed. Only three years before, the aga of Delli Hassan (a village twenty minutes distant, at the foot of the wooded hills that join Lycæus) had dilapidated the most perfect of the temples and several other ruins, for the purpose of building a new *pyrgos* with the precious materials. Unwilling to have his quarry detected, or his ravages exposed, he attempted to persuade Mr. Dodwell that there were no ancient remains in this direction. Delli Hassan is 70 minutes from Sinano on the road to Karitena. (See GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 101.) Several ancient vestiges occur on this route, and between the village of Cyparissia (three quarters of an hour from Delli Hassan,) and the foot of Diophorti, is the village of Mavrias, "near which is a valley now called *Bathi Rema* (the deep glen), where the natives assert that fire often issues from the earth near a fountain. The same story is told by Pausanias, who calls the place *Bathea*."

The pastures of these mountains retain much of their ancient celebrity; and numerous goats and sheep are seen on the hills where Pan fed his flocks. The mountains of the Melpeian * region resound on all sides with the pipe which the god is said to have invented on the spot. The pastoral inhabitants of the surrounding villages are a hardy and handsome race, evincing a spirit of probity and independence, and exercising hospitality and kindness to strangers." †

We must now prepare to take leave of the once populous and classic Arcadia, the mother-land of pastoral poetry and romance; and returning to the Turkish capital, proceed to describe the interesting remains which occur in the direction of the route

FROM TRIPOLITZA TO ARGOS.

THE ruins of Tegea, one of the three cities from which Tripolitza is supposed to have been built, are found at the village of Piali (or Pegale), about an hour eastward from that city. Sir W. Gell speaks of it as "one of the cities of Greece which, in its present state, presents the fewest objects of curiosity above ground;" but an excavation, he thinks, would be very productive. "It is probable that there is an immense treasure of sculpture in this place; for the soil, being all ploughed, so as to have left no trace of the walls, must have risen so much as to cover the ruins, before Tripolitza had become of sufficient consequence to require the decorations that might occasion the pillage of the marbles." It must be recollected,

* On approaching the bridge of Karitena, a village called Florio is seen on the left, which, Sir W Gell says, nearly corresponds to the ancient Melpea.

† Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 394—7.

however, that marbles are pillaged for other purposes than decoration,—for building-materials and to convert into lime. Mr. Dodwell observed that the soil is apparently much higher than the original level, but the walls, he remarks, have probably been employed in building the modern city.

"The first ruins that the traveller comes to, occupy a gentle eminence, on which is the church of Agios Sosti, which has probably replaced some ancient temple. On the outer wall is a fragmented inscription, and, within the church, a Doric capital. Not far from this is an elevation crowned with the ruins of a large church called Palaio Episkopi, apparently built with the remains of a Doric temple, and situated on the original foundation. Several triglyphs, *frusta* of columns, and other architectural and sculptured fragments, besides some broken inscriptions, are visible on the walls. Some hundred yards from this church is the village of Piali, with a few remains of the great temple of Minerva Alea, built by Skopas of Paros. It was composed of the three orders of Grecian architecture. Above the Doric was the Corinthian, surmounted by the Ionic. There are fragments of the different orders, and several large masses of Doric columns of white marble, but the greater part is buried.* Their size may have contributed to their preservation, as they were too heavy to be removed. The two other orders were no doubt smaller, and have been carried to Tripolitza, as very few fragments of them remain. We are informed by Pausanias, that this temple was one of the largest and most ornamented in the Peloponnesus. The Calydonian hunt

* A Doric capital about five feet in diameter, Sir W. Gell found in use as the mouth of a well.

was represented on its front *tympanon*, while the *posticum* exhibited the battle of Telephos and Achilles in the plain of Kaikos. Augustus, to punish the Tegeans for their attachment to the interest of Antony, deprived the temple of the old ivory statue of the goddess, which he sent to Rome. He also removed the tusks of the Calydonian boar, and left the Tegeans no other relic but his skin." *

Mr. Dodwell observed no remains of the magnificent marble theatre built by Perseus, the last king of Macedon. If any traces exist, they are probably to be sought for at the hill of Palaio Episkopi, or that of Agios Sosti. On one of these must have stood the acropolis. The plain of Tegea is composed of rich arable land, and is surrounded with mountains, except in "two narrow slips," or openings, one of which leads southward towards Mistra, and the other to the plain of Mantineia.

The ruins of the latter city are found at a place called Palæopoli, seven miles from Tripolitza,—a ride of two hours. The road lies over the plain in a direction nearly north. About half way, the foot of a projecting mountain advances on the road from the left, forming the natural boundary between the territories of Tegea and Mantineia. Here are found a ruined church, with some ancient tiles scattered about, and traces of the wall which ran across the valley,

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 418—20. The coins of Tegea are well known to the numismatic collector. They generally represent the galeated head of Minerva Alea, sometimes a bearded head with a diadem, or the figure of the goddess at full length, with that of a warrior. A scarce coin of this city exhibits Telephos receiving nourishment from a deer. The inscriptions are generally ΑΛΕΩΣ and ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ.

composed of rough blocks apparently of high antiquity. On the acclivity is a Wallachian village, which, Sir W. Gell suggests, may possibly have been the spot to which Epaminondas retired after he was wounded, to witness the end of the conflict. The hill appears to be the Mount Alesion of Pausanias. On the right the monastery of Tsipiana is seen on the mountain. The marshy plain of Mantineia opens beyond the pass, and the road, inclining to the right, crosses at a bridge the sluggish waters of the Ophis, so called from its serpentine meanderings, which surround the walls of the ancient city. "The river," says Sir W. Gell, "runs directly against the base of the curtain, there divides, and, performing the circuit of the exactly circular walls with their 116 towers and eight gates, is re-united on the opposite side, and, after a short course, falls into a *katabathron*, or chasm, and disappears.* The traces of a bank are yet visible, by which a besieging army raised the waters so high, that not only the city was inundated, but that part of the upper walls which consisted of unbaked bricks, resting upon the massive stone foundations, fell into the flood. This is, I believe, usually taken for a romance, but the vestiges confirm the history.† The lines of the streets

* But for this subterraneous vent, the stream of the Ophis, together with the waters that fall from Artemision, would inundate the plain.

† These walls resisted, even better than stone, the impulse of warlike engines, but were not proof against the effects of water. The story is, that Agesipolis, King of Sparta, forming a ditch round the town, caused the river Ophis to flow into it, and dissolved the fabric of the walls, as Cimon, son of Miltiades, had done before with the earthen walls of Eion, on the river Strymon. The walls which are seen at present, Mr. Dodwell considers as of later date, having been built, probably, after the battle of Leuktra. "They are of the same style as those of Messene, and exhibit an interesting and very perfect specimen of Grecian fortification."

are yet in some places visible, as is the theatre near the centre, which is not less than 213 feet in diameter. There are several pools in the enclosure. The radius of the circle which would describe the wall of Mantineia, might be 2000 feet in length. I think there is reason to believe, that Epaminondas laid out his other Arcadian city of Megalopolis on a similar plan, though on a smaller scale. The site is a perfectly dead flat, and the effect produced on these plains by the streams falling into chasms, instead of finding their way through valleys, is, that the mountains rise as abruptly from the flat edge of the marsh, as rocks rise from the surface of the sea. Near the walls is a little monastery on a conical hill, called Chrysoule, where the most ancient city is said to have stood."

Mantineia was richly decorated with public edifices. It had eight temples, besides a theatre, a stadium, and a hippodrome. Except the imperfect remains of the theatre, the walls of which are similar to those round the town, none of the sites of the ancient buildings can be identified, every thing, except the city walls, being in a state of total dilapidation. The coins of the city are not scarce: they bear the image of Neptune, their tutelary deity, and sometimes the head of Minerva, Jupiter, or Antinous.*

The Mantineian plain is inclosed, towards the south-east, by the rugged heights of Parthenion and Artemision, which separate it from the plain of Argos. On the north-west, a line of rocky hills separates it from that of Kalpaki, a village two hours and a quarter from Mantineia, on the site of the ancient Orchomenos. The road from Tripolitza is, for the first three miles, the same as that to Mantineia. It

* Gell's Narrative, p. 137. Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 421—4.

then passes the *katabathron*, where the waters of the plain fall into an abyss, and a quarter of an hour further, ascends a valley to the village of Kapsa, consisting of sixty houses and a church. After passing the vestiges of the tower and wall which once guarded the pass, the traveller quits the Kalavrita road, to ascend to the large village of Livadiou,* situated at the foot of the mountains on the left, but sufficiently elevated to overlook the plain of Orchomenos, which, in this part, takes from it its modern name. The lofty mountain to the west of this village is covered with pines. It extends to both the plains of Orchomenos and Mantineia. On the other side of the range, on a much higher level, is situated the town of Betena, near the ancient Methydrion. From Livadiou, the traveller has again to descend, and crossing the road to Kalavrita, which he leaves to the left, traverses the marshy plain, and in less than an hour, reaches the modern village of Kalpaki (or Kallipachi), situated on the south side of an insulated hill, which fills up a pass between a mountain called Roussi, and the eastern chain of Mount Artemisius.†

"The situation of Orchomenos was fine and commanding, running up to the summit of its hill, which

* Written by Sir W. Gell and Mr. Dodwell, Lebadi, Lividi, Lebidi, Lebidiou, and Libadiu. The thermometer here, on Sir W. Gell's arrival (April 5), stood at 28°, the same as at Tripolitza in the morning. From Livadiou, it is four hours to Betena, five hours to Davia, ten hours to Dimitzana, four hours and a half from Tripolitza.

† Mr. Dodwell reached Kalpaki in two hours and a quarter from Mantineia. On reaching the foot of the hills which rise from the southern side of the plain of Orchomenos, he came to the ancient road, paved with large stones; "of which," he says, "though broken and full of holes, we were glad to make use, instead of traversing the marshy ground through which the summer road passes."

was crowned with the castle, whence the walls and towers ran down to the sides of the plain, leaving the citadel as the apex of a triangle of about half a mile each way." The hill resembles Mount Ithome in form, though of far inferior height, being steep on all sides, and flat on the summit. When the snows of winter melt, and the lake which extends on the north of the ruins overflows, the hill is almost surrounded with water; and it is called an island by one ancient writer.* The walls were fortified with square towers. In some places they are well preserved, and the most ancient parts are in "the rough Tirynthian style." The modern village is situated upon the ruins of the lower town. The cottage occupied by Mr. Dodwell stood upon the remains of a Doric temple of white marble, small, but apparently very ancient. Large masses were scattered about, and some countrymen whom the Author employed to excavate, dug out some elegant Doric capitals in perfect preservation. He earnestly recommends future travellers to prosecute the researches which he had not time to pursue. There is a fine fountain below the village. Near it is a white marble lion, in an indifferent style, and under the natural size. Below the fountain is a ruined church, evidently occupying the site of an ancient building of the Doric order, of small dimensions,—probably a mausoleum.

"Orchomenos," remarks Mr. Dodwell, "seems to have been a place of little consequence in the time of Pausanias; but it is singular, that there are still the remains of several buildings, which appear to have been temples, though he mentions only two. Besides

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This lake, like most others in this part, has no visible outlet, and increases or diminishes with the season.

the two already noticed, the church of the Panagia, which is situated at the southern foot of the acropolis, is entirely composed of the remains of a Doric temple, among which are triglyphs, plain *metopæ*, and fluted *frusta* of white marble, but of small proportions. Here are also some fragmented *antefixa* of terra cotta, depicted with the usual foliage of a dark red hue. Near the church is a small spring. Further down in the plain, towards the lake, is another ruined church, constructed with ancient blocks of stone and marble; and near it is an Ionic capital. A few paces from this are the remains of an ancient tower. Still further, towards the village called Rush, is another church, in the walls of which are some marble triglyphs. A few hundred paces to the west of Kalpaki, there is a heap of square blocks of stone, of large size; and further in the plain are other similar remains: indeed, everything seems to evince that Orchomenos was a strong and extensive city, and sumptuously decorated with ornamental edifices, which Pausanias has not described with his usual diligence." *

For the sake of describing the remains of these three cities in the immediate neighbourhood of Tripolitza, we have wandered from our proposed route. The road to Argos, on leaving the Tegean plain, crosses a very steep summit, and descends by a zigzag causey into the valley of Hysiæ. It then passes the villages of Agios Giorgios and Araithyrea, and runs across the plain to the city. The road from Mantineia to Argos leads, in three quarters of an hour, to the plain of Chipiana. An hour further is the monastery of Chipiana, on a mountain. A steep ascent of an hour leads to the summit, on which goose-

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 427.

berry bushes were found growing wild. Two hours more are occupied in traversing and descending the mountain. In two hours further, the traveller crosses a large torrent, and in half an hour beyond, enters the plain of Argos. This road, being both steep and bad, is seldom used: it occupies nearly the same time as the direct road from Tripolitza, viz. nine hours and twenty-three minutes; but the latter, lying chiefly over the plains, may, without an attendant on foot, be performed in less than eight hours.*

ARGOS.

THE most striking view of the Argive plain and capital is obtained in the approach from Nemea, or from Tiryns. Mr. Dodwell, who arrived there from Corinth, by the pass of Tretos, thus describes his entrance on what he pronounces to be "the most interesting part of the Peloponnesus, the ancient territory of Argolis."

"We began to descend by a badly paved way, and came to a clear and copious spring, which, forming a small but rapid stream, rushes down the rocky declivity of the hill into the plain of Argos. At the outlet of the glen, we experienced a sudden burst of one of those magic prospects which occur so often in this beautiful and classic region. The view extended over the rich and even plain of Argos, with its capital and pointed citadel, beyond which the lake of Lerna glimmers faintly in the view. The ancient Mycenæ is observed on the left or south-east side of the plain. Further down are seen the ruins of Tiryns, and at the southern extremity of the plain, Nauplia and its

* Gell's Itin. pp. 173, 4.

lofty acropolis rise conspicuously from the sea. The north-west side of the plain is bounded by the towering heights which branch from Mainalos and Zarex; and the south-east side by a lower and less precipitous range, of which Mount Euboia, near Mycenæ, is the principal. The horizon is terminated by the blue line of the Argolic Gulf.

"We descended to the plain of Argos, and near the foot of the hill, observed the traces of a thick wall. The plain is a perfect flat, composed of rich soil well cultivated and mottled with villages. Several ploughs drawn by oxen, were tilling the ground. We observed great quantities of wild geese and plovers flying about. We passed to the right of a village named Phikti, where there are some ancient remains, and a square tower composed of large stones. Our road crossed some small torrent-beds, at present dry, but evidently at times filled with impetuous streams. We passed by a low rocky hill and a church, and went through a straggling village called Kutsopodi. Further on, we crossed a small stream, and beyond it, a great torrent-bed called Zeria. This is 'Father Inachos.'* A tumulus, composed of small stones, is seen upon its bank, a few paces from which are some large blocks.

"In approaching Argos, the view was particularly grand. The rocks of the acropolis rose close on our right hand, with a monastery perched upon the pinnacle of a steep precipice. On our left was a round eminence of moderate elevation, probably the Phoronaian hill. Before us was the town of Argos, with the distance closed by the plain and gulf. This once celebrated city is at present not half so populous as

* 'Pater Inachus"—"ingens Inachus."—STATIUS.

Athens. Its inhabitants do not exceed five thousand, the majority of whom are Greeks. Argos occupies a perfect flat, at the south-eastern foot of the ancient acropolis. The houses are small and low, but, intermingled with numerous gardens, are dispersed over a considerable space, and exhibit the semblance of a large straggling village. This city contains two mosques and many churches, and is governed by a bey, who has forty villages under his command.* Most of the ancient edifices, with which Argos was so copiously furnished and splendidly adorned, have so entirely disappeared, that, on entering the town, the traveller is inclined to ask, Where are the thirty temples, the costly sepulchres, the gymnasium, the stadium, and the numerous monuments and statues that Pausanias has described? They have for ever vanished, for, of most of them, not a trace is to be found. The silent destruction of time, or the fierce ravage of barbarism, has levelled every thing with the ground, except the theatre, the acropolis, and some uninteresting masses of Roman architecture.

"The theatre is at the south-eastern foot of the acropolis. The seats, which are cut in the rock, are well preserved, and it is of magnificent proportions. In front of the theatre is a large Roman wall of brick, at present named *Palaio Tekkie*.† We entered the house of a Turk near the ruins, and were conducted to some subterraneous vaulted chambers, paved with coarse mosaic of black and white colours. Our pro-

* A French traveller (Des Monceaux) who visited Greece in 1668, by order of Louis XIV., says, there were in his time, sixty villages in the plain of Argos.

† "Probably a part of the *castellum* (χωριον) which was near to the theatre called Criterion, once a court or tribunal of judgment."—Dr. E. D. CLARKE.

gress in a passage was stopped by a modern wall; they assured us that it continued a long way under ground, and terminated at some other brick ruins, where a similar mosaic pavement is also seen. Apollodorus, Pausanias, and others, mention the subterraneous edifice of Acrisius, and the brazen *Thalamos*, in which his daughter Danaë was confined. In the time of Pausanias, it contained the monument of Krotopos, and the temple of the Kresian Bacchus. Not being able to proceed any further in this passage, we returned to the theatre, near which we observed a fine mass of wall of the well-joined polygonal construction. Two of the blocks are traced with inscriptions, but they are so corroded, that only a few letters are legible. This ruin is at present called Limiarti. A little higher up the acropolis hill is a brick ruin, built upon a flat hewn rock. One of the internal walls contains a round niche for a statue, which an excavation might probably bring to light. Some years after I had made the present tour in Greece, Veli Pasha, Governor of the Morea, caused an excavation to be made near the theatre, and discovered sixteen marble statues and busts, in good style and preservation, particularly one of Venus and another of Æsculapius. They were not quite half the size of life. Several gold medals of the Emperor Valens were also found in a sepulchre near the same spot.

"The acropolis stands upon a pointed rocky acclivity, of considerable elevation and great natural strength. The walls and towers make an impressive appearance from below; but, on approaching these structures, the traveller is disappointed to find the greater part of them composed of small stones and cement, the work of the middle ages. We ascended by a winding path, and observed very few traces in

our way; though Pausanias mentions a stadium and five temples within the citadel, or on the way up to it. Of these temples, the most celebrated was that of Minerva, containing the tomb of Acrisius. There are still upon the acropolis, some fine remains, of polygonal construction, which are probably the Cyclopian walls alluded to by Euripides; as we have no reason for supposing that the well-joined polygons were not included in that denomination, as well as the specimens of the rough and less complicated Tyrinthian style. There are several remains of ancient walls on the acropolis of Argos, consisting of the second style or well-joined polygons, but not the slighest traces of the rough Tirynthian style. Had the walls been originally composed of these rough and durable masses, it is next to impossible that they should so completely have disappeared; and I have no doubt that the walls which exist at the present day, are the same which Euripides attributes to the Cyclopians. The walls encircle the summit of the acropolis; and the modern castle, composed of bastions and towers built with small stones and mortar, is erected on the ancient remains, in which the lower parts of some round and square towers are visible. The acropolis is entirely deserted, and without inhabitants. It commands a view of great interest and extent, but seen from too great a height for picturesque effect. The whole plain of Argos, with the capital, villages, and gulf, with Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Nauplia, may be discriminated as in a map. The Table Mountain near Nemea, is also visible. We descended by another way, and in half an hour, reached the theatre.

"There were two citadels at Argos, of which the principal, above the theatre, was called Larissa and Aspis: it owed its former name to the daughter of

Pelasgos, and its latter to the game of the shield, which was here solemnised. The second fortress was on a rocky eminence of moderate height, to the north-east of the Larissa: this must be the hill of Phoroneus, as there is no other elevation in Argos or its immediate vicinity, adapted for the position of a fort. The monastery, which is situated upon a steep rock, on the north side of the Larissa, apparently occupies the site of an ancient temple. Under the monastery are some caverns containing spring water, which probably finds its way, by subterraneous passages, to the lower town, where it supplies the wells and fountains. Pausanias mentions a temple at Argos, sacred to the Cephissos, under which that river ran. The temple of Apollo Deiradiotes was in the way up to the Larissa, and situated in a spot called *Deiras*, from its position on a ridge of rock, which answers to the situation of the monastery. Fourmont describes a subterraneous inlet, which, he says, penetrates 3000 paces in the Larissa rock, being cut through a dark-coloured stone full of petrified shells: he says, that the passage is perfectly straight, but has recesses on each side, not opposite each other.* Plutarch informs us, that Cleomenes opened the subterraneous passages under Aspis, and thus entered the city." †

Dr. E. D. Clarke, who visited this part of Greece in 1801, speaks of the theatre as a very remarkable structure, differing from every other which he saw in Greece, in having two wings, with seats, one on either side of the *cavea*; "so that it might be described as a triple *coilon*." For what purpose these side cavities were designed, he considers as doubtful. Within the

* From this account, it would seem to have been a necropolis

† Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 214—21.

cavea, sixty-four seats were then remaining, the height of each being thirteen inches. "Above the theatre was the *Hieron* of Venus, and this," adds the learned Traveller, "we certainly found. The site is now occupied by a Greek chapel, but it contains the remains of columns, whose capitals are of the *most ancient* Corinthian order; a style of building unknown in our country, scarcely a model of it having been seen in England, although it far exceeds, in beauty and simplicity, the gaudy and crowded foliage of the *later* Corinthian." * At the foot of the hill of the acropolis, Dr. Clarke found, he says, "one of the most curious tell-tale remains yet discovered among the vestiges of Pagan priestcraft: it was nothing less than one of the oracular shrines of Argos alluded to by Pausanias, laid open to inspection, like a toy which a child has broken in order that he may see the contrivance whereby it was made to speak. A more interesting sight for modern curiosity can hardly be conceived to exist among the ruins of any Grecian city. In its original state, it had been a temple; the further part from the entrance, where the altar was, being an excavation of the rock, and the front and roof constructed with baked tiles. The altar yet remains, and part of the *fictile* superstructure. But the most remarkable part of the whole, is a secret subterraneous passage, terminating behind the altar; its entrance being at a considerable distance towards the right of a person facing the altar; and so cunningly contrived as to have a small aperture, easily concealed, and level with the surface of the rock. This was barely large enough to admit the entrance of a single person, who having

* Sir W. Gell says, that an inscription found in this chapel, proves it to be on the site of a temple of Venus.

descended into the narrow passage, might creep along until he arrived immediately behind the centre of the altar, where, being hidden by some colossal statue or other screen, the sound of his voice would produce a most imposing effect among the humble votaries prostrate beneath, who were listening in silence upon the floor of the sanctuary. We amused ourselves for a few minutes by endeavouring to mimic the sort of solemn farce acted upon these occasions; and as we delivered a mock oracle, *ore rotundo*, from the cavernous throne of the altar, a reverberation, caused by the sides of the rock, afforded a tolerable specimen of the 'will of the gods,' as it was formerly made known to the credulous votaries of this now forgotten shrine. There were not fewer than twenty-five of these juggling places in Peloponnesus, and as many in the single province of Bœotia; and surely it will never again become a question among learned men, whether the answers in them were given by the inspiration of evil spirits, or whether they proceeded from the imposture of priests: neither can it again be urged, that they ceased at the birth of Christ, because Pausanias bears testimony to their existence at Argos in the second century."*

There are other appearances of subterraneous structures, Dr. Clarke adds, requiring considerable attention. "Some of these are upon the hill: they are covered, like the Cyclopean gallery of Tiryns, with large approaching stones, meeting so as to form an

* Clarke's Travels, part ii. § ii. ch. viii. The learned Author noticed the appearance of a similar contrivance in an oracular cave at Telmessus in Asia Minor.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, &c. vol. ii. p. 226. Mr. Swan says, the subterranean passage at Argos referred to by Dr. Clarke, is, in its present state, about twenty feet in length There is now no "fictile superstructure.

arched way, which is visible only where these stones are open." These are apparently the vaulted chambers referred to by Mr. Dodwell. One of the mosques is said to have been erected with blocks brought from the Grove of Esculapius in Epidauria.

The foundation of Argos by Inachus is supposed to have taken place about 232 years after that of Sicyon, corresponding to B.C. 1856. It was for a long time the most flourishing city in Greece, and was enriched with the commerce of Assyria and Egypt. As early as the time of Perseus, who, according to Sir Isaac Newton, flourished B.C. 1028, it was dependent on Mycenæ, the king of which state is styled by Homer the "king of many islands, and of all Argos." In the time of Strabo, it still continued to be one of the first cities of the Peloponnesus; and, owing to the fertility of its soil, and the advantages of its situation, was probably never abandoned till the Turkish conquest. In the fourteenth century, Argos and Nauplia belonged to Pietro Cornaro, a noble Venetian; on whose death, his widow ceded them to the Republic of Venice, (in 1388) for 2000 ducats of gold, and an annuity of 700 ducats. In the year 1397, Argos was taken by Bajazet, who destroyed its walls, and the place was for some time deserted. It was then rebuilt by the Venetians, from whom it was taken by the Turks in 1463: it was subsequently recovered, but finally lost to the Turks in the same year.

Of late years, the population of Argos has been slightly on the increase. Sir W. Gell says, the inhabitants were reckoned in 1805 at about 4000, (Dr. Clarke says 6000,) few of them, however, "of any sort of consequence, the whole, or nearly so, being Albanian peasants." Dr. Clarke describes it as a large, straggling place, full of cottages, with few good houses; the roofs

not flat, as in almost all parts of the East, but sloping, like those of the northern nations; and he supposes the style may have been introduced by Albanian workmen. The houses were for the most part disposed in right lines, and fitted up with some comforts unknown in this part of the world, although in other respects wretched hovels. Each house had an oven, so that here, even the Albanians did not bake their unleavened cakes upon the hearth, as is usual in their cottages elsewhere. A school had lately been established here by a Greek priest. It had formerly been customary for the principal families of Nauplia and Argos to send their children to Athens for instruction.

At the commencement of the Revolution, its fortress, which had long been neglected, was entirely out of repair, and unprovided with cannon. Yet, in July 1822, Demetrius Ypsilanti defended it for some days against the awkward efforts of the whole Turkish army under the Pasha of Drama.* On this occasion, above 200 shot are said to have been fired by the enemy, of which ten only struck any part of the building. To the delay occasioned by this operation, the ultimate destruction of the Turkish army may in part be ascribed.† Its appearance, in April 1825, is thus described by Count Pecchio.

"This capital of the ancient monarchy of the 'far-reigning Agamemnon,' is at present a city containing at most 10,000 inhabitants. Its streets are wide and regular; its houses principally of wood, with projecting wooden porticoes, light and elegant. In this Revolution, first the Turks, and afterwards the Greeks, eagerly contributed to its destruction. It is now rising again from its ruins. The eparch, or prefect, with

* See vol. i. p. 178. † Waddington, p. 143.

his counsellors, and the other chiefs of the city, took us to view the site chosen for the new university. Signor Warvachi, a rich Greek merchant, left at his death a fund for this object, consisting of the interest of above 100,000 francs. The city has bought, to be built upon for the purpose, the large square space of a Turkish bazar, of which there remain only the surrounding walls, with a fountain in the centre. But what was my pleasure when I beheld a school for mutual instruction, built expressly by the Government, and opened only last December! It is upon the plan of the English schools, but is too confined for the 200 children who frequent it. Attached to it is a dwelling for the master, who acquired the method of tuition at Bucharest, from Signor Cleobulo; the latter having been taught, as I apprehend, at the schools in Paris. The establishment is attended by both boys and girls, who are kept separate from each other. A lady of Scio, to remove the inconvenience of having them together, and to obtain at the same time an adequate education for the girls, proposes to build for them a school adjacent; and already the means of effecting it are under consideration. We saw, besides, the rising walls of a Greek church, which is building within the ruins of a mosque, that had once been constructed from the wreck of a former Greek church; while the latter, perhaps, owed its origin to the remains of an ancient temple.

"On returning home, a young damsel poured water upon our hands. We then sat down, cross-legged, upon carpets, around a table covered with kid, lamb, pilaw, and coagulated milk, (which is eaten with the pilaw,) new goats' cheese, and oranges. From time to time, a young *palikari* handed round a silver cup filled with wine. Having drunk to the independence

of Greece and washed our hands again, we arose; and the same damsel spread upon the carpets, skins and coverings that served for our bed."*

Only a few months after, Argos was again doomed to become a prey to the flames of war. The Rev. Mr. Swan, who reached it in May, describes it as being in a most miserable condition, and bearing evident marks of the devastation of revolutionary warfare. "Hundreds of houses were overthrown; and the tottering walls alone betrayed the fact of their previous existence. The houses are erected solely of mud, with the exception of the Turkish *Bezestein*, and perhaps a Turkish mosque or two, which are of stone." Mr. Swan was struck, on entering the place, with its resemblance to Pompeii. The monastery on the Larissa has shared the fate of the temple, the site of which it occupied. "The ancient and the modern fane are alike undistinguishable ruins." The greater part of the plain, however, was at that time covered with waving corn, and orange-trees; and gardens ornamented the town, which was all alive with its population. In the following July, the Cambrian being again off Napoli, Mr. Swan availed himself of the opportunity to visit the field of battle at Mylos, where Demetrius Ypsilanti, with a handful of men, a short time before, succeeded in repulsing the Egyptian army.† He thence rode on to Argos. "The road exhibited no sign of the devastations of war: the corn and vines were standing, and the latter promised an abundant supply of fruit; they were in the act of cutting the corn. Argos, however, is completely depopulated.

* Picture of Greece, vol. ii. pp. 22—6. The Writer cites passages from Homer, which will be familiar to most of our readers, exactly descriptive of these customs.

† See vol. i. p. 236.

We could scarcely find a single human being, and every house was blackened by fire. The fruit-trees in the town had been entirely stripped, excepting a few limes and unripe pomegranates. We had the greatest difficulty to procure even water."*

The want of water at Argos was, in ancient times, proverbial.† Strabo, however, mentions some fountains within the city; and Mr. Dodwell says, there are at present several ancient and modern wells in Argos. "In almost any part of the town and its vicinity, water is obtained without digging to a great depth." The citadel, however, is stated to be without water, and is therefore not tenable in the event of a close blockade. A more serious drawback on the attractions of this celebrated place is the extreme insalubrity of the whole plain in the autumn months. "The *malaria*," Mr. Dodwell says, "makes greater havoc in this beautiful country, than was ever occasioned by the Lernæan hydra, or the Nemean lion."

The river Inachos, (now called Zeria, from ξηρος, dry,) the bed of which is a short way to the N.E. of the city, is supplied with casual and transitory floods only after hard rains and the melting of the snows. Even in the month of December, when this Traveller visited Argos, there was not a drop of water in its channel. "It rises about ten miles from Argos, at a place called Mushi, in the way from Arcadia to Tripolitza."‡ In the winter, it sometimes descends

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 7—11; 136.

† Pausanias states, that no water but that of Lerna remains in this part of the country during the summer months. "He seems," Mr. Dodwell remarks, "to have forgotten the perennial current of the Erasinos, which is much nearer to Argos than the Lernæan Lake."

‡ We find no such place in the Itinerary. "Its source, according to Strabo, was on Mount Lurkios, near Kunouria in Arcadia; according to Pausanias, on Mount Artemision."

from the mountains with such force as to do considerable damage to the town.

On quitting Argos in the direction of Lerna, Mr. Dodwell, after passing some uninteresting Roman traces, crossed two rivulets running towards the Argolic Gulf. One of these is the Phrixos, which unites with the Erasinos to form the marsh of Lernos, and enters the sea between Temenion and Lerna, forty *stadia* from Argos. In fifty minutes from Argos, he "reached a cave in the rock, which contains a church and a spring of clear water, called Kephalari, which bursts from the rock with impetuosity. This is the Erasinos, or Arsinos, which, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and Pausanias, has its original source at the lake of Stymphalos in Arcadia. After a subterraneous course of about 200 *stadia*, it issues from this cavern, which is in Mount Chaon.* Bacchus and Pan here received the sacrifices of their worshippers: the rock has been cut, and the cave was probably a *Paneion* or *Nymphaion*. Near the source is another cave with two entrances, which probably possessed, in ancient times, its peculiar objects of interest or adoration, but which is now employed for the manufactory of saltpetre."

The travellers found, on entering the cave of the Erasinos, that it was the festival of the saint to whom the subterranean church is dedicated; and some good women, who had been offering up their devotions, hospitably loaded the strangers with boiled pulse and dried currants. In front of the cave is a tumulus, which had been recently opened, and was found to contain some small columns of grey granite. In fifty-

* "*Redditur Argolicis ingens Erasinus in Arvis.*"—Ovid. Metam. xv. 276.

five minutes from the cave, passing through some fine rice-plantations, they reached the lake of Lerna,—"a small marshy pool, overgrown with reeds. As the stream which issues from it turns some mills, it has taken the name of Μυλος (Mylos): it discharges itself into the sea, which is a few paces from it. The Lernæan marsh is formed by several clear and copious springs, which rush out of a rock at the foot of a hill. This lake is, however, so diminutive, and so much concealed by reeds and other aquatic plants, that it might easily be passed without attracting the attention of the traveller. The millers who live near it, assured us it had no bottom.*

"Apollodorus pretends that the hydra used to enter the plain, and ravage the country and the flocks; and it still continues occasionally to commit similar depredations during the winter months. The fact is, the lake of Lerna is the hydra, and its heads are the sources, which Hercules, or some powerful individual, endeavoured to stop up, in order to prevent the recurrence of an inundation. But as soon as one spring was closed, it naturally found vent in another part; or, according to the emblematical style of antiquity, as

* Pausanias asserts, that the Alcyonian lake or pool (which, remarks Mr. Dodwell, is evidently the same as the Lernæan,) is unfathomable, and that Nero could not reach the bottom with lead fastened to ropes many *stadia* in length. He describes it as the third of a *stadium* (about seventy-three yards) in diameter, and lying among grass and bulrushes: he adds, that it draws persons to the bottom, who venture to swim upon its surface. Apollodorus denominates it *Lernes Elos*; he also mentions the fountains of Lerna and of Amymone. Strabo mentions the river and lake of Lerna, and the fountain of Amymone. Virgil also calls Lerna a river. Pausanias speaks of Lerna as a city, and calls Amymone a river: he mentions the fount of Amphiaraus, and the rivers Cheimarros, Phrixos, and Pontynos as in the same vicinity See references in Dodwell and Clarke.

soon as one head was removed, others appeared in its place. The different opinions concerning the number of heads is easily accounted for, the springs being more or less numerous, according to the season of the year and the quantity of water. The word Ὑδρα is probably derived from Ὑδωρ, which is the lake with its numerous springs or heads. These were the ideas which occurred to me upon the spot, and which, I find, had long before been those of Albricus.*

"The immediate vicinity of the Lernæan pool was very celebrated in the mythological fictions of antiquity. For, besides the story of Hydra and Amymone, we have those of Pluto and Bacchus, who both descended to the infernal regions near this place. We are also informed by ancient mythographers, that Amymone, daughter of Danaus, who was employed in supplying Argos with water, was stolen away by Neptune near this spot, and that he struck a rock near which she stood with his trident, from which a fountain, called by her name, Amymone, immediately issued. In this story, we may, perhaps, trace the em-

* "At the time of the Trojan war, the environs of Argos were a marshy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced luxuriant harvests, and was extremely populous. But the heat of the sun having, during eight centuries, absorbed the superfluous humidity of the former of these districts, and the moisture necessary to the fecundity of the latter, has rendered sterile the fields of Mycenæ, and bestowed fertility on those of Argos."—*Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. v. ch. 64. "The fables transmitted from one generation to another, concerning the contest between Neptune and Juno for the country, as between Neptune and Minerva for Attica, may," Dr. Clarke remarks, "be regarded as so many records of those physical revolutions in preceding ages, which gave birth to these fertile regions; when the waters of the sea slowly retired from the land, or, according to the language of poetry and fable, were said to have reluctantly abandoned the plains of Greece."

blem of an earthquake, which caused an irruption of the sea, with the appearance of a fountain,—as often happens during such violent concussions of the earth.

" The water of Lerna was of such reputed sanctity, that it was used by Minerva and Mercury for the purification of the Danaïdes, after they had killed their husbands. The springs issue from the foot of Mount Pontinos, an insulated pointed rock, which we were fourteen minutes in ascending, with the hope of discovering the remains of the temple of Minerva of Sais; instead of which, we found only the ruins of a modern castle, without one relic of antiquity. Our trouble was, however, fully compensated by the extensive view which the hill commands. Towards the north is the Larissa of Argos, and beyond it, the able mountain near Nemea; more to the east, are descried the ruins of Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Nauplia, while the Argolic Gulf is immediately below the eye.

" Pausanias informs us, that Mount Pontinos had the peculiar quality of causing all the rain by which its surface was drenched, to disappear; but this has in it nothing of the marvellous, as he seems to infer. as it is composed of a calcareous rock, full of deep fissures and subterraneous cavities. The falling rain, therefore, after being absorbed, is conducted by the springs which are at the base of the rock, to the Lernæan pool. The whole of this hill is covered with the wild sage, the *salvia pomifera*, bearing bunches of yellow flowers, and a green berry about the size of a small cherry; the under part of the leaves is covered with a white woolly substance, easily detached by the wind, and which, on coming in contact with the eyes, causes a violent smarting pain, that lasts for about a quarter of an hour. This plant is common in rocky places in Greece and is called *Alephaskia.* from Αλησασκος, the

ancient name for sage. It enters into the *materia medica* of the modern Greeks, and is taken as tea, and used as a sudorific in feverish cases."*

MYCENÆ.

THE ruins of the proud capital of the "king of men" are found near the little village of Krabăta, about six miles to the N.E. of Argos.† This is on many accounts one of the most interesting sites in Greece. "I approached the Cyclopian city of Perseus," says Mr. Dodwell, "with a greater degree of veneration than any other place in Greece had inspired. Its remote antiquity, enveloped in the deepest recesses of recorded time, and its present extraordinary remains combined to fill my mind with a sentiment in which awe was mingled with admiration. I was not so forcibly impressed at Athens, at Delphi, at Delos, or, at Troy." Here, Sophocles has laid the scene of his Electra, and the poem bears every mark of having been written by one familiar with the localities described. He was thirty-five years of age when Mycenæ was laid waste by the Argives, B.C. 466. In the time of Strabo, even its ruins appear to have been unknown; for he asserts, that not a vestige of the city remains. The place had ceased to be inhabited long before the Macedonian conquest, and its last inhabitants were the contemporaries of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

We must now attempt to give, in a very compressed form, the substance of the valuable information fur-

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp 224, 8.

† According to Pausanias, the distance from Mycenæ to Argos was fifty *stadia*.

nished by the researches of Dr. E. D. Clarke and Mr. Dodwell.

"On quitting Argos," says the latter Traveller, "we crossed the streamless Inachos, and, in twenty-six minutes, passed a bridge over a forsaken water-course which joins the Inachos. We went near a khan, and, in an hour and twenty-three minutes from Argos, reached the village of Krabata, situated at the foot of the mountains, about a mile below the ruins of Mycenæ.

"The first ruin that fixed my attention was that which travellers have generally denominated the Treasury of Atreus. Some hundred paces further brought me to a magnificent wall, on turning round the angle of which, the Cyclopian Gate of the Lions presented itself before me, and the entrance into that same acropolis through which the 'king of men' passed, when he quitted Mycenæ for the conquest of Troy. This gate still remains nearly in the same state as in the second century, when it was visited by Pausanias, who says, it is supposed to have been made by the Cyclopians. The plan of the gate closely resembles the approach to the Treasury of Atreus. In each, two parallel walls, forming a passage, lead to the portals, over which is a triangular niche in a wall, composed of parallelogram blocks, each door diminishing in breadth upwards. The Gate of the Lions, which faces the north-west, is nearly concealed under an accumulation of earth and ruins: its height, therefore, cannot be ascertained, but it was probably not less than 17 feet; its breadth at top is 9½ feet. The lintel is 15½ feet in length, 6 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 4 feet in height. The stone, on which are the sculptured lions, is 11 feet broad at the base and 9 in height; its general thickness is 2 feet: it is of a tri-

angular form, filling the niche made for its reception. The street, or approach to the gate, is 30½ feet in breadth. The construction of the lateral walls is nearly regular, differing from the walls which constitute the *peribolos* of the acropolis, which are irregular polygons. They are of the hard breccia, which was excavated near the spot; but the block of the lions is of the same green marble as the columnar pilaster near the Treasury of Atreus, and which resembles in appearance the green basalt of Egypt. This curious piece of sculpture, probably the most ancient in Greece, represents in half-relief, a column between two Egyptian lions,* their hinder feet resting on the lower part of the block, just over the lintel of the gate; the front feet placed upon a basement prolonged from the pedestal of the column, which, increasing in diameter upwards, is directly contrary to the usual form of columns. The capital is composed of three annulets, increasing in thickness and diameter upwards, surmounted with the Doric *abacus*, upon which there must anciently have been some object of a triangular form, to fill the upper part of the niche: this must have been a flame. The column has been conjectured to allude to the solar worship of the Persians, as Apollo and the Sun were represented under a columnar form. The column was also the symbol of fire, and perhaps, in the present case, was intended to represent a *pyratheion*, or fire-altar, of which the lions seem to be the guardians. The lion was also the liquid element in the hierogly-

* Dr. Clarke says, "two lions, or rather panthers, standing like the supporters of a modern coat of arms." The gate he describes as being "built like Stonehenge, with two uprights of stone and a transverse entablature," above which is a "triangular repository, entirely filled with the enormous alto-relievo upon a stone block of a triangular form." His measurement but very slightly differs from that of Mr. Dodwell.

phical language of Egypt; and the triangular form of the whole block and of the niche, may, perhaps, be an allusion to the μυδρος, or conic emblem of the sun.* This species of adoration was possibly introduced into Argolis by the early Egyptian colonies: and even the sculptured stone itself may have been brought from the country of the Nile, as the auspicious palladium and tutelary preservative of the recent emigration. The lions are sculptured in the Egyptian style, and resemble those which are depicted on the most ancient ceramic vases found in Greece. Their tails are not broad and bushy, but narrow, resembling those which are seen in the most ancient sculpture of Egypt, Greece, and Etruria. One of the lions before the arsenal at Venice, which was brought from Athens, another which still remains near Cape Zoster in Attica, and those which are represented on the Perugian bronzes, are of the same form. As the heads of the lions have been destroyed, it is impossible to ascertain in what direction they were turned.† The figure of the lion was an emblem of force and courage, and it was frequently placed upon sepulchres, particularly where any battle had taken place; as at the pass of

* A mass of green marble, now in the British Museum, was found near the Treasury of Atreus by the excavators in the employ of the Earl of Elgin, in which appear the spiral mæander and some circular ornaments similar to those over the column of the Gate of the Lions. The spiral ornament is supposed to be symbolic of water; the pointed or zig-zag ornament, which accompanies it on the pilaster of the Treasury of Atreus, to be emblematical of fire. Thus, the two elements would seem to be united, as they are supposed to be in the sculpture.

† Dr. Clarke, however, says, that the heads of the "panthers" seem to have been originally raised, fronting each other above the capital, where they probably met, occupying the space included by the vertex of the triangle, which Mr. Dodwell supposes to have been filled up with a flame.

Thermopylæ, and on the tomb of the Thebans in the plain of Chæroneia.

"The back part of the Lion Gate is highly interesting, inasmuch as it exhibits two styles of construction, differing totally from each other. That side which is towards the plain of Argos is of the rough Cyclopian masonry, while the other side is regularly constructed, like the front of the gate and the two lateral walls which diverge from it. It would appear, that the gate had been made some time after the original Cyclopian structure.* A magnificent wall, composed of irregular polygons, closely united and carefully smoothed, supports the terrace on which the Gate of the Lions is situated: this wall faces the Treasury of Atreus.

"The acropolis of Mycenæ is a long irregular triangle, standing nearly east and west." (Dr. Clarke says, about 330 yards in length.) "The walls follow the sinuosities of the rock, and are mostly composed of the second style of well-joined polygons, although the rough construction is occasionally seen. It is not fortified with towers. On the northern side is a small gate, with its lintel still entire. The structure is so disposed, that those who entered it would have their left arm, which was guarded by the shield, on the side of the acropolis, which is a deviation from the common rule. The grooves for the bolts, in the jambs of the door, are square and of large dimensions. Not far from this, towards the eastern extremity of the acropolis, is another gate of a pointed form, almost concealed by stones and earth, which fully merits the trouble of an excavation. The traces within the acropolis are few and imperfect. There is a circular

* Mr. Dodwell "hazards this only as a probable conjecture."

chamber excavated in the rock, widening towards the bottom, and of the same form as the Treasury of Atreus: it was probably a cistern.*

"A deep rocky glen separates the northern side of the acropolis from a neighbouring hill: on all the other sides, it is more or less steep, but particularly so towards the three-topped Euboia. In a rocky ravine, which divides the acropolis from this mountain, there is the bed of a torrent, at present dry; but it is evident that the stream which rises at the Perseia (or fount of Perseus) ran through it to the plain. This stream is at present conveyed in a small open aqueduct of modern construction, over the Treasury of Atreus, to the subjacent village of Krabata, and thence to the khan at the beginning of the plain. There was anciently a bridge over the ravine: one of the side walls still remains, consisting in well-joined polygons. The fount of Perseus rises a few hundred yards to the N.E. of the acropolis, and, immediately after issuing from the rock, forms a small clear stream of excellent water with which Mycenæ was anciently supplied." †

* "We saw within the walls of the citadel, an ancient cistern, which had been hollowed out of the breccia, and lined with stucco. Such is the state of preservation in which the cement yet exists upon the sites of this reservoir, that it is difficult to explain the cause of its perfection after so many centuries. Similar excavations may be observed in the acropolis at Argos; also upon the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem, and among the remains of the ancient cities of Taurica Chersonesus, particularly in the rocks above *Portus Symbolorum*. The porous nature of the breccia rocks may serve to explain the use, and perhaps the absolute necessity, of the stucco here; and it may also illustrate the well-known fable concerning those *porous vessels* which the Danaïdes were doomed to fill. Probably, it alluded to the cisterns of Argos, which the daughters of Danaus were compelled to supply with water, according to the usual employment of women in the East."—Dr. E. D. CLARKE, vol. vi. 8vo. p. 516.

† Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 229, 230—242

The Gate of the Lions is pronounced by Sir W. Gell to be "the earliest authenticated specimen of sculpture in Europe." The ancient custom of consecrating gates, by placing sacred images above them, has existed, Dr. Clarke remarks, in every period of history; and he instances the holy gate of the kremlin at Moscow, called the Gate of our Saviour, in passing through which every male, from the sovereign to the peasant, must be uncovered.* Among many nations, the citadel was frequently of a sacred character, being at once a fortress and a sanctuary. Dr. Clarke supposes, that the acropolis of Mycenæ, as well as that of Athens, was "one vast shrine or consecrated *peribolus*," and that these tablets were the *hiera* at the gates of the holy places before which the people worshipped.† To the homage so rendered at the entering

* See Mod. Trav., Russia, p. 130.

† Dr. Clarke supposes, that Sophocles alludes to this remarkable monument of the ancient mythology, when he makes Orestes, before entering the citadel, speak of worshipping the gods of his country stationed in the Propylæa. (Electra, v. 1391.)

———πατρῷα προσκυσαν' ἑδη
Θεῶν, ὁσοιπερ πρόπυλα ναιουσιν τάδε·

Rendered by Mr. Dale:

———"let us speed
Within, adoring my paternal gods,
All who within this vestibule abide."—(Vol. ii. p. 363.)

Sophocles represents the worship of the Lycæan Apollo as the prevailing mythology at Mycenæ. Both Clytemnestra and Electra invoke his aid. The "orbicular symbols" and the pillar are supposed by the learned Traveller to be typical of this deity, who is the same as the Egyptian Osiris and the Indian Bacchus, to whom the panther was sacred. "All the superstitions and festivities connected with the Dionysia, came into Greece with Danaus from Egypt. The cities of Argolis are, consequently, of all places, the most likely to retain vestiges of these ancient orgies; and the orbicular symbols, together with the pyramidal form of the tablets, the style of architecture, and the magnificent remains of the sepulchres

in of sanctuaries, he remarks, we have frequent allusions in the Scriptures.* "Mycenæ has preserved for us, in a state of admirable perfection, a model of one of the oldest citadels in the world; nor can there be found a more valuable monument for the consideration of the scholar, than these precious relics of her Propylæa, exhibiting examples of sculpture more ancient than the Trojan war, and of the style of fortification used in the heroic ages; and also a plan of those gates where not only religious ceremonies were performed, but also the courts of judicature were held.† For this purpose, it was necessary that there should be a paved court, or open space, in the front of the Propylæa, as it was here that kings and magistrates held their sittings upon solemn occasions. It is said of the kings of Judah and Israel, that they sat on their thrones 'in a void place,‡ in the entrance of the gate of Samaria,' where 'all the prophets prophesied before them.' The gate of Mycenæ affords a perfect commentary upon this and similar passages of Scripture. The walls of the acropolis project in parallel lines before the entrance, forming the sort of area or oblong

of the kings of Mycenæ, all associate with our recollections of Egypt, and forcibly direct our attention towards that country." It is remarkable, that the Argives are stated to have given to one of their gods, the name of the Meek God, Μειλιχιος Διος, which strikingly accords with the marked character of the features of Osiris.

* "Likewise the people of the land shall worship at the door of the gate before the Lord," &c.—Ezek. xlvi. 5. "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion," &c.—Psalm lxxxvii. 2. See also Psalm ix. 14; cxviii. 19.

† See Gen. xxiii. 10, 18. Deut. xvii. 5, 8; xxi. 19; xxii. 15; xxv. 7. Ruth, iv. 1. 2 Sam. xv. 2. Job, xxix. 7. Psalm cxxvii. 5. The place where the Amphictyonic Council was held, was called Πυλαια.

‡ 'Or floor.'—1 Kings xxii. 10.

court before the Propylæa, to which allusion is thus made; and it is in this open space before the citadel, that Sophocles has laid the scene in the beginning of the Electra. The markets were always held in these places,* as is now the custom before the gates of Acre, and of many other towns in the East."

The ruin to which repeated reference has been made under the apocryphal title of the Treasury of Atreus, but which is evidently of a sepulchral character, is thus described by the same Traveller.

"The first thing that we noticed, as we drew nigh to the gate of the city, was an ancient tumulus of immense size upon our right, precisely similar, in its form and covering, to those conical sepulchres (called by the Greeks *ταφος* and *χωμα*, by the Turks, *tepe*, and now known under the name of barrows or cairns) which are pretty well understood to have all of them reference to a people of the most remote antiquity, (probably the *Celtæ*,) and to have been raised for sepulchral purposes. This *tumulus* has evidently been opened since it was first constructed, but at what period is quite uncertain; probably in a very remote age. The entrance is no longer concealed: the door is in the side, and there are steps in front of it. A small aperture in the vertex of the cone has also been rendered visible by the removal of the soil; but this, as well as the entrance in the side, was closed when the mound was entire and the sepulchre remained inviolate. All the rest of the external part is a covering of earth and turf. We ascended along the outside to the top; and had it not been for the circumstances now mentioned, we should have considered it as in all respects similar to the tombs in the Plain of Troy, or

* 2 Kings vii. 18.

in the south of Russia, or in any of the northern countries of Europe. But this sepulchre, among modern travellers, has received the appellation of the Brazen Treasury of Atreus and his sons; an assumption requiring more of historical evidence in its support than has yet been adduced. In the first place, it may be asked, What document can be urged to prove, either that the Treasury of Atreus was brazen, or that this was the treasury? The whole seems to rest upon the discovery of a few bronze nails within the sepulchre; used evidently for the purpose of fastening on something wherewith the interior surface was formerly lined. But allowing that the whole of the inward sheathing consisted of bronze plates, what has this to do with the subterraneous cells (ὑπογαια δικεδομηματα) where the treasures of Atreus were deposited? Cells of bronze were consistent with the customs of all Argolis. There was a cell of this description at Argos, used for the incarceration of Danaë. A similar repository existed in the citadel of Mycenæ, said to have been the hiding-place of Eurystheus when in fear of Hercules. But this sepulchre was without the walls of the acropolis. Nor can it be credited, that any sovereign of Mycenæ would construct a treasury without his citadel, fortified as it was by Cyclopean walls. Pausanias, by whom alone this subterraneous treasury of Atreus is mentioned, clearly places it within the citadel, close by the sepulchre of the same monarch. Having passed the gate of the city, and noticed the lions over the lintel, he speaks of the Cyclopean wall surrounding the city, and describes the antiquities it inclosed. 'Among the ruins,' he says, 'there is a spring called Persea, and the subterraneous cells of Atreus and his sons, where they kept their treasures; and there, indeed, is the tomb of Atreus, and of all

those whom, returning with Agamemnon from Troy, Ægisthus slew at supper.' Cassandra being included among the number, this circumstance, he observes, had caused a dispute between the inhabitants of Mycenæ and those of Amyclæ, concerning the monument (Μνημα) of Cassandra, which of the two cities really possessed it. Then he adds, that another monument is also there, that of Agamemnon himself and of his charioteer Eurymedon; and he closes the chapter saying, 'The sepulchres of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus are without the walls, not being worthy of a situation where Agamemnon and those slain with him were laid.'"

If the names assigned by Pausanias to the different monuments of Mycenæ could be considered as duly authorized by history, Dr. Clarke remarks, that the tumulus in question might be concluded to be the *Heroum* of Perseus, to the situation of which it seems accurately to correspond. "As soon as Pausanias leaves the citadel, and begins his journey towards Argos, the first object noticed by him is the *Heroum*, described as upon his left hand. His account, therefore, agrees with the position of this magnificent sepulchre, which is worthy of being at once the tomb and the temple of the founder of Mycenæ." Pausanias, however, invaluable and accurate as he is as a topographer, is not always to be followed implicitly as an antiquary; and as Mycenæ had ceased to be inhabited nearly six centuries before his time, it is not to be wondered at, that, as Mr. Dodwell remarks, he should seem to have been as much bewildered in the dark labyrinth of Mycenæan antiquities sixteen centuries ago, as we are at the present day. Under these circumstances, the few and scattered lights obtained from the Electra, become a much safer means of deciding the point in question.

Now, according to the Poet, himself familiar with every object that he describes, the tomb of Agamemnon appears to have been decidedly without the citadel. "Orestes, desirous of bearing his vows to his father's tomb, repairs thither," Dr. Clarke remarks, "before he enters the Propylæa; and Electra, who is only permitted to leave the citadel in the absence of Ægisthus, meets Chrysothemis upon the outside of the gates, carrying the offerings sent by her mother to appease the manes of Agamemnon. The position of the sepulchre, therefore, seems in all respects to coincide with that of the tumulus. The words of Sophocles are also decisive as to its form; for the tomb of Agamemnon is not only called ταφος, but also κολώνη (mound or tumulus). There is reason to believe that, in his time at least, this remarkable sepulchre was considered by the inhabitants of Mycenæ as the tomb of Agamemnon. But the most striking evidence in favour of this opinion occurs in the Electra of Euripides. When Orestes, in that tragedy, relates to Pylades his nocturnal visit to the sepulchre of his father, it is expressly stated, that he repaired thither without entering the walls. Possibly the known existence of this tumulus, and of its form and situation, suggested both to Sophocles and to Euripides, their allusions to the tomb of Agamemnon, and to the offerings made by Orestes at his father's sepulchre."

Mr. Dodwell seems inclined to think, that the subterraneous structures of Atreus and his sons, the tomb of Agamemnon, and the fount of Perseia, were all within the town, but not within the acropolis. It is, we think, very evident, that the tumulus is the sepulchre alluded to by the Tragedians as that of Agamemnon, which was clearly without the gates of the royal halls (Δωμα.) The question then arises, whether the

Gate of the Lions was the entrance to the city or to the citadel. Mr. Dodwell says: "The citadel of Mycenæ is never mentioned under the appellation of acropolis by ancient authors; and this silence has induced some learned men (who have not, however, been on the spot) to imagine that the city was contained within the narrow limits of those walls which constituted the acropolis alone: the actual survey of the extreme smallness of this enclosure will immediately destroy such a supposition. The single palace of the Atridæ and a temple or two, allowing them only moderate proportions, would occupy the whole space, without leaving any room for the inhabitants, or for the wide streets (ευρυαγυια) of Homer, which adorned the wealthy city of Mycenæ with its 'well-built' and 'heavenly walls.'* Nor would the powerful Argians so peremptorily have insisted upon the destruction of the city and its inhabitants, if it had consisted solely of the little rock on which its acropolis was erected. The walls of the city extended considerably beyond the subterraneous chambers towards the plain; and *they may still be traced in many places*, besides some well-built foundations of other edifices, and many heaps of small stones and tiles, the remains of the houses. The walls of the city were, perhaps, destroyed by the Argians, and the stones and other remains were possibly carried across the plain to the capital, where such materials would always be wanting. The walls of the acropolis, however, were evidently not demolished. According to Pausanias, who probably alludes to the acropolis, the walls of Mycenæ resisted the destroying efforts of the Argians by their extra-

* Ευκτιμενον πτολιεθρον.—HOMER. Ουρανια τειχη.—SOPHOCLES.

ordinary solidity, for which they were indebted to the architectural skill of the Cyclopians. The outer enclosure. or walls of the city, were apparently less ancient than those of the fortress, and seem not to have been so strong or of such irregular construction. The demolition of the town of Tiryns has been still more complete than that of Mycenæ, as scarcely a trace of any thing remains, except the acropolis. The Δωμα Πελοπιδων and the Tyrinthian acropolis were probably not only the citadels of the respective cities, but the sacred enclosures and revered sanctuaries of some divinity worshipped with equal adoration by all the states of Argolis, and were accordingly respected to a certain degree by the Argians, who contented themselves with dismantling the walls, while they levelled with the ground the outward enclosure."

It does not, indeed, seem at all probable, that the royal sepulchre should have been within the citadel, or that Pausanias should have meant to convey this idea, when he spoke of it as being among the ruins of Mycenæ. On the other hand, it seems scarcely less improbable that the royal treasury should be without the citadel. Supposing the tumulus in question, therefore, to have been within the walls of the city, and that the Propylæon was only the gate to the royal acropolis (*sævam Pelopis domum*),* the references in the tragedies and the statement of Pausanias are easily reconciled; and the very circumstance which forbids the idea that it is the Treasury of Atreus, renders it all but certain that it is the Αρχαιος ταφος of the Poet and the real tomb of Agamemnon.†

* Horace.

"Soon as I reached my Father's ancient tomb,
Lo! o'er the mound I saw libations poured

The interior of the tumulus is thus described by Dr. E. D. Clarke. "Having descended from the top of it, we repaired to the entrance upon its eastern side. Some steps, whereof the traces are visible, originally conducted to the door. This entrance, built with all the colossal grandeur of Cyclopean architecture, is covered with a mass of breccia of such prodigious size, that, were it not for the testimony of others who have since visited the tomb, an author, in simply stating its dimensions, might be supposed to exceed the truth. The door itself is not more than ten feet wide, and is shaped like the windows and doors of the Egyptian and earliest Grecian buildings, wider at the bottom than at the top; forming a passage six yards long, covered by two stones. The slab now particularly alluded to, is the innermost entablature, lying across the uprights of the portal, and extending many feet into the walls of the tomb on either side. This vast lintel is best seen by a person within the tomb, who is looking back towards the entrance: it consists of a fine-grained breccia, finished almost to a polish. The same silicious aggregate may be observed in the mountains near Mycenæ as at Athens. We carefully measured this mass, and found it to equal twenty-seven feet in length, seventeen feet in width, and four feet seven inches in thickness.* There are other stones also of immense size within the tomb; but this is the most considerable, and perhaps it may be mentioned as the largest slab of hewn stone in the world, except-

> Of freshly flowing milk, and, o'er the tomb,
> A coronal of every flower that blows."
>
> DALE'S *Sophocles*, vol. ii. p. 336.

* Mr. Dodwell says, three feet nine inches in thickness, agreeing in the other measurements, and the specific gravity is calculated to be about 133 tons. "No masses, except those of Egypt and Balbec, can be compared with it."

ing, perhaps, Pompey's Pillar. Over this entrance there is a triangular aperture, the base coinciding with the lintel, and its vertex terminating pyramidically, so as to complete, with the inclining sides of the door, an acute or lancet arch.

"On arriving within the interior of the tomb, we were much struck with the grandeur of its appearance. What appears externally to be nothing more than a high conical mound of earth, contains a circular chamber of stone, regularly built, and terminating in a conical dome corresponding to the shape of the tumulus. Its form has been aptly compared to that of an English bee-hive. The interior superficies of the stone has been lined either with metal or with marble plates, fastened on with bronze nails, many of which now remain as they were originally driven into the sides.* Upon the right hand, a second portal leads from the principal chamber to an interior apartment of a square form and smaller dimensions. The door-way to this had the same sort of triangular aperture above it that we had noticed over the main entrance to the sepulchre; and as it was nearly closed to the top with earth, we stepped into the triangular cavity above the lintel, that we might look down into the area of this inner chamber, but it was too dark to discern any thing. We therefore collected a faggot of dry bushes, and throwing this in a blaze to the bottom, we saw that we might easily leap down and examine the whole

* "These nails have been analyzed and proved to consist of 88 parts copper and 12 of tin. The same constituents, nearly in the same proportion, exist in all very ancient bronze, (the χαλκος of Homer,) which must be distinguished from the brass (*oricalcum*) of later ages, which consists of copper and zinc. Possibly, the most ancient bronze may be derived from a native alloy, consisting of the two metals in this state of combination."

cavity. The diameter of the circular chamber is sixteen yards, but the dimensions of the square apartment do not exceed nine yards by seven. We did not measure the height of the dome, but the elevation of the vertex of the cone from the floor, in its present state, is stated by Sir W. Gell to be about seventeen yards." *

Mr. Dodwell remarks, that this sepulchre, though but slightly mentioned by Pausanias, perfectly corresponds to his more detailed description of that of Minyas at Orchomenos. This latter was, however, of larger dimensions and of white marble. The Tomb of Agamemnon is of "the hardest and most compact breccia in Greece, resembling the rare antique marble called *breccia tracagnina antica*, which is sometimes found among the ruins of Rome." The breccia of Mycenæ, of which the neighbouring rocks and the three-topped Mount Euboia consist, is compact and heavy, the grains large and generally angular, the colour usually black, while the matrix of the rock is composed of various gradations of yellow. "The circular chamber is formed by horizontal (not radiated) layers, which, advancing over each other, and having had their lower angle cut off, give the structure the appearance of a Gothic dome. Some of the contiguous blocks have fallen, so as to admit a picturesque and mysterious ray of light. The blocks are all parallelograms, (thirty-four ranges are at present uncovered,) and are united with the greatest precision, without the aid of cement. The stones are not all of equal dimensions, but the layers are generally about two

* Mr. Dodwell says, forty-nine feet from the apex to the present floor, and in diameter, forty-eight feet. The inner chamber is about twenty-seven feet square, and nineteen in height in its present state.

feet in thickness, though they have the appearance of diminishing towards the vertex. The outside front of the great chamber, which is the only part not covered with earth, faces the acropolis, from which it is only 100 paces distant. Some masses of *rosso antico*, covered with spiral ornaments, and a columnar pilaster with its base, are seen lying among the ruins near the gate, which may have been placed as a sepulchral *stele* in the midst of the triangular cavity, the sides being filled with other symbolical ornaments. The pilaster and its base are of a soft green stone, and the ornaments are of an Egyptian, rather than of a Grecian character. Indeed," adds Mr. Dodwell, " the whole edifice has so much the appearance of Egyptian origin, that it was very probably constructed by the colony of the Belides, after the expulsion of the Inachidæ from the Argolic territory. All the remains at Mycenæ are of an Egyptian character. The walls alone of the acropolis seem to have been raised by another race." The nails which are supposed to have attached to the wall *laminæ* of bronze, could not, it is added, have supported anything of great weight. About one-third projects from the stones. Some faint traces and holes are discerned also over the lintel of the door, to which ornaments in bronze or marble were once attached. Other holes are seen upon the flat wall, still higher above the door. The exterior of the lintel is ornamented with two parallel mouldings, which are also carried down the jambs of the door, in a manner similar to the portal of the temple of Bacchus at Naxos. " Probably," says Mr. Dodwell, " the whole of this part was sumptuously decorated, and, consequently, could not have been originally covered with the earth, though the other parts of the structure were no doubt con-

cealed as at the present day, exhibiting the appearance of a lofty tumulus. It is difficult to conjecture in what manner the entrance was anciently closed, as there are no visible indications of holes for the bolts or for the hinges; whereas the door of the inner chamber exhibits holes in which the hinges and bolts were affixed." The learned Traveller inclines to think, that the great chamber may have been always open, and its approach prohibited by religious awe; * but it is more probable, that the entrance was originally concealed, as in the pyramids, to which these subterraneous cones have a considerable approximation, both in the principle of their construction and in their sepulchral character. † Mr. Dodwell found the remains of three other circular chambers, which are entirely dilapidated, with the exception of the doors, that are still covered with their lintels. "These structures," he says, "were evidently less magnificent than the 'Treasury of Atreus.' One of the doors is seven feet ten inches in breadth at top, and the thickness of the wall is ten feet; another is only five and a half feet,

* "Pausanias gives an account of an old temple in the vicinity of Mantineia, that was constructed by Trophonius and Agamedes, the entrance of which was not closed with bolts, but a simple cord was drawn before it, which was sufficient to maintain the inviolability of the entrance; except in one instance, when Aipytos son of Hippothroos, having dared to pass the sacred limit, was immediately struck with blindness, and soon after died." The Treasury at Messene, in which Philopœmen was immured, was closed with a great stone by means of a machine—"*saxum ingens, quo operitur, machinâ superimpositum est.*"—LIVY, *in Dodwell.*

† "All these subterranean chambers in Greece, Sicily, and Sardinia were, no doubt, the primitive *cryptæ* of great persons in the most remote periods of antiquity. Houel mentions similar constructions near Macara in Sicily, and there are several of them in Sardinia, which are known by the name of *Noragis*; perhaps from Norax, the founder of the town of Nora in that island."

and its lintel eleven feet three inches in length, twenty-two inches in thickness, and seven feet eight inches in breadth. The lintels of all these doors are composed of two blocks, of which the interior is the broadest. Among the ruins are some other heaps, which probably contain sepulchral chambers; and there is no place in Greece, where a regular and extensive plan of excavation might be prosecuted with more probable advantage. Although specimens of singular curiosity, rather than of great beauty, would be found, (since the town was destroyed before the Arts had reached their highest degree of excellence,) yet, ceramic vases would be discovered in great quantity, if we may judge from the numerous fragments which are seen scattered on all sides: they are generally of a coarse earth, and the spiral and zig-zag ornament, which is sculptured on the marbles near the 'Treasury of Atreus,' is observed on most of the fictile fragments found among the ruins. These ornaments are generally painted black upon a yellow ground. No coins of Mycenæ have ever been found, which may lead to a supposition that money was not struck in Greece before the demolition of that city by the Argians, which happened in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad. (B. C. 468.) .....The only architectural fragment which I observed at Mycenæ, belonging to a Grecian order, was the half of a triglyph, in a soft, yellow stone, which measured ten inches in breadth; the other half of the triglyph was upon a separate stone, and the whole measured twenty inches in breadth. This fragment is in a small church, not far from the 'Treasury of Atreus.'"

Pausanias mentions, as being on or near the road from Argos to Mycenæ, first, the altar of the sun, then the temple or *Hieron* of the Mysian Ceres, the tomb

(*ταφος*) of Thyestes, and the heroic monument of Perseus. It remains to be ascertained what traces are yet discoverable of these edifices. About five miles from Argos, on the left side of the road, Dr. Clarke found the remains of an ancient structure, which he at first supposed to be those of the *Heræum;** but Pausanias places that edifice to the left of the city, and upon the lower part of a mountain, near a stream called Eleutherion. † "Near to this structure, however," adds this Traveller, "there was another ruin, the foundations of which more resembled the oblong form of a temple: it was built with baked bricks, and originally lined with marble. Here, then, there seems every reason to believe, we discovered the remains of the *Hieron* of Ceres Mysias."

* This temple of Juno was once common to the two cities, when the twin brothers, Acrisius and Prœtus, grandsons of Belus, reigned at Mycenæ and Argos. It stood forty *stadia* from the latter, and fifteen *stadia* from the former. "This renowned temple was adorned with curious sculpture and numerous statues. The image was very large, made by Polycletus of gold and ivory, sitting on a throne. Among the offerings was a shield taken by Menelaus from Euphorbus at Ilium; an altar of silver, on which the marriage of Hebe with Hercules was represented; a golden crown and purple robe given by Nero; and a peacock of gold, set with precious stones, dedicated by Hadrian. Near it were the remains of a more ancient temple, which had been burned."—See CHANDLER'S *Travels in Greece*, vol. ii. c. 55. This Traveller omitted to visit Mycenæ: he paid little attention to any thing but Athens. Mr. Dodwell spent three days at Mycenæ.

† In Sir W. Gell's route from Mycenæ to Tirynthus, he mentions, at forty-three minutes from the stone of Perseus, (a distance which corresponds very nearly to fifteen stadia,) "a large church of the Panagia, near which rises a fine roaring stream, which very soon sinks into the ground; four heaps to the right and one to the left." If the distance from Argos sufficiently agrees, this may be thought to be the site of the Heræum, though Sir W. Gell fixes on another spot, where there is no mention of any stream. See *Itin.* pp. 164 and 177.

The road from Mycenæ to Tiryns, now called Palaia Nauplia, appears to have abounded still more with objects of curiosity and interest than the road to Argos. On descending from the village of Krabata to the plain, Mr. Dodwell observed some ancient traces near the foot of the hills, twenty minutes from the village. Half an hour more brought him to some other similar remains; a few hundred paces from which is a church, constructed with the ruins of a temple, containing two Doric fluted columns of small dimensions: a capital of the same order, but of an unusual size, serves as an altar. Here also were found some *antefixa* of terra cotta, adorned with painted foliage and mæanders. A short distance from this church is a second, which has also been constructed with the fragments of an ancient edifice. Several large blocks of stone are scattered about, and the *frustum* of a Doric column is seen, containing sixteen flutings. Extensive foundations are observable in this vicinity; and there is also an ancient well and two oblong mounds of earth, which invite excavation. Seven minutes from this place, Mr. Dodwell passed through a village called Phonika, (a word signifying slaughter,) where are some large blocks of stone and some Doric *frusta*, near an ancient well, which he supposes may be the remains of a pyramidical structure mentioned by Pausanias, which contained the shields of those who perished in a battle between Prœtos and Acrisius, fought near this spot. In eighteen minutes further, he came to a village named Aniphi; and in ten minutes more, to the village of Platanita, where there is a ruined church with some large well-hewn blocks of stone, and a curious little Doric capital. Other vestiges of antiquity occur a quarter of an hour further, where the village of Mebaka is seen to the left; and after passing over

some other foundations, the villages of Kashi and Kofina are seen, situated at the base of two pointed hills, each of which is crowned with a church, probably built with the remains of more ancient edifices. These hills are seen from Argos. In two hours and a half from Krabata, the traveller arrives at the ruins of Tiryns, distant forty minutes from the modern town of Nauplia or Napoli di Romani.

TIRYNS.

"THE town of Tiryns, like Athens, was situated in the plain encircling its acropolis. Time has not left one vestige of the town. The acropolis occupied a low oblong rock not thirty feet in height, standing N. and S., facing Nauplia and Mycenæ. The walls inclose a space of about 244 yards in length, and 54 in breadth. They are constructed upon a straight line, without following exactly the sinuosities of the

* Sir W. Gell gives a different route from Mycenæ to Nauplia by Barbitza and Tirynthus; distance 3 hours and 20 minutes. "Quitting the citadel, ascend between two mountains towards the west, to a stone, under which rises the fount of Perseus. In 8 min. from this, vestiges of a wall and small ancient bridge. In 7 min. top of the pass, a tumulus on the right; descend to the S. by a brook. In 20 min., the valley opens; Mount Arachne on the left; in 5 min., the church of Agios Demetrios; and in 3 min. more, the church of the Panagia, with a 'roaring stream' (alluded to in a former note as possibly the Heræum). In 7 min., crossing the bed of a rivulet, a circular mount on the left; and in 5 min., a small castle on an insulated hill, with a cave. In 6 min., chapel of St. George. In 4 min., ruins of a Roman octangular brick edifice probably a bath; Barbitza on a hill a mile and a half to the left. In 15 min., the road enters a narrow rocky glen called Kleissoura, in the bed of a torrent; and in 17 min., it opens into the plain of Argos. In 65 min., cross the road from Argos to Epidauria. In 3 min., ruins of Tirynthus. In 30 min., enter Nauplia."

rock. So small a fortress appears unworthy of the Tirynthian hero; but, though the space which it occupies is small, the walls are truly Herculean. Their general thickness is 21 feet, and in some places they are 25. Their present height in the most perfect part, is 43 feet. In some places, there are square projections from the wall in the form of towers, but the projection is very slight. The most perfect of these is at the S.E. angle. Its breadth is 33 feet, and its height 43; and when I looked from its summit, I recollected the death of Iphitos.

"The acropolis of Tiryns appears to have had two entrances, of which the larger, nearly in the middle of the eastern wall, is of considerable size, and fronts the neighbouring hills. As the upper part of the gate has fallen, its original form cannot be ascertained; but it seems to have terminated in a point. On the opposite or western side, facing Argos, there is a pointed gate still entire, which is seven feet ten inches in breadth at the base, and nine feet in height, in its present state; but a considerable part of it is, no doubt, concealed by the accumulation of earth and ruins. There is another gate of a similar form within the acropolis, the breadth of the present base being about five feet five inches, and the height, six feet eight.

"The most curious remains of the citadel is a gallery, the opening of which faces Nauplia. It is of a pointed form, and is eighty-four feet in length, and five in breadth. It is not easy to conjecture the use of this singular place. Others of a similar kind are found in the most ancient Cyclopian cities of Greece and Italy. The remains of some are observed at Argos, and others are seen among the ancient cities of Cora, Norba, Signia, and Alatrium, in Italy, the

walls of which resemble those of Tiryns, Argos, and Mycenæ.

"All the exterior walls of Tiryns are composed of rough stones: the largest which I measured, was nine feet four inches in length, and four feet in thickness; their usual size is from three feet to seven. The walls, when entire, were probably not less than sixty feet in height; at least, so it would appear from the quantity of stones which have fallen to the ground. Tiryns was destroyed by the Argians, as well as Mycenæ, about B.C. 468. Within the acropolis are a few detached blocks, which have been hewn, and which appear to have belonged to the gates.

"The finest Cyclopian remains in Greece are the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ; but they are both inferior to the more Cyclopian structures of Norba, in Latium, which was a Pelasgian colony. Several other Pelasgic cities, whose wonderful ruins still remain in the mountainous districts of the Volsci, the Hernici, the Marsi, and the Sabini, exhibit walls of equal strength and solidity with those of Argolis. The ruins of Tiryns are situated in a deserted part of the plain. Toward the east, rise some barren hills, the quarries of which furnished the materials for the construction of the Tyrinthian acropolis. The prospect from this spot comprehends, in a rich and variegated assemblage of objects, the whole plain of Argos, with its mountains, its capital, and its gulf, the hills of Mycenæ, the town of Nauplia, with its magnificent fortress, and, immediately below the eye, the Tirynthian ruins." *

The walls of Tiryns, Mr. Dodwell thinks, in all

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 249—52.

probability remain nearly in the same state in which they were seen by Pausanias in the second century, as the town, which was deserted centuries before his time, does not appear to have been subsequently inhabited.* He compares the walls, for their wonderful strength and dimensions, to the Treasury of Minyas and the Pyramids of Egypt. Dr. Clarke says, that the sight of them seemed to place him amid the ruins of Memphis. "The coming of an Egyptian colony to this part of Peloponnesus," he remarks, "about fifteen centuries before our era, is a fact attested by the highest authority; but there is something in the style of architecture here, which, when compared with other ruins of a similar nature, and added to a few historical facts, seems to prove it of Celtic, rather than of Egyptian origin. The Celts have left in Great Britain a surprising specimen of the Cyclopean style of architecture; and it may be said of their temple at Stonehenge, that it has all the marks of a Phenician building; hence a conclusion may be deduced, that the Celts were originally Phœnicians, or that they have left in Phœnice monuments of their former residence in that country. If it be asked, in what region of the globe a taste originated for the kind of architecture termed by the Greeks, Cyclopean, perhaps the answer may be, that it was cradled in the caves of India; for many of these, either partly natural, or wholly artificial, whether originally sepulchres, temples, or habitations, are actually existing archetypes of a style of

* Tiryns (Τίρυνς or Τίρυνθα) is said to have taken this name from a son of Argos and brother of Amphytrion. Its original name was *Haleis*. The acropolis is supposed to be mentioned by Strabo under the name of Δυκιμνα, perhaps from Lycimnios, the brother of Alcmena, who was killed at Tiryns.

building yet recognised over all the western world, even to the borders of the Atlantic Ocean; and the traveller who is accustomed to view these Cyclopean labours, however differing in their ages, beholds in them, as it were, a series of family resemblances, equally conspicuous in the caverns of Elephanta, the ruins of Persepolis, the sepulchres of Syria and of Asia Minor, the remains of the most ancient cities in Greece and Italy, (such as Tiryns and Crotona,) and the more northern monuments of the Celts, as in the temples called Druidical, especially that of Stonehenge, in the south of England. The destruction of Tiryns is of such remote antiquity, that its walls existed nearly as they do at present, in the earliest periods of Grecian history. Ælian says, its inhabitants fed upon wild figs, and the Arcadians upon acorns. The prodigious masses of which they consist, were put together without cement; and they are likely to brave the attacks of time through ages even more numerous than those which have already elapsed since they were built. Owing to its walls, the city is celebrated in the poems of Homer;* and the satisfaction of seeing an example of the military architecture of the heroic ages, as it was beheld by him, is perhaps granted to the moderns only in this single instance. They have remained nearly in their present state above three thousand years. It is believed that they were erected long before the Trojan war. As to the precise period, chronologists are so little agreed with regard even to the arrival of the Phenician and Egyptian colonies under Cadmus and Danaus, that a difference of at least a century may be observed in their calculations. The celebrity of their citadel is almost

* "Whom strong Tirynthe's lofty walls surround."—*Iliad*, b. 2.

all that is now known of the Tirynthians, excepting their natural tendency to mirth and frivolity."*

All the ancient authorities agree, that the walls of Tiryns, as well as those of Mycenæ, were built by the Cyclopeans; and Apollodorus asserts, that they fortified the city for Prœtus, the grandson of Belus, who is supposed to have lived B.C. 1379.† But who they were, and whence they originated, the ancient writers appear to have known as little as ourselves. The fable that they were the sons of Cœlus and Terra, is a proof that their real history was lost. Euripides, however, more distinctly refers to the walls of Mycenæ as having been built by the Cyclopeans after the *Phenician* rule and method.‡ It seems certain, that, whatever race they sprang from, they were strangers in Greece, and not *autochthones;* and they appear to have been a sort of freemasons, who were employed to construct fortifications, light-houses, and other buildings, by means of their mysterious art. From the stupendous nature of some of their works, arose the most marvellous ideas of the architects; and sometimes they were strangely confounded in fable. Thus, the true Cyclopean monster is very plausibly conjectured to be no other than a light-house with its one burning eye; and Etna, as a stupendous natural pharos, was perhaps the Sicilian Polypheme. The three Cyclops of Sicily, and the seven Cyclops who, according to Strabo, were employed to build the walls of Tiryns, are alike supposed to have been the same number, respectively, of Cyclopean towers. Pliny says, that, according to Aristotle, towers were invented by the Cyclopeans, but, according to Theophrastus, by the Tirynthii. The fact is,

* Clarke, vol. vi. pp. 440—44.
† See authorities in Dodwell.
‡ Herc. Fur. v. 944.

that the word at length assumed a proverbial meaning, and the origin of Cyclopean, as now that of Gothic architecture, became lost in conjecture or fable. Thus Virgil makes them the architects of the infernal mansions.* There is no reason to believe that they ever formed a Grecian colony, or that they constituted a nation. Argolis is termed by Euripides, "the land of the Cyclopeans;"† but this referred, no doubt, to the monuments of Cyclopean art for which it was famous. Nothing is more natural, than that these architects should have accompanied either a Phenician or an Egyptian colony to Greece, to whatever nation they themselves belonged, inasmuch as the arts have always followed in the wake of commerce; but it seems most probable that they were of Phenician, or, if the reader please, of Celtic origin. If our notion be correct, that they were, like the Gothic architects of later times, a fraternity of freemasons, their appearance in different countries and at different eras, is easily accounted for; since we must suppose that they would transmit their profession to successors. Thus we are told by the learned Annotator on Strabo, that there were no fewer than three distinct races of men who bore this appellation; but it is more probable that the race was the same, although the epoch and country differed. Some were no doubt more illustrious as architects than others, but they had no historians or poets of their own to record their names. And, indeed, what is known of the architects of later times, who reared the feudal castle or the Gothic pile? For the most part, their names are as completely lost as those of the builders of the pyramids or of Babel. One thing

* "*Cyclopum educta caminis*
Moenia conspicio."—Æn. vi. 630.

† Orestes, v. 963.

is remarkable, that wherever we trace these Cyclopian artists, they appear to have carried with them the worship of their great patron, the Phenician Hercules, or the Sun; and the same deity was invoked by Electra as the ancestral god of the royal house of Mycenæ, that was worshipped by the Hyperboreans in their circular temples, of which Stonehenge is so remarkable a specimen. The latest efforts of Cyclopean art were probably those which were made in the most distant regions, and it is not impossible that the last Cyclop was a Druid.*

NAPOLI (NAUPLIA).

MODERN Greece abounds with contrasts; and the reader will already have been accustomed to transitions which pass over an interval of two or three thousand years, and recall him from the heroic ages of classic story, to the days when the Venetians and the Ottomans fought over the prostrate corpse of Greece, or to the later times of the present sanguinary contest. As the traveller enters Napoli from the ruins of Tiryns, the lion of St. Mark and the arms of the Republic over the gate remind him that he is about to enter a modern capital. On the left, the grand and lofty rock Palamedi rises precipitously, crowned with a strong fortress, some houses for the garrison, and a mosque. The ascent to the fort is by a covered pas-

* It may deserve investigation, whether there is any reference to these gigantic artists in Ezek. xxvii. 11, where, together with the men of Arvad, who were Phenicians, are mentioned the *Gammadim*, apparently as garrisoning (fortifying?) the *towers* of Tyre. Who these Gammadim were, is not agreed. The Chaldee renders it Cappadocians; the Septuagint, Medes; the Vulgate, Pigmies; but Archbishop Newcome, *Phenicians*. The latter is probably the fact, but the meaning of the word remains an enigma.

sage of five hundred steps, which are cut in the rock. It is one of the strongest positions in Greece, and has been surnamed, from its situation and aspect, the Gibraltar of the Archipelago. "In appearance," says Count Pecchio, "it merits this epithet; but with respect to its strength, I fear that it would be Gibraltar when in the hands of the Spaniards." The view from the sea is described as very striking and beautiful. The harbour of Napoli is formed by the abrupt projection of a steep cliff across the north-eastern side of the bay, and the houses rise up immediately from the water's edge along the northern side of the cliff, at the foot of the gigantic and abrupt rock. The Palamedi castles, in appearance impregnable, are seen crowning the summit; they command both the town and the harbour. A palm-tree raises its head above the turretted walls, "like the banner of the climate." Argos and its beautiful plain lie in front of the Gulf, while the snowy summit of Taygetus rises on the left. In short, the whole of the scenery renders the sea-view of Napoli di Romania one of the most picturesque in the world. "But," continues this writer, "as soon as the stranger puts his foot on shore, his enthusiasm ceases, the enchantment disappears. The narrow streets, the meanly built houses, the air heavy and impregnated with fetid smells, strike him with disgust."

"The interior of the town," says Mr. Emerson, who also visited it in 1825,* "contains nothing but miser-

* Mr. Emerson reached Napoli from Tripolitza, and he thus describes his route: "After passing the night at a little hamlet called Yaourgitika, we set out for Napoli di Romania. Our road lay over, or rather down, the tremendous pass of the Parthenian Mountain: a narrow path, called the Bey's Causeway, wound along the shelf of a terrific precipice, whilst on our left yawned a glen of

ably narrow, filthy streets, the greater part in ruins; partly from the ridiculous custom of destroying the residences of the Turks, and partly from the effects of the cannon whilst the Greeks were battering the town from the little fort in the harbour. The remaining dwelling-houses are spacious, and some even comfortable. In all of them, the lower story is appropriated to the horses, and from this we ascend by a spacious staircase to the upper inhabited apartments. The best house is that of the late Pacha, which is now the residence of Prince Mavrocordato. Trade seems totally destroyed at Napoli: before 1821, it was the depôt of all the produce of Greece, and carried on a most extensive commerce in sponges, silk, oil, wax, and wines; it now possesses merely a little traffic in the importation of the necessaries of life. The shops, like those of Tripolitza, are crowded with arms and wearing-apparel, and the inhabitants all carry either the

tremendous depth, with a brawling stream toiling through its centre. After passing this sublime scene, which lasted for about one mile and a half, we entered on a small valley, which contained the ruins of a desolated khan, and having passed it, commenced ascending the last chain of hills which separated us from the Gulf of Napoli. The view here was sublime in the highest degree; all around spread the most luxuriant but solitary hills; the sun was oppressively warm, and myriads of glittering insects were sporting in his beams; a long team of camels were slowly winding up the steep ascent, whilst the tinkling of their bells, and the songs of their drivers, were softly floating down on the breeze. A short turn brought us in sight of the ocean; the "deep dark-blue Ægean," slumbering beneath an almost breathless sky, with the high rock of Napoli towering amongst the eminences on its shore. In another hour, our view opened widely, and we had an unrivalled prospect of the Argolic Bay, with Hydra and Spezzia on its distant entrance; whilst below us lay Napoli di Romania, Tiryntbus, Argos, and the marsh of Lerna, the whole bounded by the distant chain of Epidaurus. A rapid descent brought us to the shore, and, in half an hour, after stowing our baggage on board a caïque, at the little dogana of Mylos, we landed on the quay at Napoli."

Frank or Albanian armed costume. The climate is bad, and the place has been frequently ravaged by the plague, which, in one instance, towards the latter end of the last century, reduced the population from 8000 to 2000.

"The unusual filth of the streets, and its situation, at the foot of a steep hill, which prevents the air from having full play to carry the effluvia arising from it, together with the dirty habits of an overstocked population, constantly attracted round the seat of the Government, subject it to almost continual epidemic fevers, which, both in the last winter, and at this moment, have committed dreadful ravages. Its climate is, in fact, at all times thick and unhealthy, and far inferior to that of Athens, or of many of the towns in the interior of the Morea."

Owing to these circumstances, and the fluctuating state of political affairs, the present population of Napoli cannot be stated with any accuracy. Count Pecchio thought it might amount, in 1825, to 15,000. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that, according to its scale, it is the most populous capital in the world; for the houses are so small, and the people so confined, that in every room are found three or four inhabitants." *

"The citadel," Mr. Emerson says, "is generally considered impregnable, and I believe, with any other

* "Nauplia," Mr. Dodwell says, "is supposed to contain about 4000 inhabitants, consisting of a mixed population of Greeks, Jews, and Turks: the majority are Turks, who have five mosques, besides one in the fortress." The bazar seemed better stocked than any other in Greece. This was in 1805. Dr. Clarke found the population reduced to 2000 persons in 1801, by the ravages of the epidemic. Mr. Waddington estimated the inhabitants in 1824, at between 7 and 8000, but adds, that, were the ruined portion skilfully reconstructed, it would easily contain double that number.

soldiers than Greeks or Turks, it would be so. The former, in fact, only obtained possession of it by blockade, and when all the Turkish gunners on the hill had been reduced by famine to seven! The fortifications of the town are all Venetian, and consist of an extensive wall, now rather out of repair, three sea batteries, and one on the cliff on which stands the town. One of those which commands the access to the town, is called *La Batterie du Terre*, and mounts seven excellent brass 43-pounders; the second, *La Batterie du Mer*, is now converted into an arsenal and cannon-foundry; the third, called *Les Cinq Pères*, commands the town on the west and the entrance to the harbour, deriving its name from mounting five superb Venetian 60-pounders. On the whole, the city, if well garrisoned, might be considered as impregnable, at least to its present enemies."

The port of Napoli, owing to the accumulation of mud, has become so shallow, that large vessels, Sir W. Gell says, would have difficulty in finding protection during a south wind. Still, it is one of the most valuable harbours in the Archipelago, and admirably adapted for a maritime capital. Mr. Waddington expresses his opinion, that when Greece shall be independent and united, under whatsoever form of government, Napoli will be definitively selected as the seat of the Executive. "The vicinity of this city to the luxuriant plain of Argos on one side, and to the commercial islands of the Archipelago on the other, its unassailable strength, and the security of its port, mark it out distinctly for the capital of a mercantile country; and such must Greece be, if it intend to be anything. I can perceive," he adds, "no other objection to it, than the large marsh which extends from the head of the Gulf for two or three miles inland,

and which renders the situation, at certain seasons, very unwholesome. But this evil will be rapidly removed, as soon as ever Greek industry and enterprise shall be directed by a vigorous and intelligent government." This gentleman speaks of the city itself in much less unfavourable terms than Mr. Emerson and Count Pecchio. "Having been chiefly inhabited by Turks," he says, "it is by far the best built in Greece. The greater part of it has escaped the injuries of war, and the fortifications appear not to have sustained any damage." Sir William Gell describes it as having retained more of European architecture than any other town in the Morea.

Napoli was uninhabited in the second century. Some remains of the walls, however, are still to be seen; and their high antiquity, Mr. Dodwell says, is attested by the polygonal style in which they are constructed.* The site of the temple of Neptune, mentioned by Pausanias, is not known; but the fountain Kanathos still boasts of a copious stream, though it has lost its pristine virtues. In its present state, Napoli presents few attractions of any kind. "The diversions of this capital," says Count Pecchio, "consist of some ill-furnished coffee-houses and cracked billiards, with an evening promenade in a small square, overshadowed in the midst by a majestic plane-tree, and in the indulgence of an eager curiosity, constantly excited by news and anecdotes. Woman, that compensation for every calamity and privation, is invisible, as the men do not allow her to be

* They were attributed to Nauplios, son of Neptune and Amymone, from whom the town may be supposed to take its name, written Ναυπλιον by the modern Greeks, Nauplia, Napoli, and Anapli by the Franks.

seen." * This oriental seclusion of the women would seem, however, to be by no means uniform or absolute, if Mr. Emerson's description of the festivities observed at Easter be accurate. As this will serve to illustrate the manners of the Greek capital, it deserves insertion.

"To-day (Sunday, April 10,) being the festival of Easter, Napoli presented a novel appearance, namely, a clean one. This feast, as the most important in the Greek Church, is observed with particular rejoicings. Lent having ceased, the ovens were crowded with the preparations for banqueting: yesterday, every street was reeking with the blood of lambs and goats; and to-day, every house was fragrant with odours of pies and baked meats. All the inhabitants, in festival array, were hurrying along to pay their visits and receive congratulations. Every one, as he met his friend, saluted him with a kiss on each side of his face, and repeated the words Χριστος ανεστη, Christ is risen. The day was spent in rejoicings in every quarter: the guns were fired from the batteries, and every moment, the echoes of the Palamedi were re-

* "The ancient Greeks," remarks the Count, "that they might preserve the manners of the fair sex pure, kept them almost from the contact of the air, and imprisoned them in the *Gynæceum*. Subsequently, the Turks shut them up in harems; and the modern Greeks, through jealousy, keep them secluded from society.' The Hon. Mr. Douglas confirms this account, stating that "Greek girls are so strictly confined to their homes, that few of their marriages are founded in personal acquaintance and attachment;" but the betrothed couple are allowed the liberty of seeing each other, and the lover is not forced, as in Armenia, to marry an unseen bride. "It is partly to this seclusion," remarks this accomplished writer, "that we must refer the depravity in both sexes which yet disgraces the Greeks, but which exists to a much less extent with them than in the harems of their masters." (p. 158.)

plying to the incessant reports of the pistols and tophaiks of the soldiery. As, on these occasions, the Greeks always discharge their arms with a bullet, frequent accidents are the consequence. In the evening, a grand ceremony took place in the square. All the members of the Government, after attending Divine service in the church of St. George, met opposite the residence of the Executive Body: the Legislative, as being the more numerous, took their places in a line, and the Executive passing along with them from right to left, kissing commenced with great vigour, the latter body embracing the former with all fervour and affection."

On the evening of the following day, "the plain to the east of the town presented a lively and interesting spectacle. The fineness of the day, together with the continuance of the festival, had induced crowds of the inhabitants to stroll round the walls and the plain. Numbers of beautifully-dressed females were assembled in groupes on the grass, listening to the guitar and the flute. Bands of horsemen, mounted on beautiful Arabians, were sweeping over the plain, hurling the *djereed*,* and at the same time managing their spirited little steeds with astonishing skill, wheeling round at the sharpest angle, and reining up at the shortest point in the midst of their utmost velocity. In every quarter, bands of musicians were surrounded with troops of dancers, performing their spiritless *Ro-*

* The *djereed* is a piece of wood, about four feet and a half in length, which is darted from the hand at full gallop, and is shunned either by bending the body, or by warding it off with another *djereed*. Sometimes a skilful horseman will throw it to the distance of sixty or seventy yards. This game is common to all the Oriental nations, and the Turks are very fond of it.

maika,* and enlivening its whirling dulness by the rapid discharge of their pistols; while groupes of chil-

* The *Romaika* is the Cretan or Dædalian dance of the ancients, and is thus accurately described by Homer. (Il. lib. xviii.)

"A figured dance succeeds——————
——————————a comely band
Of youths and maidens, bounding hand in hand;
The maids in soft cymars of linen drest,
The youths all graceful in the glossy vest.
* * * *
Now all at once they rise, at once descend;
With well-taught feet, now shape in oblique ways,
Confus'dly regular, the moving maze:
Now forth at once, too swift for sight they spring,
And undistinguished blend the flying ring.
So whirls a wheel in giddy circle tost,
And rapid as it runs the single spokes are lost." POPE.

"Whether they meet within the corridor of the house, or around some favourite well and *agiasma*, no evening passes in the summer months," says the Hon. Mr. Douglas, "in which the young people of both sexes, adorned with all the simple finery of garlands and flowers, and their hair floating in primitive luxuriance on their necks,

'*Cæsariem effusæ nitidam per candida colla*,'

do not assemble to dance the Romaika. The music generally consists of violins and rustic pipes; and the tune begins with slow and distinct notes, increasing with the spirits of the dancers, into the most lively and animating measures. They move, holding each other by the hand, in a circle composed alternately of young men and girls; and the dance is led by some nymph chosen from the rest for her grace and beauty, who holds one extremity of a handkerchief ('*restim ductans*'), while the other is in the hand of the Coryphæus of the youths. They begin in slow and solemn step, till they have gained the time; but, by degrees, the air becomes more sprightly; the conductress of the dance sometimes setting to her partner, sometimes darting before the rest, and leading them through the most rapid evolutions; sometimes crossing under the hands which are held to let her pass, and giving as much liveliness and intricacy as she can to the figures into which she conducts her companions, while their business is to follow her in all her movements, without breaking the chain or losing the measure.

dren, in fancy dresses and crowned with flowers, were sporting round their delighted parents. No one, to have witnessed this scene, could have supposed himself in the midst of a country suffering under the horrors of war, or surrounded by hundreds of families, scarcely one of whom could congratulate itself on not having lost a friend or brother in the conflict." *

In this description, Mr. Emerson, apparently, confounds the *Romaika* with other popular dances. † In their passion for these amusements, so accordant with the liveliness of the national character, the difference between the modern Greek and the Turk is strongly

> *'Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi,*
> *Exercet Diana choros.'"*

One beautiful evening, the Writer saw above thirty parties engaged in dancing the Romaika upon the sands of the sea-shore, in the then happy island of Scio. In some of these groupes, the girl who was leader would chace the retreating wave, and it was in vain that her followers hurried their steps; some were generally caught by the returning sea, and all would court the laugh, rather than break the indissoluble chain. Near each party was seated a groupe of parents and elder friends enjoying the sport, which recalled the days of their own youthful gayety. This dance, composed in imitation of the windings of the labyrinth of Dædalus, has also received, not unaptly, the name of Γερανος, the crane, from its resembling, in its involutions, the order in which a flight of cranes follow their conductor.—See DOUGLAS, p. 118—23.

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. p. 98—103.

† "The modern Greeks are not without the imitation of the Pyrrhic dance of their ancestors, whether we discover it in the barbarous *Albanitico*, or more particularly in the combat of the shield and sword which is acted by the mountaineers of Sphachia. The *Albanitico* is generally performed exclusively by men, who follow two leaders much in the way practised in the Romaika, except that the excellence of the Albanitic Coryphæi consists in the most powerful exertions of strength and activity without grace; in stooping to the ground and rising suddenly, in leaping to vast heights, but, especially, in shuffling their feet together, and darting them from under them with great velocity, and without losing their balance, while they animate one another by the wildest excla-

marked. The latter, like the Romans, * regards the dance as unmanly and degrading, seldom (if ever) joining in it himself, and deriving his only pleasure, in witnessing the performance, from the stupidest and most disgraceful indecency. In some of their other customs and amusements, it is difficult to determine whether the Greeks have borrowed from their Turkish masters, or whether the latter have adopted those of the ancient Greeks. † The prevailing costume is decidedly oriental. Count Pecchio, describing the manners of the citizens of Napoli, says, "The fact is, the

mations. In this awkward amusement, we may perceive a resemblance to the dance which was the favourite sport of the courtiers of Alcinous. (Odys. lib. viii.)" DOUGLAS *on the Modern Greeks*, p. 124.

* It is not agreed, whether Horace refers to the indecency of any particular dance, or reprobates the practice in general as infamous, when he says: (Od. 6. lib. iii.)

"*Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos*
Matura virgo."

Sallust, in a passage cited by Macrobius, speaks of a woman's singing and dancing more elegantly than was reputable:—"*psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est, probæ; nimirum matronæ aut virgini.*" Athenæus, on the contrary, maintains that it is wise and honourable to be a good dancer; and Jupiter himself is represented as figuring in that capacity in the midst of the immortals. Among the Hebrews, dancing was a religious rite, expressive of sacred exultation. Thus we find David dancing before the ark. The most degrading exhibitions of this nature are now performed in eastern capitals by Jewish dancers. By this passion, Hippoclides is stated by Herodotus to have lost the daughter of Clisthenes and the kingdom of Corinth.

† An exercise not unlike that of the ancient Discus, is a favourite one with the Turks: it consists in throwing stones of a great weight beyond a certain boundary. The Turkish mode of wrestling is, probably, borrowed from the Greeks. Their architecture and modes of husbandry are clearly derived from the same source. The love of garlands and the mystic language of flowers, seem also to be referrible to the taste and fancy of this imaginative people, though adopted by the now voluptuous Ottomans.

Greeks sit *à la Turque;* they eat pilaw *à la Turque;* they smoke with long pipes; they write with their left hand; they walk out accompanied by a troop of armed people; they salute, they sleep, and they loiter about; all *à la Turque.* Instead of abandoning the habits of their oppressors, they appear, since the Revolution, only to have followed them even more closely. They make a display of wearing the turban trimmed with white, and the red *papouches*, and of throwing round them the green *cafetan;* three terrible prohibitions in the time of Turkish despotism." On paying a visit to the members of the Government, he found them squatting on cushions in the Turkish mode. "The costume, the reclined position, and the serious immobility of countenance of every member, made me," he says, "at first believe myself before a divan. The vice-president, Botazi, with his legs crossed, was counting the beads of an oriental rosary; the rest of the members, clad in a costume between Grecian and Turkish, were either smoking or running over a similar trinket." For a palace, the Executive Body possessed at this time a large Turkish house, the ground-floor of which was a stable, the second story a barrack, and the third, the *bureau* or office of state;—"a plain, small room surrounded with a divan, and ornamented with a large French chart of Greece and its islands," with a plain deal table in the centre. The Legislative Body was not better lodged, but was about to transfer its sittings to a mosque, which had been fitted up as a senatorial chamber. Mavrokordato dresses *à la Française*, and the European and Albanian costumes are to be seen mingling with the turban and robe of the orientals.

Much of what is now regarded as characteristically Turkish, is, however, undoubtedly of classical origin.

The turban is exclusively Mohammedan; but it may be doubted whether the long red trowsers and the yellow buskins are not as much Grecian as Turkish. The Εμβαδες, the Hon. Mr. Douglas remarks, must have been very similar to the *papouches* or slippers, which are only put on when they leave the house, and are left at the door of the room on their return. The *macrama*, or veil, now worn by the Grecian ladies, and the richness of which often distinguishes the rank of the wearer, is so different from the awkward *ishmak* in which the heads of the Turkish ladies are swaddled, that we may safely derive it from the Καλυπτρα of the Greeks. * The cestus, with its rich embroidery and heavy silver bosses, is still the pride of the Grecian fair; and the full eye and golden hair so highly prized by the ancients, do not less belong to the modern standard of beauty. † The bath is equally prized by both sexes. ‡ "The very existence of the Romaic ladies," says Mr. Douglas, "seems almost to depend upon this gratification; and the too frequent indulgence in it, is probably one of the great causes of that early decay of beauty which is so often the

The *macrama* bears a close resemblance to the Spanish *mantilla*, which has been supposed to be derived from the Moors; but the Moors, no doubt, themselves borrowed it from the Orientals.

† From the meanest peasant to the finest lady of Constantinople, the greatest attention is paid to the hair, on which is lavished a profusion of ointments and cosmetics; and sometimes gilt wire and various other ornaments are twined with the ringlets which float over their shoulders. A beautiful auburn (*aurei capilli*) is the most common colour.

‡ Even Sir William Gell admits, that "the Greeks, though an oppressed, can scarcely be called a dirty people; and in spite of prejudice, it may be doubted whether the shoes and stockings of the North do not conceal more impurity than the earth and air create on the exposed legs of the southern peasant, who cannot retire to rest without washing them."—*Narrative*, p. 155.

subject of their regret." Indeed, with them the bath is a sort of public assembly; and the scenes which there take place, where there is no restraint on the loquacity still distinguishing the Grecian fair, are said to equal the strangest pictures drawn by their great Comedian. In their marriage ceremonies,* as well as in their funereal rites, † in their diet, ‡ and in their fondness for the juice of the grape, § the modern Greeks preserve a close resemblance to their ancestors in the days of Homer and of Catullus. The judicious practice of establishing all their burial-grounds without the walls of their towns, is also borrowed from the ancients. The funereal cypress, which the Greek rayahs are forbidden to plant, has been stolen from them by the Turks; and even the crescent, the symbol of the Othman ascendency, was adopted by the conqueror of Constantinople from the nation which he subdued.

* "Catullus, in his Epithalamium, has mentioned no event, consistent with the change of the religion, which does not take place at the wedding of a modern Greek. Catullus himself, however, is not so accurate in his description of this ceremony as Homer. Upon the shield of Achilles may yet be traced the most lively features in the customs of his country."—DOUGLAS, p. 112.

† See Douglas on Mod. Greeks, p. 134—7.

‡ "Olives, honey, and onions are now, as they were formerly, the food of the lower classes, while rice and fish constitute the principal articles in the cookery of the rich. Salted olives, under the name of *columbades*, form the constant food of all the Levantine sailors. They are larger and more succulent than the green olives of France and Spain, and are a substantial and nutritious food." —*Ibid.* p. 138.

§ "*Græcare* was the term by which a nation not remarkable itself for sobriety, described this vice; and almost all the other Latin words that have allusion to drinking, seem borrowed from the same source. In this respect, at least, the Grecian character has not changed. The intemperance which exuberant happiness encouraged, is now resorted to under calamity, as the water of Lethe."—*Ibid.* p. 138.

FROM NAPOLI TO EPIDAURUS.

THE narrow plain in which Napoli stands, is bounded by barren eminences of a dull and uniform aspect, which anciently separated the Argian territory from that of Epidaurus. The name of the latter city, once the rival of Argos, Corinth, and Egina, has again acquired a sort of celebrity from its being employed to designate the code adopted by the legislature of Modern Greece. The chief object of interest in its vicinity is the remains of the sacred grove and temple of Esculapius, at a place still called *Iero* or *Vero*, a corruption of ἱερον. *

The route from Napoli lies eastward over the plain to the village of Kakingra, (or Katchingri,) distant about fifty minutes. A few hundred paces from this village are slight remains of an ancient edifice. The church of *Agios Adrianos* forms a conspicuous object on a pointed acclivity to the right, near which, on a bold rock, are ruins of a small *palaio kastro*, the walls of polygonal construction. Tiles, stones, and other obscure vestiges are found a little further, near a deep ravine, which the traveller crosses; and beyond it, the monastery of *Agios Demetrius* is seen in a secluded glen to the left. At the extremity of the valley, Mr. Dodwell noticed an ancient tower, composed of small but well-joined polygons, and repaired with mortar,— "one of the μονοπυργια, or single tower-forts, erected to guard the passage from the territory of Epidaurus to that of Nauplia, from the castle of which it is distant two hours, forty minutes." Half an hour from this ruin brings the traveller to the remains of a small ancient city and fortress, constructed in the second

* By Chandler incorrectly written *Gerao*.

and third styles, and fortified with a few round and square towers. The fortress has been repaired in modern times, and the place must always have been of importance, as it commands the pass to Napoli. Mr. Dodwell supposes it to be the site of Midea, which, according to Apollodorus, was fortified by Perseus, but was in ruins before the time of Pausanias. Sir William Gell, however, supposes the *palaio kastro* near *Agios Adrianos* to be Midea; and the site in question is apparently the same that Dr. Clarke considers to be Lessa. The latter Traveller crossed the Argolic peninsula in a contrary direction. "After journeying for about an hour," (from Ligurio,) "through a country resembling many parts of the Apennines, we saw," he says, "a village near the road, with a ruined castle upon a hill to the right, where the remains of Lessa are situate. This village is half way between Ligurio and Nauplia; and here was the ancient boundary between Epidauria and the Argive territory....Lessa was but a village in the time of Pausanias, as it now is; but it was remarkable for a temple and wooden image of Minerva; and upon the mountain above the village, perhaps where the castle now stands, there were altars of Jupiter and Juno, whereon sacrifices were offered in times of drought. The mountain then bore the name of *Arachnæus Mons:* its more ancient appellation, under Inachus, had been Sapyselaton."

Mr. Dodwell, on the other hand, says that Ligurio (written by Sir W. Gell, Lykourio) answers to the position of Lessa. This is a large village about five hours from Nauplia,* occupying the site of a small

* In the Itinerary, 5 h. 48 min. from Nauplia, and 1 h. 46 min. from the pass where Dr. Clarke places Lessa. Sir W. Gell agrees with Mr. Dodwell in placing it at Lykourio, following Chandler.

ancient city, which stood upon an oblong rock at the foot of some barren hills, (part of Mount Arachne,) and at the entrance of the Epidaurian plain. "The walls of the town are very much ruined: the parts still entire are in the third style. Many blocks and heaps are scattered about, but nothing approaching to a perfect building is left." About a mile before entering Ligurio, at a place called *Agia Marina*, there is a church with vestiges of antiquity; * and a fountain near the road, forms a small subterraneous aqueduct, by which water is still conveyed to the village. Other churches, monasteries, and towers occur between Ligurio and *Agios Adrianos;* and the entire way from Nauplia appears to have been strongly fortified and thickly peopled.

"In an hour and forty minutes from Ligurio,"† Mr. Dodwell says, "we arrived at the first ruins of the sacred enclosure, at present known by the name of Iero."

* "At the church of *Agia Marina* are two Ionic columns, and the foundation of a pyramid or tower with inclining walls."—GELL'S *Itinerary*. Chandler mentions this ruin: it is a quadrangular structure about forty feet square. Dr. Clarke speaks of it in the following terms: "Upon the left-hand side of the road we observed an *Egyptian* sepulchre, having a pyramidal shape, and agreeing so remarkably, both as to form and situation, with a monument described by Pausanias, that we believed ourselves to be actually viewing the identical tomb seen by him." The tomb alluded to was, however, nearer Argos, and is the one of which Mr. Dodwell supposes that traces still exist at Phonika. (see p. 84.) "The pyramidal form may therefore," Dr. Clarke adds, "have been common to many ancient sepulchres in Argolis." He mentions also some other tombs, in the road to Nauplia, "that were remarkable in having large rude stones of a square form, (λιθος τραχυς,) placed upon the top of the mound (χωμα)," and answering to the description given by Pausanias of the tumulus raised by Telamon upon the shore of Egina.

† A singular inaccuracy, if Sir W. Gell be correct: he makes the distance from Lykourio to Iero only 46 minutes.

The road he took, left on the right the villages of Peri and Koroni. The plain had a luxuriant appearance, being covered with corn-fields and vineyards: from the latter, "a more palatable and less resinous wine is produced, than that which is generally found in this part of Greece." The name of Koroni is remarkable, because the nymph Coronis is fabled to have been the mother of Æsculapius. In passing through this village, the inhabitants of which are chiefly shepherds, Dr. Clarke noticed a noble race of dogs, similar to the breed found in the province of Abruzzo in Italy, and which, by a pardonable license of imagination, may be supposed to have descended from the classical breed of the days of Æsculapius. It was a shepherd's dog who guarded the infant demi-god when exposed upon Mount Titthion; and a representation of the faithful animal was deemed a proper accompaniment to his statue.

GROVE OF ÆSCULAPIUS.

THE *Hieron Alsos*, or Sacred Grove, is situated in a small but beautiful valley, surrounded with high mountains. One of superior elevation, bounding the prospect on the eastern side, is supposed to be the ancient Titthion, which appears to have derived its name from the two mammiform eminences that compose its double summit.* Mount Arachne forms the mountain barrier on the north-west. These lofty eminences are characterized by rugged sterility, and by an undulating, uniform outline: they are sprinkled with a variegated assemblage of dark-coloured shrubs, particularly the lentiscus, juniper, and myrtie.

* From τιτθος, *mamma*, or teat.

Besides the grove and temple of Æsculapius, the consecrated enclosure contained a theatre, a stadium, a temple of Diana, another of Venus and Themis, a *stoa* or portico, and a fountain remarkable for its roof and decorations: to these Antoninus Pius added, a bath, a hospital for the sick, a temple (ἱερὸν) of the gods *Epidotai*, and another (ναὸν) consecrated to the associated divinities Hygeia, Æsculapius, and the Egyptian Apollo. This splendid establishment was resorted to by invalids from all parts of Greece; and the officiating ministers of the presiding deity, who were at once priests and physicians, were venerated not only by the Greeks, but by distant nations. Other temples, in imitation of this, were afterwards erected in different parts of Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy; but this, as being the supposed birth-place of Æsculapius himself, maintained the pre-eminence, and for many centuries attracted numerous votaries from all quarters.

The first object that meets the eye, on approaching from Koroni, is a considerable ruin, which has at a distance the appearance of a castle, but proves to be a square edifice of Roman brick, conjectured by Dr. Clarke to be the hospital erected by Antoninus Pius (while a senator) for the reception of lying-in women and dying persons. Further on, are traces of a large building, divided into several chambers, and stuccoed. This is evidently the bath of Æsculapius, built by the same noble Roman. A stone spout is still seen in the wall, whence the water entered from a subterranean conduit, communicating, probably, with the great fountain noticed by Pausanias.* Of the once cele-

* "Two large cisterns, or reservoirs, remain, made by Antoninus for the reception of *rain water*: one measured 99 feet long and 37 wide."—CHANDLER.

brated temple, obscure vestiges alone remain. Mr. Dodwell found the remains of two temples, now level with the ground, which is strewed with elegant fragments of the Doric and Ionic orders in marble and in stone, but not of large dimensions. The pavement of one of the temples is entire; it is composed of large slabs of the marble of the country, which is of a light red veined with white. This, from its superior size, is probably the temple of Æsculapius. Contiguous to this temple are the supposed remains of the *Tholos*, a circular edifice built by Polycletus, of white marble. Several blocks belonging to the exterior of the building are covered with inscriptions.* Near the great temple is the stadium, formed chiefly of high mounds of earth. There are fifteen rows of seats at the upper end, but these extend only a few yards along the sides, the rest being uncovered. A subterraneous vaulted passage, now choked up with rubbish, led into the area: this, Chandler supposes to have been a private way by which the *agonothetæ*, or presidents, and other persons of distinction entered; but it was more probably designed for the horses and chariots.

Of all the ancient remains, however, the theatre is the grandest and the best preserved. Pausanias speaks of it as the most beautiful he had ever seen. The *koilon*, which, as usual, is scooped in the side of

* Dr. Clarke, however, describing apparently the same structure, says: "The circular building is too modern in its aspect, and too mean in its materials, for the Tholus of Pausanias, of white marble, built by Polycletus, architect of the theatre; but it may, perhaps, correspond better to the fountain which he alludes to as remarkable for its roof and decorations; this kind of roof being almost unknown in Greece. The building, although smaller, bears some resemblance to the well-known bath improperly called the temple of Venus at Baiæ." It is covered with "a dome, with arches round the top."

a rocky hill, is in nearly perfect preservation. Fifty-four seats are remaining, formed of the pink marble found near the spot. They are worked with more care than in the other Grecian theatres, and, Mr. Dodwell thinks, "were evidently contrived with all due attention to the accommodation of a feeble audience of convalescents. The height of each seat is one foot two inches and a half, and the breadth, two feet nine inches and a fifth. About the middle of the seat is a narrow channel or groove, in which wood-work was probably fixed, in order to prevent the backs of the spectators from being incommoded by the feet of those who sat in the rows behind them,* and also to serve as a rest for the weak shoulders of a valetudinary audience. The seats are not perfectly horizontal, but incline gently inwards." This may have been designed, as Dr. Clarke suggests, to prevent the rain from resting upon them, rather than, as Mr. Dodwell imagines, to render the position of sitting more easy. The theatre forms considerably more than a semicircle, nearly resembling in form that of Bacchus at Athens. The seats, which have only one division or *præcinctio*, are intersected at right angles by about twenty flights of small steps, 28½ inches wide, leading from the bottom to the top of the theatre. The seats are now nearly covered with bushes of lentiscus, which,

This "groove," dug out of the solid mass of stone composing the seat, is 18 inches wide, and was evidently intended for the reception of the feet, though it is very questionable whether any wood-work was fixed in it, as Mr. Dodwell imagines. The seats of the stadium at Delphi, and those of the theatre at Stratonicea in Asia Minor, are nearly similar to those at Epidaurus. Ovid alludes to the inconveniences which arose in theatres where the seats had no such separation for the feet. (Amor. iii. 23.)

"*Tu quoque qui spectas post nos, tua contrahe crura,*
Si pudor est, rigido nec premé tegga genu."

by insinuating its roots between the interstices of the marble, loosens the stones, and enlarges the fissures of those which are already disjointed. At the foot of the *koilon*, there is a *thronos* of white marble, formed, as usual, out of a single block. The theatre faces the north; and this aspect, Dr. Clarke supposes to have been purposely chosen, as, with the mountain towering behind it, it would protect the whole edifice from the beams of the sun during a great part of the day; and in this sultry valley, a shaded theatre must have been particularly desirable for invalids.* It is evident that the whole has been arranged with the nicest regard to luxury as well as convenience. The salutary waters of the Hieron flow in the deep bed of a torrent immediately below. The diameter of the *conistra*, or pit, in the widest part, is 105 feet; but the width of the orchestra is not quite 90 feet, owing to the form of the theatre.

Dr. Clarke found the theatre tenanted by a variety of animals, which were disturbed by his approach,—hares, red-legged partridges, and tortoises;† and his fellow-traveller caught, among some myrtles, a beautiful snake about a yard in length, shining like burnished gold. The peasants, he tells us, knew it to be a harmless species which they had been accustomed to regard with superstitious veneration, deeming it unlucky in any person to injure one. "It was, in fact, one of the curious breed described by Pausanias as

* The Greeks were frequently obliged to carry umbrellas (σκιαδια) with them into their theatres, and the women were attended by their umbrella-bearers (σκιαδηφοροι); either as a precaution against the casualties of the weather, or as a defence against the sun.

† The tortoises of Mount Cithæron were sacred to Pan, as the serpents of Epidauria were to Æsculapius.

peculiar to the country of the Epidaurians, which were always harmless, and of a yellow colour."*

Besides these ruins, the same Traveller mentions a subterranean building, resembling a small chapel, which he supposes to have been a bath. Near it was a stone coffin, containing fragments of terra cotta vases. "But the most remarkable relics within the sacred precinct," he says, "were architectural remains in terra cotta. We discovered the ornaments of a frieze and part of a cornice, which had been manufactured in earthenware. Some of these ornaments had been moulded for *relievos*, and others, less perfectly baked, exhibited painted surfaces. The colours upon the latter still retained much of their original freshness: upon being wetted, they appeared as vivid as when first laid on. They were a bright straw-yellow and red." The learned Traveller supposes them to have belonged to the *stoa* or portico, the roof of which, Pausanias states, falling in, caused the destruction of the whole edifice, owing to the nature of its materials, which consisted of crude tiles (πλινθου). On the top of a hill towards the east, which is ascended by an ancient road, Dr. Clarke found the remains of a temple, with steps leading to it, which he believes to have been that of the Coryphæan Diana upon Mount Cynortium. An imperfect inscription which he discovered here, mentions a priest of Diana, who had

* "With burnished neck of verdant gold——
——— pleasing was his shape,
And lovely; never since of serpent kind
Lovelier, not those that in Illyria changed
Hermione and Cadmus, *or the God*
In Epidaurus, nor to which transformed
Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen;
He with Olympias; this with her who bore
Scipio, the height of Rome." *Par. Lost*, b. ix.

commemorated his escape from some disorder. "By the side of this temple was a bath or reservoir, lined with stucco, 30 feet by 8, with some *lumachella* columns of the Doric order. The foundations and part of the pavement of the temple yet exist; they are not less than 60 paces in length. We noticed," he continues, "some channels grooved in the marble for conveying water in different directions. The traces of buildings may be observed upon all the mountains which surround the sacred valley; and over all this district, their remains are as various as their history is indeterminate. Some of them seem to have been small sanctuaries, like chapels: others appear as baths, fountains, and aqueducts. We next came to a singular and very picturesque structure, with more the appearance of a cave than of a building: it was covered with hanging weeds, overgrown with bushes, and almost buried in the mountain. The interior exhibited a series of circular arches in two rows, supporting a vaulted roof; the buttresses between the arches being propped by short columns. Possibly, this may have been the building which Chandler, in his dry way, calls a church, without giving any description of it, where, besides fragments, he found an inscription to 'far-darting Apollo.' He supposes the temple of Apollo, which was upon Mount Cynortium, to have stood upon this spot.'

* "Going up the water-course between the mountains is a church, where, besides fragments, we found a short inscription: '*Diogenes the hierophant to far-darting Apollo, on account of a vision in his sleep.*' Apollo had a temple on Mount Cynortium, probably on this spot; and on a summit beyond are other traces, it is likely, of a temple of Diana."—CHANDLER. The following account of the customs observed by the patients, will explain the inscription "Near the temple is a spacious hall, in which those who came to consult Æsculapius, after having deposited on the holy table some

It is not known to what circumstances the destruction of this place is to be ascribed. Livy speaks of the temple of Æsculapius as in ruins; from which state it was evidently raised, Mr. Dodwell remarks, long after that period. The work of demolition has been at least completed in recent times. Chandler says: "The whole neighbourhood has for ages plundered the grove. The Ligurians remember the removal of a marble chair from the theatre, and of statues and inscriptions, which, among other materials, were used in repairing the fortifications of Napoli, or in building a new mosque at Argos." Many valuable antiquities are doubtless concealed under the confused piles of accumulated ruins; and the labours of an excavation would, in all probability, be amply repaid. Mr. Dodwell found some specimens of a most beautiful green porphyry, which he had never seen before, and which, he says, is unknown even at Rome, where all the rich marbles of the world seem to have been collected. The sacred grove is now reduced to some scattered shrubs and bushes, and the dull and monotonous aspect of the surrounding country accords with the total desolation of the scene. "The remains, such as they are," remarks Dr. Clarke, "lie as they

cakes, fruits, and other offerings, pass the night on little beds. One of the priests bids them keep a profound silence, whatever noise they may hear, resign themselves to sleep, and *be attentive to the dreams which the god shall send them.* He afterwards extinguishes the light, and takes care to collect the offerings with which the table is covered. Some time after, the patients imagine they hear the voice of Æsculapius; whether any sound be conveyed by some ingenious artifice, or the priest, returning into the hall, mutters some words near their bed; or whether, in fine, in the solemn stillness which surrounds them, their imagination realizes the recitals and the objects by which it has never ceased to be acted on since their arrival at the temple."—ANACHARSIS, vol. iv. chap. 53.

were left by the votaries of the god. No modern buildings, not even an Albanian hut, has been constructed among them, to confuse or to conceal their topography. The traveller walks at once into the midst of the consecrated *peribolus*, and, from the traces he beholds, may picture to his mind a correct representation of this once celebrated watering-place, the Cheltenham of ancient Greece, — as it existed when thronged by the multitudes who came hither for relief or relaxation." There is yet a fountain, Sir W. Gell says, the waters of which are reputed to have medicinal virtue; and Chandler speaks of springs and wells by the ruins, which "are supposed to possess many excellent properties;" but what those properties are, does not appear to have been ascertained. It is much to be regretted, that no traveller has hitherto analysed the waters. It remains, therefore, to be determined, how far the ancient celebrity of this spot might arise from the medicinal efficacy of the springs, which an artful priesthood would know how to turn to their own advantage, or whether the whole institution rested upon mere quackery and superstition. Much of the credit which the place so long enjoyed, may have been due to the salubrity of the air, and, as in modern watering-places, to the regimen prescribed, and the recreations provided;* the medical know-

* One precaution adopted will remind the reader of the practice observed in our own Æsculapian sanctuaries. "To banish from these places the terrifying image of death, sick persons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, are removed from them.... Sometimes, to save the honour of Æsculapius, the sick persons are directed to go and perform similar ceremonies at some distant place."—*Trav. of Anacharsis*, vol. iv. ch. 53. At Bath, Clifton, and some other places, the same care is taken to banish the image of mortality, funerals being for the most part conducted by night; and the honour of Æsculapius is not unfrequently saved by

ledge of the priests of Æsculapius may be allowed to have had some share in keeping up the reputation of the establishment; and the cure of imaginary disorders, possibly of some real ones, would be effected by means of spells and ceremonies intended to work on the fancy. Still, the selection of the spot (for its being the birth-place of Æsculapius is a mere fable) was probably determined by the same circumstances that have elsewhere led to the erection of baths, hospitals, and religious foundations, and ultimately of towns and cities, in the neighbourhood of mineral waters and holy wells.*

directing the removal of the patient. In fact, none die; they merely remove.

* Nothing is known of the real history of Æsculapius. His fabulous parentage, as the son of Apollo and Coronis, is a proof that his true origin was lost. Homer and Pindar represent him to have been a native, or at least an inhabitant of Thessaly; and his two sons, Machaon and Podalirius, led thirty sail of Œchalians to the siege of Troy. (See Catalogue of Ships, Iliad, b. ii.) If they were really his offspring, we must suppose Æsculapius to have been a petty monarch in Thessaly; but it is perhaps doubtful, whether more is meant than that they were eminent in the Æsculapian art, —"healers of disease," as Cowper renders it. Homer speaks of Æsculapius merely as a man: his deification must, therefore, have been posterior to that age; and consequently, the legend, the temple, and the worship are all to be referred to a later date. There are some circumstances which would seem to render it probable, that the establishment was either of Egyptian origin, or borrowed from the Egyptian priests. The union of the sacerdotal function with the healing art, in the priests of Æsculapius, many of their rites and customs, the alleged descent of their patron deity from Apollo or Osiris, and the traces of serpent-worship blended with the institution, all favour this idea. (See, for further details and authorities, Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. iv. ch. 53.) Over the gate of the temple at Epidaurus was this inscription: "Entrance here is permitted only to pure souls"—a sentiment more in accordance with the doctrines of Pythagoras, than with those of the Pantheon. Strabo speaks of similar institutions at Kos and in the very country of Machaon. The temple at Epidaurus, he says, was always filled

The village of Epidaura (pronounced Pithavra), which stands on the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus, is two hours and ten minutes from Iero. The badness of the road increases the apparent distance. According to Livy, that city was only five miles from the temple of Æsculapius. On quitting the sacred enclosure, the "healing fountain" is observed under a tree to the right, and a stream is crossed, coming from the same direction. Two rivulets find their way from hence to the Argolic Gulf. The vale soon becomes a glen, having Mount Arachne on the left, and the road is extremely bad. The country is uncultivated and overgrown with various shrubs, small pines, and wild olives, with, here and there, thickets of arbutus andrachne. The pass appears to have been strongly fortified. In about an hour, the glen opens, and presents a view of the Saronic Gulf, with the pointed rocky promontory of Methana, the islands of Ægina and Salamis, and the Attic coast and capital. The plain is watered by a rapid rivulet that turns a mill, and there are some signs of cultivation. On the left is seen a tumulus, supposed to be that of Hyrnetho, wife of Deiphontes, mentioned by Pausanias: near it are some Roman ruins. The Epidaurian plain is of small extent, but fertile. The wine, however, has lost its ancient reputation,* and is weak and resinous, though that which is made at Iero is of good quality. The village consists of a few huts, with a good port, formed by a bold peninsula, on which stood the ancient city; or rather, Mr. Dodwell says, the city stood in

with sick persons, and teemed with dedicatory tablets describing the malady from which the patient had been rescued, as at Kos and Trikka.

* Ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδαυρον.—Ilias. iv. 561. "And Epidaure with viny harvests crowned."

the plain at the foot of the peninsular promontory divided into two points, on which the acropolis was situated. Few and imperfect vestiges alone remain They consist of some fragments of wall, of the fourth or last style of Hellenic masonry; fallen ruins of a Doric temple of small proportions, probably that of Juno; a mutilated female statue, clothed and recumbent, apparently part of a sepulchral monument; some fragments of Roman sculpture in white marble; and, at the foot of the promontory, several masses of ruins now covered by the sea. The dense mass of bushes enveloping the ruins, would not permit an elaborate investigation.

Epidaurus was anciently a place of strength, and was frequently at war with the surrounding states. It sent ten ships against the Persians at Salamis, and 800 men to Platæa. Pausanias mentions, besides the temple of Juno and a wooden statue of Minerva within the acropolis, a *temenos* of Æsculapius, a temple of Bacchus, a grove sacred to Diana, and a *hieron* of Venus. No certain traces of any of these now exist. The acropolis seems to have served as a fortress in modern times, and, in the middle ages, must have been a place of some importance, from the security of its situation and the commodiousness of its port; but it is now deserted, and Epidaurus is a mere name.*

* "The gulf is tranquil, retired, and soothingly melancholy. I did not perceive a single boat, to recal in idea the noise and bustle of the world. The shore is at present occupied by a colony of Greeks from Negropont, who repose in this fruitful land, after having escaped from the Turks, and pursue the occupations of agriculture, in which they surpass the rest of the Greeks. In fact, the country is covered with kitchen gardens, fields, and luxuriant vineyards. This rising colony is lodged partly in small dwellings, and partly in cottages of boughs and leaves."—PECCHIO'S *Journal*, p. 130.

The place at which the first Greek congress, or constituent assembly, was held, is, in fact, an hour and a half to the N.E. of Epidaurus, and is called Piatha (Ἐπιαθὰ). This town is beautifully situated upon a lofty ridge of rocks, two miles from the sea: it was formerly protected by an old castle, still remaining, probably built by the Venetians. The road to it is a path along the hills, covered with laurels, myrtles, and pines, always in sight of the sea. Numerous coins of the Republic are found here; and the deserted state of Epidaurus may, perhaps, be accounted for by the preference which, for some reason or other, seems to have been given to this neighbouring port. "Ill-built and ill-provided," remarks Mr. Waddington, "Piada still offered more resources to the Congress, than any neighbouring town, and was therefore selected to be the birth-place of the Greek Constitution."* This Traveller is indignant that Piada should have been fraudulently deprived of the honour of giving its name to the Greek Code, "misnamed the Law of Epidaurus." Not only may Piada, however, be considered as the representative of the deserted city, but Epidauria is the name of the district; and few persons will be disposed to blame the Greek

* Visit to Greece, p. 125. See vol. i. p. 147. The house in which the legislative assembly was convened, is "a large rustic chamber, forming a parallelogram, and insulated in the middle of the village, near an ancient tower erected in the time of the Venetians, and now inhabited by a poor old woman. This rough dwelling," adds Count Pecchio, "reminded me of the cottages of Uri, where the Swiss confederated against the tyranny of Austria. The Government intends, if fortune should be propitious, to erect a church on the spot, in commemoration of the resurrection of Greece."—*Visit to Greece*, vol. ii. p. 129. The road from Piada to Napoli lies over a beautifully diversified country, intersected by numerous streams, and is a journey of seven hours.

deputies for adopting a name consecrated by historic recollections. Mr. Dodwell could not discover, he says, the smallest traces of antiquity at this place, "though the strength of its position, and the advantages of its territory, render it probable that it was the site of an ancient city." The plain, which is thickly planted with large olive-trees, interspersed with vineyards, is exuberantly productive: it extends to the sea. Near the entrance of this plain, coming from the south, this Traveller observed some rock of the most beautiful red jasper, shining with the brightest lustre: it is very hard, and not worth the expense of working it. The rocks about Piada are covered with the *cactus opuntia*, which is much less common, however, in Greece, than in Calabria and Sicily.*

FROM EPIDAURUS TO DAMALA (TRŒZEN).

From Epidaura, Mr. Dodwell proceeded to explore the south-eastern extremity of the Argolic peninsula. In a quarter of an hour, having crossed the dry bed of the torrent of Iero, he began to ascend the mountains which separated the Epidaurian territory from that of Trœzen. The road is as bad as possible, but the hills are covered with extensive shrubberies of lentiscus, myrtle, juniper, and arbutus, intermixed with small firs and cypresses. In an hour, he reached the top of the pass, now called Trachia (from Τραχυς);

* From Piada, Mr. Dodwell proceeded to *Agios Joannes*, (pronounced *Ai Yanni*,) distant four hours and a quarter; passing at two hours and a half from Piada, a village and modern fort called *Angelo-Kastro*. The next day, he traversed for an hour the most rugged roads, winding among barren hills; in three hours and a half from *Agios Joannes*, reached the south-eastern foot of the Acro-Corinthus; and, in forty minutes more, entered Corinth.

but the village of that name occupies an ancient site about an hour further. In two hours and a half from Epidaurus, after crossing the bed of another torrent, Mr. Dodwell arrived at the foot of a wood-ciad eminence, crowned with a *palaio-kastro*, which he had not time to explore. At the end of forty minutes further, passing through a plain of arable land, intermingled with pastures and traversed by several brooks, he halted for the night at a miserable village called Karangia (Sir W. Gell writes it Karatcha), and slept in the cottage of a miller, whose corn-mill is turned by a picturesque and rapid stream. The road now becomes a mere sheep-track. One hour and a quarter from Karangia brought our Traveller to the base of a pointed rocky acclivity of a massy and insulated form, on the summit of which are remains of a fort called Korasa, apparently of modern construction, though possibly on ancient foundations. About three quarters of an hour further, crossing several streams and a rapid river in a romantic glen, is the large and very pretty village of Potamia (Ποταμοι), so named from its lovely river.* Several mills are turned by the stream; and the hill, on the side of which the village is situated, is clothed with olive and other trees.

In thirty-six minutes from Potamia, Mr. Dodwell ascended to the summit of another ridge, commanding a view of the plain of Trœzen, the isles of Calauria, Poros, and Agios Giorgio, and the Attic mountains bordering the Saronic Gulf. "The hills over which

* In the Itinerary, from Epidaurus to Potamia is 6 h. 10 min. A quarter of an hour from Karatcha, Sir W. Gell's route ascends a steep mountain, where are seen, on the left, "a curious mount and cistern, under which is an arched passage with a stone table." We regret that we have no more distinct description of this place.

we passed," he says, "were covered with almost every shrub that I have seen in Greece; a circumstance that seems to indicate the genial temperature of this part of the coast, which is sheltered from the north, and open to all the warm breezes of the south and east. After a descent of fourteen minutes, we entered an arable plain, and having crossed a rivulet, lost every trace of road, and wandered a long time among rocks and bushes, where our horses frequently fell, and our hands and faces were scratched with thorns. After much trouble and fatigue, we reached the plain of Trœzen, and crossing a stream, probably the Chrysorrhoas, arrived at the ruins of that ancient city, and lodged in the house of a Greek merchant at the village of Damala."

Inconsiderable as this place now is, consisting of not more than forty-five houses, it still retains, in its episcopal dignity, the shadow of its ancient greatness. The inhabitants, Mr. Dodwell describes as industrious and wealthy, from the commerce carried on with the neighbouring coast and the islands of the Archipelago. No Turks were to be seen among them; and they affected a certain degree of independence, which this part of the coast appeared to have contracted from its vicinity to the opulent island of Hydra. Great part of the plain of Trœzen, however, remains in an uncultivated state, owing to the deficiency of population; the air in summer is consequently unhealthy, besides being impregnated with the sour smell of the *galaxidi*, or *euphorbia charakias*, which grows in abundance about the rocks, and is deemed extremely injurious to the health. The badness both of the wine and of the water of Trœzen was complained of in ancient times; and they are still reckoned, Mr. Dodwell says, "heavy and antidiuretic." The fictitious contest between

Bacchus and Minerva for the possession of Trœzenia, seems nevertheless to intimate, that the territory was productive of wine as well as of oil. Neptune, or in other words, maritime commerce, was, however, the chief object of worship. The port, called Pogon (the beard) from the narrow strip of land by which it is formed, is about a mile and a half from the present village: it is now shallow, obstructed by sand, and accessible only to small boats.

The ancient city, which is said to have derived its name from Trœzen, the son of Pelops, and the brother of Pitheus, its founder, must have been richly embellished as late as the second century, when Pausanias enumerates eight temples (ναοὶ), four sanctuaries (ἱερὰ), a portico, a theatre, and a stadium, besides various sepulchres, monuments, statues, and altars. It was celebrated as the birth-place of Theseus, and as the mother city of Halicarnassus, which was founded by Trœzenian colonists.* Here, during his exile, the Prince of Orators was for some time resident; and we are told by Plutarch, that he used to look towards the Attic coast with tears in his eyes. The view of Athens and of its loftiest mountains is now obstructed by the volcanic promontory of Methana; but the whole of the intervening mountainous tract, Mr. Dodwell says, has evidently been thrown up by the powerful operation of a volcano, which, according to Pausanias, took place in the time of Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. "Diodorus Siculus relates, that Phædra, when

* Notwithstanding its architectural decorations, Trœzen was not more powerful than its neighbour Epidaurus: it had only five vessels at the battle of Salamis, and 1000 troops at Platæa. Plutarch calls it a small town. It is said to have borne at different periods, the names of Theseis, Aphrodisias, Saronia, Poseidonias, Apollonias, and Anthanis. See authorities in Dodwell.

enamoured of Hippolytus, consecrated a temple to Venus upon the acropolis of Athens, from whence she could distinguish Trœzen, the residence of the object of her passion. Were the promontory removed, Athens might be seen over the northern extremity of Ægina. It would appear from Strabo, that the rage of the volcano was not exhausted in his time; for he says, it was sometimes inaccessible from the intensity of the heat which it occasioned, and the sulphurous vapours which it diffused; that at night it was visible from afar; and that the sea was hot for five *stadia* round." *

The ruins of Trœzen are now overgrown with weeds and bushes, the largeness of which indicates the fertility of the soil. The *agnos* and the elegant rhododaphne here assume the character of trees, rather than of shrubs. Few places, Mr. Dodwell says, promise better to repay for excavation. He found a multiplicity of inscribed and architectural fragments, many of them Roman. In a dilapidated church, an inverted marble pedestal, which has been made to serve as an altar, bears an inscription relating to the statue which it once supported, raised by "the city to the invincible emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son of the emperor Cæsar Septimius Severus Pertinax." In the same church is a small columnar altar, together with a triglyph, a frieze, and soffits. In a neighbour-

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 272. Ovid, in some beautiful lines cited by the learned Traveller, describes the horrific phenomenon which metamorphosed the plain into a hill. (Metam. b. xv. v. 296.)

"*Est prope Pittheam tumulus Trœzena sine ullis*
Arduus arboribus, quondam planissima campi
Area, nunc tumulus .....
.....*tumor ille loco permansit, et alti*
Collis habet speciem, longoque induruit ævo."

ing church called *Palaio Episcopi*,* are some *frusta* of fluted Doric columns, and other fragments of white marble with sculptured foliage. The lower part of the cella of a temple near this church, is finely constructed in regular masonry. In the church of Ἅγιος Σωτῆρος (Saint Saviour) are several inscribed marbles; and in the same vicinity there is a large heap of architectural fragments. Several other churches are scattered about in a state of ruin, which were probably erected on the foundations of temples; and from their number as well as size, (some of them being larger than is usual in Greece,) together with other Roman remains, it is evident that Damala must have been a place of some consequence in the middle ages. Near the church of *Palaio Episcopi*, are remains of a square tower with six layers of blocks, supporting a modern superstructure, and some masses of Roman brickwork. To the west of the ruins is the rocky hill on which stood the acropolis. Its summit is now occupied by the imperfect and shattered remains of a fortress of the lower ages; there are also some ruined churches in a similar style of architecture; but not a single indication of antiquity could be discovered. Towards the base of the hill, the "fount of Hercules" issues from the rock. The view from the acropolis is very interesting. To the west, it overlooks a deep circular valley, enclosed by high rocky precipices, partially clothed with foliage. Eastward are seen the plain and ruins of Trœzen, with its port, the islands of Kalauria and Belbina, the open Ægean, the promontory of Sunium, and Hymettus. And to the north, beyond the mountains of Epidauria, is distin-

* Sir W. Gell calls it the church of Panagia Episcopi, and says, it must be the site of the temple of Venus Katascopia.

guished the coast of Megaris, with Mount Gerania, and the white and glittering summit of Parnassus.

The Abbé Fourmont states, that, in his time, Damala contained 400 houses, and that the inhabitants enjoyed good health; but at present, the insalubrity of the site is assigned as the reason that the bishop no longer resides here. In most of the churches scattered among the ruins, Divine service is still performed once a year on the festival of the patron saint.

METHANA.

THE route from Damala to Methana lies in a northerly direction, over a rough ridge of low hills. At about fifty minutes from the village, near the sea, are ruins of a chapel with an upright Doric column, which is supposed to mark the site of a temple of Diana: the place is called *Limne*.* At the foot of the hills is the village of Dara, the chief place in the district. The narrow isthmus which unites the promontory with the continent, has been fortified with a thick wall of small stones and cement. "Both the village and the promontory," Mr. Dodwell says, "retain their ancient names. Cultivation prevails only in a small part of the promontory, but particularly in the plain where the ancient city stood, and at the base

* See Gell's Itin. p. 200. "On the hill towards Methana is the village of Masomata. To the left, another called Tou Pasias. Palaio-Urea is a village on a hill near the isthmus." Mr. Dodwell reached Methana from the island of Poros, from which he supposes the distance to be between twelve and fourteen miles; but he more than once lost the way. The roads are as bad as possible and their horses were the first that in modern times had been within the isthmus. The protopapas of Methana assured them, that they were the only people with hats he had ever seen within the peninsula, and they excited among the villagers great curiosity.

of the hills, which, like Delphi and many of the islands of the Archipelago, consist of strips and patches of arable land, or vineyards, supported by terrace walls. The rest of this mountainous promontory exhibits a sterile desolation, consisting of volcanic rock of dark colour, occasionally variegated with shrubs and bushes. The outline is grand and picturesque. The principal mountain, which was thrown up by the volcano, is of a conical form: its apparent height is about equal to that of Vesuvius. The hot baths mentioned by Pausanias are at present unknown. The ancient city of Methana was situated in the plain at the foot of its acropolis, and extended to the sea; near which are a few remains of two edifices, one of the Doric, the other of the Ionic order, composed of white marble, and of small proportions. Near these remains is an ancient well of considerable depth, containing brackish and unpotable water; and in the same vicinity are two inscriptions. The walls of the acropolis are regularly constructed and well preserved, extending round the edge of the rock, which, in some places, rises about thirty feet above the plain. Twenty-one layers of the wall are still remaining in the most perfect part, constructed of a hard mass of small stones, mortar, tiles, and earth, coated with stones of a regular masonry. In several parts are restorations, apparently modern. One gate only remains, which is square on the exterior side, and pointed in the interior. Near it is a square tower, and higher up the rock is one of a circular form, of small dimensions. Two dilapidated churches are seen within the acropolis. The promontory has been fortified in other places; and we were informed that there are small and imperfect remains of three other *palaio-kastros* within the peninsula."*

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 280–3. The Isthmus was fortified by the

Want of time prevented the learned Traveller from completing the circuit of the peninsula; and it is still more to be regretted, that he did not explore the summit of its volcanic cone,—an undertaking which he strongly recommends to any future traveller who shall possess a competent knowledge of mineralogy. The little village of Dara, consisting of only a few cottages, where Mr. Dodwell passed the night, exhibited an unusual appearance of prosperity and cheerfulness, for which his host accounted by remarking, that it was fortunately so much out of the way and so difficult of access that they were never troubled by the Turks. "The pastoral inhabitants," he says, "were all cheerfully disposed to accommodate us in their cottages, and we entered several, all of which were well stocked with the produce of their lands. That in which we slept was so full of barrels of olives, sacks of caroba-pod, and jars of honey, that it was with difficulty we found room for our mattresses. The master of the house played on the lyre, while his wife dressed us a dish of excellent fish."

Proceeding northward from Dara, Mr. Dodwell passed in thirty-five minutes a village named Phalaridi, situated in a small circular plain of rich pasture. In twelve minutes more, he came to a narrow isthmus between the sea and a small salt lake.* Beyond this, he passed over two rocky promontories; in an hour

Athenians in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, and Strabo mentions it as a strong place. Pausanias says, that it contained a temple of Isis and statues of Hercules and Mercury in the Agora. He mentions also hot baths, thirty *stadia* from the town. Mr. Dodwell procured some brass coins of the city, bearing the head of Vulcan, alluding probably to the volcano.

* This lake is, in fact, the remains of a bay, once the western port of Troezen, and the isthmus is the bank of sand which now chokes the entrance.

and twenty minutes from Dara, entered the plain of Lessa; and in another half-hour, began to ascend the hills by which it is bounded. The route now lay along the steep side of a lofty mountain,* by a very dangerous road. The calcareous rock is broken into *laminæ* almost as smooth and as slippery as glass, and a false step would have precipitated a horse into the deep valley. At the end of four hours, they reached the village of Phanari, built upon the eastern side of a steep mountain which rises abruptly from the Saronic Gulf. Near the village are remains of an ancient city on a bare precipitous rock, the edge of which is encircled by the ruined walls. Within their circuit appear three dilapidated churches with two ancient altars, a sepulchral *cippus* with sculptured foliage, and two marble fragments. There are also some modern walls and restorations, probably the construction of the middle ages, but none of the gates are remaining, and there are no inscriptions. The position is exceedingly strong, and well adapted for a fortress. At the foot of the mountain is the port, where also there are some remains of ancient walls. The name of the village, which signifies lantern, is supposed by Mr. Dodwell to indicate that this was an ancient telegraphic station.† Two hours from Phanari, he reached the village of Kolaki, where he entered the road from Trœzen to Epidaurus; in three hours and seven minutes, he passed through the

* The mountain is now called Ortholithi, from ὀρθος and λιθος.

† The learned Traveller refers to various classic authors who mention the practice of telegraphic correspondence by means of beacons. The taking of Troy was notified to Clytæmnestra at Mycenæ, by fire signals from Lemnos and the intervening mountains of Athos, Messapios, Cithæron, Ægiplankton, and Arachnaion.

ruins of that city; and in an hour and twenty-eight minutes further, arrived at Piada, on his way to Corinth.

Previously to leaving Trœzen, anxious to visit the spot where Demosthenes expired, Mr. Dodwell passed over into the island of Poros, the ancient Sphæria, which is separated from the Morea by a very narrow channel with a ferry, an hour and a half from Damala.* The town of Poros, which derives its name from the ferry, is built with a dark-coloured volcanic stone, of which the island is composed. Of the volcano by which it was created, there exists no historical account: it is not noticed by the ancients, and is probably of a date antecedent to their annals. It stands on a rocky promontory, united by a low and narrow strip of sand, which is covered when the sea is high, to the island of Kalauria. Poros is destitute both of wood and water; yet, Mr. Dodwell found it inhabited by some Greek traders, who were "rich and industrious, almost independent, and extremely insolent and inhospitable." Several trading boats and three merchant vessels were in the port, which has two entrances.

The island of Kalauria is composed of round and rocky hills, covered with a thin, arid soil, producing a small quantity of corn and olives. The ruins of the far-famed temple of Neptune are found on the most elevated part of the island, an hour from Poros, and are now called *Palatia*. The summit which they occupy is between 900 and 1000 feet above the level of the sea. "Not a single column of this celebrated sanctuary," says Mr. Dodwell, "is now standing, nor

* "The church of *Agios Epiphanios* is thirty minutes distant from Damala, and under it rises a fine stream. Half-way between Damala and Poros is the village of Paphia. The country abounds with oranges."—GELL'S *Itin.*, p. 126.

is the smallest fragment of a column to be seen among the ruins. Some masses of the architecture are remaining, which shew that it was of the Doric order. The foundation of the *cella* remains, and proves that it was not of great proportions. Within the *cella* are the foundations of some pillars, two feet nine inches square; also, some large blocks, which have formed the exterior part of a circular building, and are perhaps the remains of the monument of Demosthenes, which was within the *peribolos*. A semicircular seat of stone remains near the north-west end of the temple, on the outside of the *cella*. When Archias was sent by Antipater to induce Demosthenes to quit the sacred asylum of Neptune, he found him sitting without the temple;—perhaps upon that very seat which still remains. The orator then entered the temple, and swallowed the poison with which he was provided. The stone of which this venerated sanctuary is composed, is the dark volcanic rock of the island, which is too coarse to be highly worked. Some fragments, however, are seen among the ruins, consisting of a fine black marble, and of some pieces from the white quarries of Pentelikon and the grey rocks of Hymettus. Several other remains are no doubt concealed by the impenetrable thickness of the lentiscus which covers part of the ruins."

This temple is said to have existed before Delos was sacred to Latona, or Delphi to Apollo: it must, therefore, be of the highest antiquity. It was an asylum of inviolable sanctity, being universally respected, and, owing to this circumstance, naturally attracted great wealth. The island appeared to Mr. Dodwell to be at least between seven and eight miles

in circuit, though Strabo makes it only thirty *stadia*.*

Four hours and a half to the south of Damala, the road lying over "bare and ugly mountains," is the town of Kastri, the representative of the ancient Hermione, which was situated on the promontory below the modern village. Neptune, Apollo, Isis and Serapis, Venus, Ceres, Bacchus, Diana, Vesta, and Minerva had all temples here; but their foundations and the walls of the city alone remain. There was also a grove consecrated to the Graces; and behind the temple of Ceres was one of those unfathomed caverns which were believed to be mouths of the infernal regions.† Kastri has two excellent ports: the inhabitants, Sir W. Gell says, speak Albanian. Kranidi, to which, in 1823, the Greek Senate transferred its sittings in consequence of the rupture with the Executive, is an hour and a half to the westward of Kastri, nearly opposite to the island of Spezzia; it is said to contain 600 houses. Opposite to Kastri is the island and city of

* Sir W. Gell, in his Itinerary, mentions a large monastery at Calauria, but Mr. Dodwell does not appear to have visited it.

† "Behind this edifice there are three places surrounded with stone balustrades. In one of these, the earth opens and discovers a profound abyss. This is one of the mouths of the infernal regions of which I have spoken in my journey through Laconia. The inhabitants of the country say, that Pluto, when he carried off Proserpine, chose to descend by this gulf, because it is the shortest passage to his gloomy abode. (Strabo, lib. viii.)"—*Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iv. ch. 53. Sir W. Gell takes no notice of this cavern, but says, that at Didymo, near a lofty mountain of the same name, three hours from Kastri, in a northerly direction, Mr. Hawkins found a curious natural cavity, so regular as to appear artificial; also, an ancient well with a flight of steps down to the water.

HYDRA.

"WHAT a spot you have chosen for your country!" said Mr. Waddington to Admiral Tombazi. "It was Liberty that chose the spot, not we," was the patriot's ready reply. On a rock so utterly barren as scarcely to present on its whole surface a speck of verdure, rises in dazzling whiteness and beauty, this singularly interesting city. Seen in a summer's evening by moonlight, it is one of the most magnificent scenes imaginable. The white houses hanging in the form of an amphitheatre upon a steep mountain, then appear like a mass of snow; and the lights sparkling at a distance from the open windows, "shew like stars of gold on a silver ground." Hydra was not inhabited by the ancients. This little Venice of the Ægean has risen "like an exhalation" from the commercial enterprise and love of liberty to which the events of the last thirty years have given birth. "The harbour, from the abrupt sides and bottom of which the town starts up theatrically," Mr. Waddington says, "is neither spacious nor secure: it is, in fact, a deep bay situated on the western side of the island, and open to the west, having no nearer protection from that quarter than the opposite coast of the Morea, which is between four and five miles distant. There are, besides, two other ports on the same side of the island at a short distance, the one on the north, the other on the south of the city, in which most of the ships of war are laid up during the winter; and to many of the rest, very secure anchorage is afforded by the neighbouring and dependent island of Poros. All these three ports are, I am assured, superior to that on which the city stands: at any rate, they very amply

supply its imperfections." Mr. Emerson gives the following description of the appearance of the place in 1825.

"The town, on approaching it from the sea, presents an extremely beautiful prospect: its large white houses rise up suddenly from the sea, along the precipitous cliffs which form its harbour; every little crag displayed the white sails of an immense number of windmills, and every peak was bristling with a battery. In the back-ground, the rugged and barren summits of the rocks which form the island, with scarcely a speck of cultivation or a single tree, are crowned with numerous monasteries. On one is stationed a guard to observe the approach of ships; and his look-out extending to an immense distance, the Hydriots have, in general, the earliest intimation of any important naval movement. The streets, from the rugged situation of the town, are precipitous and uneven, but, to one arriving from the Peloponnesus, their cleanliness is their strongest recommendation. The quay, for the entire sweep of the harbour, is lined with storehouses and shops, which carry on the little external traffic that still remains, whilst their number shews the former extent of the Hydriot commerce. The houses are all built in the most substantial manner, and, with the exception of their flat roofs, on European models.* The apartments are large and airy,

* The taste which appears in the construction of many of the principal houses, would not, Mr. Waddington says, disgrace the best parts in any metropolis, and some of them are furnished with great costliness and elegance. He speaks of the streets as narrow and irregular, and, some of them, filthy, but "in a much less degree than is usual in the East." "The nobles of Hydra," says Count Pecchio, "are like the ancient Genoese, who were frugal in their living, but splendid in their habitations, to impose upon the people and acquire dominion over them."

and the halls spacious, and always paved with marble. The walls are so thick as almost to supersede the necessity of our sun-blinds in the niches of their deep-set windows. But, independently of the strength of the habitations, the neatness and extreme cleanliness of them are peculiarly remarkable, and speak highly for the domestic employments of the Hydriot ladies; who are still not entirely freed from the sedentary restriction so universal in the East. The furniture, half Turkish and half European, combines the luxury of one with the convenience of the other, whilst its solidity and want of ornament shew that it has been made for comfort, and not for ostentation.

"The appearance of the population is much more prepossessing than that of any other class of the Greeks: the women are in general pretty; but a universal custom of wearing a kerchief folded over the head and tied under the chin, destroys the fine contour of their features, and makes them all appear to have round faces. A short silken jacket, neatly ornamented, and a large petticoat, containing an immense number of folds and breadths, generally of green stuff, bordered with a few gaudy stripes, complete their simple costume. The neat slipper, universal in the north of Italy, which so delicately shews the turn of the ancle and heel, is likewise worn by the Hydriot ladies; whose jetty hair and sparkling eyes, graceful figures and beautiful hands, all enhanced by their half European manners, render them, if not the most beautiful, at least the most interesting females I have seen in the Levant.

"The men are invariably athletic and well-formed; their dress combining all the lightness of an oriental costume with the grace of a European one. Their short jackets are covered with neat embroidery, and

their only personal ornament is the handle of their machaira, or stout knife, the sole weapon carried by an islander in Hydra. Their pantaloons, which reach merely to the knee, are the most singular part of their dress, being nothing more than a very broad and shallow sack of dyed cotton, with a swing case at the top, and two holes at each corner of the bottom, so that when drawn on, the superfluous folds fall down in a bag behind, whilst ample plaits above add considerably to the grace of the figure.

"The harbour, though constantly crowded, contains only such vessels of the fleet as have returned for repairs, or a few Ionian and Maltese crafts, that carry on a petty trade in corn. The glorious share which this little island has taken in the regeneration of Greece, has brought it so conspicuously into notice, that its history is well known. A few fishermen and others, forced from the neighbouring continent by the oppression of the Turks, raised the first nucleus of a town; to which afterwards crowded numbers of others from Albania and Attica, in similar circumstances. The descendants of these, together with the refugees who took shelter here after the unsuccessful expedition of the Russians to the Morea, form the present population of the island. Their commerce, before the commencement of the French Revolution, was a mere trifle; consisting solely of a little traffic, in small coasters, with the neighbouring islands. When, however, the French were shut out from the Baltic, the supplying them with corn from the Archipelago was chiefly in the hands of the Hydriots. It was then that they first commenced building large vessels, in which they afterwards carried their commerce as far as England and America. In 1816, according to Mons. Pouqueville, they possessed 120 ves-

sels, of which forty were of 400 and 600 tons burthen: the number is now considerably increased, and all are employed in the glorious task of liberating their country. Their services in this struggle are the more honourable, as their interference is the pure offspring of patriotism, and not the effects of oppression. For many years they had purchased from the Porte the liberty of governing themselves. No Turk was resident on the island, nor ever suffered to advance into the town beyond the quay; their tribute in money was a mere trifle, and their only grievance, an obligation to furnish annually 150 sailors for the Ottoman fleet, in which also many of themselves were serving through choice, and even a few had been advanced to the rank of Capitan Pacha.

"The trade of Hydra is now totally gone, and, it is probable, will never be restored, at least in the island; as, even if successful in acquiring their freedom, the Hydriots will choose some situation more adapted for commerce, and desert the present, to which they have only been driven by necessity."

The population of Hydra was estimated in 1825, at 40,000 souls. Mr. Waddington represents it as exclusively Albanian. "I think it probable," he says, "that, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Morea, not a dozen Greek families are to be found resident in the island. I should except some Sciote and Aivaliote refugees, who are, by the way, the only mendicants in the place. Albanian is, of course, the language used in their intercourse with each other: the men generally, perhaps universally, can converse in Greek; but there are many of the wives and daughters of these Hellenes (for they too will sometimes assume the title of regeneration), who are entire strangers to the language of Greece.

"The great cause of this rarity of sojourners in a place entirely mercantile, is the extreme clannishness of the natives; and this jealousy is extended to all foreigners without exception. It is no *Albanian* suspiciousness, or dislike of what is Greek: I am not aware that any such prejudice exists. It is a feeling purely *Hydriote*, and operates nearly equally against all the world; and, in fact, if there be any people whom the Hydriotes hate as a people, it is their brother Albanians and neighbours, the Spezziotes and Crenidiotes.

"Neither could I ever learn, on the other hand, that the Greeks entertain any general prejudice against the Albanian character. There are, indeed, many mercenaries of that nation, who, during their service in Greece, have plundered the peasantry, in connexion probably with the native soldiers, and on whom the entire odium has naturally fallen; but even this applies chiefly to those born on the shores of the Adriatic. Against Albanian families or villages established in Greece, I can perceive no such antipathy. An Albanian commanded the Greek fleet during the first year of the war, and was succeeded in his command by an Albanian. To the brother of the former admiral, the Cretans voluntarily confided the government of their island; and the two persons at the head of the present administration in the Morea are Albanians.

"And yet, there would seem to exist some strong characteristic distinctions between these two people; as far, at least, as I am able to judge from a very short acquaintance with the Psarians and Hydriotes, who are perhaps the best models of either character. Vivacity, levity, vanity, attract and amuse you in the former, and are well contrasted by the sedateness, pride, almost insolence of the latter. The Greek has

more wit, and cleverness, and ingenuity; the Albanian has probably the advantage in sense and judgement: and, if the one be more brilliant, the other is, perhaps, more honest.*

"There may, too, exist a similar opposition in the nature of their crimes. Those of the Greek will be of a lighter and less decided character: they will possess more of versatility, and chicanery, and roguery; less of straight-forward, downright villany.

"However, whether such differences in character exist or not, a strong distinction in manners is immediately observable, and this is entirely in favour of the Greek, whose natural and often attentive politeness is strongly contrasted with the sulky and repulsive reserve of the Albanian.

"I have not seen in any country so uniformly well-dressed a population as that of Hydra; I speak of the men only, for the gayety of the women, whatever it may be, is pretty strictly confined to their own apartments. There is no where the slightest appearance of distress, or even poverty; nor yet is there any commercial bustle, or show of industry or activity; much less is there any parade or demonstration of war. The people are peaceably chatting in the bazars, and eating with their caviar the whitest bread in the world,—a nation of gentlemen, enjoying the united blessings of opulence and tranquillity!

* Some of the most daring and successful exploits which have done honour to the Revolution, have been achieved by Ipsariots; but it is a singular fact, the Writer remarks, that since the unfortunate destruction of Ipsara by the Capitan Pasha, the whole of the Greek fleet is *Albanian*. Canaris, however, is an Ipsariot. Count Pecchio, who saw him at Egina, describes him as a young man, about thirty-two, frank, gay, and extremely modest, beloved by his countrymen, but envied by the Hydriots. His wife is also an Ipsariot, "of great beauty, grave and modest, a Minerva."

"In fact, the *people* of Hydra have yet suffered none even of the ordinary miseries of war. The sailors have been a great deal employed, and enormously paid. They have shared the plunder of several valuable prizes; and in the whole succession of sanguinary victories which they are imagined to have obtained over the Turks since the commencement of the Revolution, I do conscientiously believe that not twenty Hydriotes have perished.

"The government of the island is vested in the hands of six primates, who are sustained in the exercise of their duty by the authority of the other merchants; but their united weight, being devoid of all physical support, is insufficient to oppose any very general mutiny of the sailors, who may be five or six thousand in number, and are prepared on such occasions to proceed to any extremity. It was thus, in fact, that Hydra was first engaged in the present Revolution. Immediately after the first explosion at Patras, Spezzia declared her independence. The example of Spezzia was very soon followed by Psarà, but the primates of Hydra still hesitated; they were much more opulent than their neighbours, and therefore risked much more by the throw when every thing was staked. The sailors, on the other hand, who had been unemployed since the preceding October, when Conduriotti and the other merchants called in their vessels, were enchanted with the fair prospect of service and profit which was opened to them by the insurrection: they became clamorous for liberty and religion, and, on the further hesitation of the merchants, they proceeded to goad and flog them into independence.*

"As individuals and as merchants, the leading

* The whole number of the mob is stated at 5000, and they are said to have extorted from the merchants the sum of 150,000 dol-

persons at Hydra are extremely and deservedly respected; and, in my short intercourse with them, I have seen no proof of that repulsive inhospitality with which I have sometimes heard them charged. I have even been more fortunate in escaping any insult from the lower classes; for from them, at least, I had been always taught to expect insult as a matter of course: the populace of Hydra is notoriously lawless and intractable. However, Greeks at last, with all their national vanity, often do each other great injustice. In this singular land, every man's country is his own city, or his own mountain, or his own rock; and to these, his mere patriotism, as separated from his interest, is almost entirely confined; and he appears even to detest every thing beyond them. Islanders abuse Moraites, and Moraites calumniate Islanders, while many districts in the Morea, and many isles in the Egean, have their several subdivisions of animosity. So that if these people are severally worse than they represent themselves, we are often consoled to find their neighbours very much better than we had been instructed to expect.*

"Some of the merchants, notwithstanding the sacrifices which the Revolution has extorted from them, are still supposed to possess very considerable

lars, being 250 piastres each. This Writer's account of the transaction may be thought, however, not very distinct or perhaps accurate.

* Thus we find Mr. Dodwell, who does not appear to have visited Hydra, speaking with very unusual asperity of the inhabitants of "Poros, Hydra, and some of the commercial islands," as "the worst kind of Greeks," who "think themselves independent, because not under the immediate bondage of Turkish despotism;" as having "all the disgusting impudence of emancipated slaves;" and he declares, "he never found any Turkish insolence or brutality so disgusting as the little despicable pride and low impertinence of the contemptible and filthy inhabitants of Poros." This

capital, though to what amount, where placed, or how at this moment employed, I cannot learn with any certainty. Much is probably afloat in Frank bottoms, and engaged in the corn trade with Alexandria or the Black Sea.

"I am sorry to be obliged to believe that the advantages of education are as yet extremely undervalued at Hydra. Among the higher classes, indeed, some few young men are sent to study in Italy; and many others, whom commercial speculations may have established for a time in more civilised lands, have not lost that opportunity to instruct and inform themselves; but the improvement of the lower orders is miserably neglected; and to this cause, chiefly, we may attribute the selfish and illiberal spirit by which they are characterised, their disposition to riot and disorder, and that unmeaning pride and insolence of demeanour, which is so generally the companion of ignorance."

That such should be the character of an uneducated maritime population, can excite no reasonable surprise, nor does it afford any just ground for reproach on either the character or the cause of the Greeks. Nothing can be more unfair or more absurd than to

is the language of spleen; and it turns out that these islanders are *not* Greeks! Count Pecchio happily applies to the common people of Hydra, Homer's description of the ancient Phæacians:

> "A race of rugged mariners are these;
> Unpolished men, and boisterous as their seas;
> The native islanders alone their care,
> And hateful he that breathes a foreign air.
> These did the ruler of the deep ordain
> To build proud navies, and command the main;
> Oar-winged canvas wings to cut the watery way,
> No bird so light, no thought so swift as they."
>
> POPE, *Odys.* b. vii.

* Waddington, pp. 103—112.

require from the lower orders, in a country just emerging from the barbarising influence of despotism, a degree of patriotism, enlightened conduct, and polished manners, which would be looked for in vain among the mariners and maritime traders of our own Island.* The first person in the island, Lazzari Conduriotti, the brother of the Ex-President,† is a man of high and irreproachable character. Such appears to be the character, indeed, of all the principal people. His family, however, came originally from Condouri, a village near Athens, but have long been resident in Hydra. Miaulis, the Hydriot admiral, is thus described by Mr. Emerson, who for some time remained on board his vessel.

"Miaulis is a man from fifty to sixty years old, his figure somewhat clumsy, but with a countenance peculiarly expressive of intelligence, humanity, and good-nature. His family have been long established at Hydra, and he has himself been accustomed to the sea from a child. Being intrusted at nineteen by his father with the management of a small brig which traded in the Archipelago, his successes in trade were equal to those of any of his countrymen, and about fifteen years ago, he was amongst the richest of the islanders; but the unfortunate loss of a vessel on the coast of Spain, which, together with her cargo, was his own property,

* A Spezziote priest, the eparch of the island, speaking to Mr. Emerson of the want of principle and unanimity among the leading *capitani*, observed, that "poor Greece was still but an infant state; that it was cruel to expect manly perfection in a child, or matured virtue in an enfranchised slave, and such," he added, "are our government and rulers; and as to these dissensions, there were but two men to found Rome, and although they were brothers, one slew the other."

† George Conduriotti—"a plain, inactive man, of no talent, but unshaken integrity."—EMERSON.

and worth about 160,000 piastres, reduced his circumstances to mediocrity. A few years, however, in some degree recruited his fortunes, so far as, at the opening of the war, to enable him to contribute three brigs to the navy of Greece. He had at one time been captured, with two other Spezziot vessels, by Lord Nelson: his companions, after a strict investigation, still maintaining that their cargo was not French property, were condemned; whilst his frankness in admitting the justness of the capture, notwithstanding that circumstance evidently convicted him, induced the British admiral to give him his liberty. I never met with any man of more unaffected and friendly manners. He seems totally above any vaunting or affectation, and only anxious to achieve his own grand object — the liberation of his country, alike unmoved by the malice and envy of his enemies, or the lavish praises of his countrymen. The bravery of his associates is mingled with a considerable portion of ambition; but with him, there seems but one unbiassed spring, of steady, sterling patriotism.

"The vessel of Miaulis is a Hydriot-built brig, of about 300 tons, carrying fourteen twelve-pound carronades and four long eighteens: the crew are about ninety in number, and are almost all the remote relatives of his own family. His son Antonio is the second in command, a young man of pleasing manners and distinguished courage;* and the secretary, Hiecesios Latris, is a student of Scio, and a member of one of the most honourable Greek families of Smyrna. The cabin is fitted up very neatly, and ornamented

* "The other members of his family consist of a daughter, now a widow; his eldest son, Demetrius, a merchant and junior primate of Hydra; and his youngest, John, a lad of nineteen or twenty, commander of one of his father's brigs."

with drawings of some of his distinguished battles: it is furnished with a divan, for the accommodation of the constant crowd of captains who form his council. Behind it is a small chapel, furnished with numerous paintings of the Virgin and Saint Nicholas, before which an ornamented lamp is kept constantly burning. This, however, is not peculiar to the Mars; as every ship in the fleet has its Virgin and lamp, before which the captain and cabin officers pay their morning and evening devotions: and at every sunset, a censer of myrrh is borne round the deck, the perfume of which is inhaled by every individual of the crew, whilst he devoutly crosses himself, and repeats his vesper to the Virgin.

"Miaulis usually takes his stand at the stern: here he remains almost without intermission, sleeping at night in a little cabin built over the tiller, and sitting on it by day to watch the movements of the fleet. Nothing can exceed the anxiety and unwearied diligence with which he discharges the duties of an office so replete with crosses and thwartings, more from internal annoyance than from solicitude for the movements of the enemy. As he sits all day, *à la Turque*, with his feet doubled under him, he has contracted a habit of picking the soft leather of his shoes. The affairs for the last month had been most perplexing, and the good old admiral's slippers were now in ribands."*

The island of Spezzia is described by Mr. Emerson as "almost a miniature likeness of Hydra;" less rocky indeed, and better cultivated, but similar in its origin and character. The town is built on the eastern shore of the island, and contained, in 1825,

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. pp. 173—5, 190—3.

about 3000 inhabitants.* Its streets are better than those of Hydra, its houses equally good, and the same taste for cleanliness and comfort prevails here. From its situation, the place is almost incapable of defence, and the few useless batteries which lie along the shore had been for the most part dismantled, for the sake of placing the guns in their ships of war. The dependence of the Spezziotes rested on the narrowness of the strait which separates their island from the Morea, the dread entertained by the Turks of their fire-ships in so narrow a channel, and the facilities of obtaining succours or making their escape. Spezzia has furnished sixteen ships for the Greek navy, besides two fire-ships; Hydra has furnished forty; the remainder are the remnants of the Ipsariot squadron.† Jealous of the superior power and

* Count Pecchio states the population of the whole island at 10,000 persons. Sir William Gell, in his own peculiar style, speaks of *Specie* as a "thriving town of Albanian peasants and pirates, who called themselves Greeks by courtesy." The island is the ancient Tiparenos.

† "Of the vessels of war, about six or seven carry three masts, and are of 3 or 400 tons burthen; the remainder are all brigs and single-masted schooners, of from 100 to 250 tons. The greatest number of guns carried by any vessel is eighteen, and these are almost always of different calibre, in consequence of having been brought from different forts, or purchased at various times. The weightiest are a few eighteen-pounders in Miaulis's and Sokini's brigs; the remainder, in general, twelve cannonades, or a few long guns of the same weight of metal. The entire Greek fleet is as yet the property of individuals; and, though the sailors are paid by the Government, as well as an allowance made for the disbursements of the vessels, the owners are, in general, subject to a main part of the expenses of those vessels. Conduriotti and his brother have furnished ten, Tombazi three, Miaulis three. The rest are, in general, fitted out by individuals, or are the joint property of the captain and his family....The number of seamen employed in each ship, varies from 100 to 60, and their pay from 70 to 40 piastres a month. Their activity and alertness, as sailors, are

means which have qualified the Hydriotes to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, the Spezziotes, Mr. Emerson says, have never ceased to manifest their discontent. "With their own admiral, their own system of discipline, and even their own code of signals, their squadron always sailing in a body and aloof from the rest, they seem an appendage, rather than a part of the fleet; and have never failed to disobey any orders, or rather, to refuse any requests of the Hydriote commander, which have not coincided with their own views of interest, advantage, or convenience. The unfortunate Ipsariots, on the contrary, with no longer any native land to fight for, no national superiority to support, deprived of kindred and connexion, and, in fact, isolated beings, cast upon the world and their own exertions, with no spot of earth which they can claim as their own; only struggling to liberate a land where they can again place the remnants of their families and fortunes, in some spot which they may yet be able to call by the endearing name of home; aloof from all faction, and swayed by no contending interests, these men have ever displayed the most undaunted bravery, and have gladly coalesced in every measure proposed for the common advantage. They have consequently united themselves with the most efficient body, the Hydriotes, and have, in common

already well known; but as, from the narrow circle in which they have been accustomed to trade, very few having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, they are not what may be called experienced seamen; and the number, even of captains, who have studied navigation, is so small, that they have frequently been enumerated to me, and do not, I think, exceed ten or a dozen; the necessity of this branch of education being obviated by their coast voyages and short seas. As to the discipline or government of their ships, such a thing scarcely exists."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 176—8.

with them, shared the envy and ill-offices of their countrymen in Spezzia.'

Upon the whole, among the higher orders both of Hydriotes and Spezziotes, Mr. Emerson says, he found much to admire and to esteem: of the lower classes, he was led to form by no means so favourable an opinion.

FROM ARGOS TO CORINTH.

We must now return to Argos and classic ground, in order to penetrate to the Corinthian Isthmus by defiles once guarded by the Nemeæan lion, and not less celebrated in the fresh annals of Modern Greece, for the destruction of the Ottoman army under Mahmoud Pasha;* when, to adopt the words of Colonel Leake, "a Grecian imagination might picture the ghosts of the *Atridæ* witnessing, from their still existing sepulchres, a slaughter of the barbarian hosts, from which Greece may perhaps date her resurrection from slavery."

The only outlets from the plain of Argos in the direction of Corinth, are the passes of Barbati and Dervenaki, which lead from either side of the ancient Mycenæ into the valley of Cleonæ, and thence, through another pass, into the maritime plain which includes Sicyon, Corinth, and the Isthmus.† The route taken by Dr. Clarke was by the pass of Dervenaki and the Nemean plain. "The road from Mycenæ to Nemea coincides," he says, "with the road to Corinth for a short distance after leaving Carvati (Krabata); but,

* See vol. i. p. 180.

† According to Pausanias, there were two ways of going from Cleonæ to Argos; one fit for couriers, and short; the other by Tretus, a narrow and circuitous way, but passable for carriages.

upon reaching the mountains which separate the two plains of Argos and Nemea, it bears off by a defile across a mountain to the west. As we entered this defile, we travelled by the side of a rivulet of very clear water, through woods," (thickets of oleander, myrtles, and evergreens,) "which were once the haunts of the famous Nemeæan lion. The only animals we saw were some very fine tortoises. We passed one or two huts inhabited by wild-looking fellows, who told us they were the guards of the pass. They offered us water, and we gave them a few paras. Near this place we observed the remains of the old road alluded to by Pausanias in his account of this defile: the marks of wheels were yet visible, the surface of the stone being furrowed into ruts. The mountain is still called *Treto* by the natives: it extends from east to west along the southern side of the plain of Nemea. We made diligent inquiry after the cave of the Nemeæan lion: the guides from Argos knew nothing of it, but the people of Nemea afterwards brought us back again to visit a hollow rock, hardly deserving the name of a cave, although no unlikely place for the den of a lion. It is situate upon the top of the mountain just before the descent begins towards Nemea, but upon the side towards the gulf of Argos, commanding a view of all the country in that direction. It consists simply of an overhanging rock in the midst of thickets, on the left side of the road from Nemea to Argos; forming a shed where the shepherds sometimes pen their folds.* This is the only cave of any description that we could hear of in the neighbour-

* Bearings, according to Dr. Clarke: Peak of Mount Geranion S.W. by W.; citadel of Argos S.S.W.; Napoli, S.; Acro-Corinthus, E.N.E.

hood, and we may consider it as identified with the cave mentioned by Pausanias, from the circumstance of its position upon a mountain still bearing the name of the place assigned by him for its situation. Its distance also from the ruins of the temple, being about a mile and a half, agrees with that which he has stated, of fifteen *stadia*.*

NEMEA.

"AFTER regaining the road, the descent from this place soon conducts the traveller into the plain of Nemea. We passed the fountain of Archemorus, once called Langia, and now Licoriæ. Near it we saw the tomb of Opheltes, at present nothing more than a heap of stones. Pausanias calls the fountain the Adrastean spring. A superstition connected with it gave rise to all the sanctity and celebrity of the surrounding grove. Victors in the Nemeæan games received no other reward than a chaplet made of the wild parsley that grew upon its margin; and the herb itself, from the circumstance of its locality, was fabled to have sprung from the blood of Archemorus, in consequence of whose death the spring is said to have received its name.†

* Apollodorus represents the cave as having two entrances.—Between Nemea and Cleonæ, Mr. Dodwell noticed three natural caverns in the rock, a few paces from the road; they are, however, of small dimensions, "and certainly not large enough for the Nemean lion." Chandler, however, speaks of other caves between Argos and Nemea, which Dr. Clarke seems strangely to have overlooked. Soon after passing the *derveni*, "we turned out of the road to the left," he says, "and by a path impeded with shrubs, ascended a brow of the mountain, in which are caves ranging in the rock, the abode of shepherds in winter. One was, perhaps, the den of the Nemean lion, which continued to be shewn in the second century."

† "At the entrance of the plain of Nemea, we came to a spring in a rock, with some large stones and ancient traces in the vicinity. This was probably the fountain Langia. At the time that Adras-

"We then came to the ruins of the temple of the Nemeæan Jupiter, which form a striking object as the plain opens. Three beautiful columns of the Doric order without bases, two supporting an entablature, and a third at a small distance, sustaining its capital only, are all that remain of this once magnificent edifice; but they stand in the midst of huge blocks of marble, lying in all positions, the fragments of other columns, and the sumptuous materials of the building, detached from its walls and foundations."

Mr. Dodwell remarked, that the columns have fallen in such regular order, that the temple evidently appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake, rather than by the slow process of dilapidation. The lower part of the *cella* remains. The temple was hexastyle and peripteral, and is supposed to have had fourteen columns on each side.* Of the three which are standing, the two supporting their architrave are four feet

tos, king of Argos, was leading his army through Nemea for the purpose of attacking Thebes, he was overpowered by a burning thirst, and meeting Hypsipile, who had the care of Opheltes or Archemoros, son of Lycurgus, king of Nemea, he made her accompany him to the fountain of Langia. In order to avoid all delay, she laid the child upon the ground, but, on her return, found it had been killed by a serpent. The fountain thence took the name of Archemoros. Pausanias calls it Adrasteia; and it is singular that he seems ignorant of the origin of this appellation."—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 208. This Traveller purchased at Corinth, a copper coin of that city, on one side of which is the head of Domitian, and on the other, a serpent with a child in his mouth, and an armed warrior (Adrastus) attacking it.

* Dr. Clarke was told by the villagers, that there were formerly *ninety* columns all standing in this place. This was probably a round assertion, yet it seems to indicate that the fall of the greater part must then have been recent. Sir W. Gell states the measurements of the temple to have been 65 feet in breadth, and its length more than double: the walls of the *cella*, *pronaos*, and *posticus* together, 105 feet 2 inches; width, 30 feet 7 inches.

six inches and a half in diameter, and thirty-one feet ten inches and a half in height, exclusive of their capitals. The single column, which belongs to the peristyle, is five feet three inches in diameter. Mr. Dodwell had not, he says, seen any Doric temple in Greece, the columns of which are of so slender proportions: the *epistylia* are thin and meagre, and the capitals are too small for the height of the shaft. The edifice is constructed of a soft calcareous stone, a conglomerate of sand and petrified shells, and the columns are coated with a fine stucco: they are now nearly covered with a thin lichen, produced by the dampness of the situation. Some fragments of marbles may possibly yet be concealed among the ruins; but even in the time of Pausanias, the roof had fallen, and not a statue was left.*

"Near the temple," continues Mr. Dodwell, "is a ruined church, with several blocks of stone: some fluted Doric *frusta* and a capital of small proportions, serve as an altar. This was perhaps the sepulchre of Opheltes, which, according to Pausanias, was surrounded with a wall. I searched in vain for parsley, which is said to have sprung from the blood of Opheltes; and observed no remains of the tumulus (χωμα γης) of Lycurgus, king of Nemea, nor any traces of the theatre or stadium.† Nemea was indeed

* Yet the temple, Dr. Clarke suggests, is not, perhaps, of the high antiquity that has been assigned to it, but "may have been erected by Hadrian, when that emperor restored to the Nemeæan and to the Isthmian Games their original splendour,"—possibly, on more ancient foundations.

† Dr. Clarke says: "Near the remains of the temple, and upon the south side of it, we saw a small chapel containing some Doric fragments standing upon an ancient *tumulus*, perhaps the monument of Lycurgus, father of Opheltes." Sir W. Gell also speaks of this tumulus, but supposes the Doric remains to be those of the

a village, rather than a town; (Pausanias calls it χωρίον;) it was probably inhabited chiefly by the priests and attendants on the god, and those who prepared the quinquennial games.*

"The plain exhibits a very even surface; it is surrounded with barren hills of a dark and melancholy hue, the highest of which, at the north-eastern extremity, has a flat summit, and is probably that which was called Apesas by the ancients. This is visible from the heights above Corinth and from the acropolis of Argos. According to Pausanias, Perseus first sacrificed to Jupiter Apesantios on this mountain.

"Nemea is more characterised by gloom than most of the places I have seen. The splendour of religious pomp and the busy animation of gymnastic and equestrian exercises, have been succeeded by the dreary vacancy of a death-like solitude. We saw no living creatures but a ploughman and his oxen, in a spot which was once exhilarated by the gayety of thousands, and which resounded with the shouts of a crowded population. The forest which supplied Hercules with his club, could not at present furnish a common walking-stick. There is not a single tree in the whole plain, and only a few bushes about the temple." †

Propylæa of the temple. "There are indications of the Nemean theatre," he says, "at the foot of a hill not far distant; and probably vestiges of the stadium or hippodrome of the Nemean Games might be discovered by an attentive search."—*Itin.* p. 159. Was not the tomb of Opheltes and his father the same?

* The Olympic games were celebrated every fifth year, but the Nemean every *third* year. The latter continued long after the former were abolished.

† If the club of Hercules was of olive, as Pausanias states, it is probable that timber trees were always scarce in this plain. The

The Nemean were funereal games;* and the gloomy aspect of the spot would seem to have comported with the original character of the institution. The presidents were clothed in black garments, and the parsley with which the visiters were crowned, was the herb, Plutarch tells us, with which the ancient Greeks were accustomed to adorn the sepulchres of their dead. It still retains, among the moderns, its melancholy use and emblematic character. "To want parsley" (δεισθαι σελινου), was an expression applied to a person in the last extremity; and the gift of parsley, in the hieroglyphic language of flowers, implies a wish of the person's death to whom it is presented. In some parts of England, the rosemary, with its 'sweet decaying smell,' has the same funereal character, being put in the coffins of the dead, as, in Greece, the parsley is strewed on the grave, or planted round it.

A poor village, consisting of three or four huts, somewhat further in the plain, to the N.E. of the temple, now occupies, Dr. Clarke says, the situation of the ancient village of Nemea: it bears the name of

temple was, however, surrounded with a grove of cypress-trees, which has entirely disappeared.

* There is reason to believe that all the games owed their institution to a similar origin, though, as political institutions, they became subsequently modified. The Olympic Games are said to have been originally celebrated in honour of deceased heroes. "Games, with prizes for the conquerors, were the usual compliment, and made up the greatest part of the ceremony at the funeral of every person of note and quality····Sometimes, an anniversary solemnization of games was enacted in honour of the deceased. Such were those instituted by a decree of the Syracusians as a perpetual memorial of the godlike virtues of Timoleon, their deliverer and legislator."—See Dissert. on the Olympic Games prefixed to West's Pindar. The Nemean Games were sacred to Hercules, as the Olympic were to Jupiter, the Isthmian to Neptune, and the Pythian to Apollo.

Colonna, " probably bestowed upon it in consequence of these ruins."*

The ancient road to Corinth did not pass through Nemea, but ran direct to Cleonæ,† where the Nemean Games were sometimes celebrated. The intermediate distance, according to Sir W. Gell, is an hour and a quarter, although, according to Pausanias, it was only fifteen *stadia*, or not two miles.‡ The road is very bad. Chandler, who took this route, says: " We passed by the fountain at Nemea to regain the direct road from Argos to Corinth, re-ascending Tretus. We then travelled over a mountainous road among low shrubs; the hills with their tops washed bare, some shining, and with channels worn in their sides; the way crossed by very deep water-courses and shallow streams. We came to a small plain, in which are some vestiges of Cleonæ, a city once overspreading a knoll or rising rock, and handsomely walled about. It is mentioned by Pausanias as a place not large, with a temple of Minerva." Diodorus Siculus mentions also a temple of Hercules in this vicinity, the ruins of which Mr. Cockerell found behind a khan on the road from Cleonæ to Argos, with part of a statue, supposed to be of Hercules.§ Mr. Dodwell, who

* Sir W. Gell says, the village nearest the ruins is called Kutchukmadi.

† Cleonæ was 120 *stadia*, or nearly fifteen miles from Corinth. The distance must be considerably increased by going through Nemea, if we may depend upon Sir W. Gell's calculation by time. Adding together the distances from Corinth to Cleonæ, from Cleonæ to Nemea, from Nemea to Krabata, and from Krabata to Argos, we have eight hours; equal to about twenty-five miles.

‡ This discrepancy is so considerable as almost to justify suspicion whether the supposed temple of Jupiter be really that of Nemea.

§ Gell's Itin. p. 157.

reached Cleonæ from the Isthmus, thus describes the vestiges to which Chandler so obscurely alludes.

"In two hours and thirty-three minutes from Corinth, we arrived at the ruins of Kleonai, at present named Kourtese, situated upon a circular and insulated hill, which seems to have been completely covered with buildings. On the side of the hill are six ancient terrace-walls of the third style of masonry, rising one above the other, on which the houses and streets were situated. Strabo, as well as Homer, calls it a well-built town, and says, that it extended round a hill, and was eighty *stadia* from Corinth, which agrees nearly with two hours and a half that it took us to reach it from that place. The Acrocorinthus, which had been concealed from us by intervening hills, became visible from hence in the direction of N. 65 E.; and Strabo says, he saw it from the Acrocorinthus Both the Geographer and Pausanias call it a small town. The walls of this city appear to owe their dilapidation more to violence than to time, as, where they have been suffered to remain, their preservation is perfect. They were probably demolished by the destructive fury of the tyrants of the world, at the period of the taking of Corinth. According to the testimony of Pausanias, the detested tyranny of the Romans destroyed, at that unhappy epoch, all the fortified places in Greece. The destruction of many most interesting remains of Grecian fortification is, no doubt, to be attributed to the overbearing policy of that people.

"Not far from the ruins of Kleonai is a ridge of hills, one of which is called *Agion Oros*, the holy mountain, on which are the remains of a small town or castle, situated above the extensive village of

Agios Basili, probably Tenea, which was sixty *stadia* from Corinth, on the way to Mycenæ."*

On leaving Cleonæ, the road is crossed by two small torrents, which join a large stream on the right, flowing towards Corinth. In the plain are several villages. On the right is that of *Omar Tschaousch*, with a few cypresses about it and some cultivation. Within a short distance, the traveller crosses five other rivulets running towards the Corinthian Gulf.† The road then lies over some gentle eminences of a light-coloured argillaceous soil,‡ which have been rent by earthquakes, and furrowed by winter torrents. Several deep ravines are crossed by bridges. On coming in view of the Gulf, the plain opens on the left, covered with vineyards and olive-groves. The fertility of this plain was proverbial, and it was noted for its olives. The trees, however, Mr. Dodwell says, being thickly planted, are not so large and thriving as those of Athens, which stand further apart, and have more room for their roots, as well as a freer circulation of air for their branches. The road is extremely slippery after rain. A steep path descends into the plain, and at the foot of the hills are two *tumuli*, some ancient stone-quarries, and traces of buildings. Further on, the traveller crosses two streams, and passes by a fountain with remains of Roman brick-work; he then passes over a deep ravine, and in thirty-seven minutes after entering the plain, arrives at Corinth.

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 206.

† Between Omar Tschaousch and Rakani, the same river is crossed three times.

‡ Dr. Clarke says, "the rocks appeared to consist of a whitish chalky limestone."

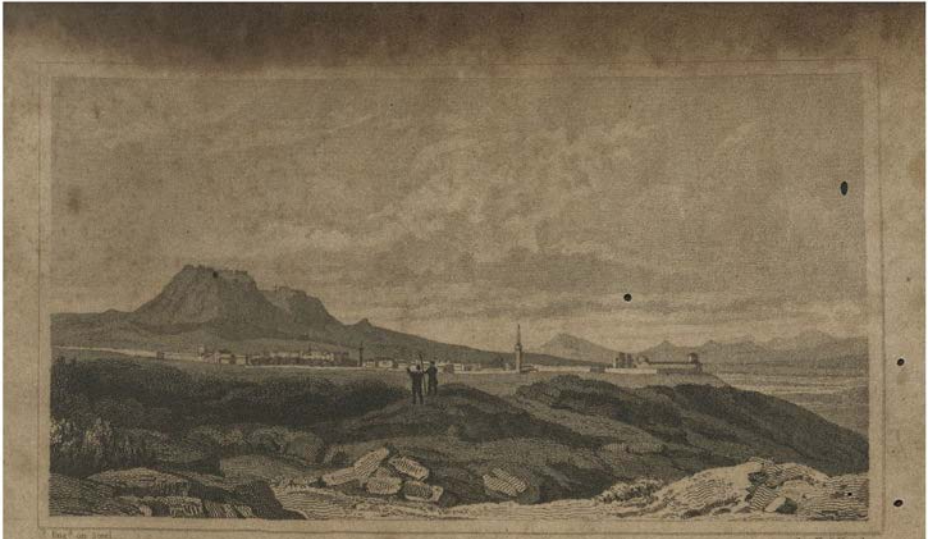
CORINTH.

THERE is scarcely any one of the seats of ancient magnificence and luxury that calls up more vivid and powerful associations, than are awakened by the name of this once opulent and powerful city. Corinth, "the prow and stern of Greece,"* the emporium of its commerce, the key and bulwark of the Peloponnesus, was proverbial for its wealth as early as the time of Homer. Its situation was so advantageous for the inexperienced navigation of early times, that it became of necessity the centre of trade.† The circumnavigation of the peninsula was tedious and uncertain to a proverb;‡ while at the Isthmus, not only their cargoes, but, if requisite, the smaller vessels might be transported from sea to sea. By its port of Cenchreæ, it received the rich merchandise of Asia, and by that of Lechæum, it maintained intercourse with Italy and Sicily. The Isthmian Games, by the concourse of people which they attracted at their celebration, contributed not a little to its immense opulence; and the prodigality of its merchants rendered the

πρωρα και πρυμνα της Ἑλλαδος (Dion Chrysostom in Dodwell). The Acrocorinthus was one of the horns on which Phillip was advised to lay hold in order to secure the heifer, the Peloponnesus: Ithome was the other.

† The first naval battle on record was fought between Corinth and its colony Corcyra, about 657 B.C. "Syracuse, the ornament of Sicily, Corcyra, some time sovereign of the seas, Ambracia in Epirus, and several other cities more or less flourishing, owe their origin to Corinth."—*Trav. of Anarchasis*, vol. iii. c. 37. Thucydides states, that the Corinthian ship-builders first produced galleys with three benches of oars.

‡ Cape Malea was, in those days, a sort of Cape of Good Hope. "Before the mariner doubles Cape Malea," it was said, "he should forget all he holds dearest in the world."



Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard.

CORINTH.

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place so expensive, that it became a saying, "It is not for every one to go to Corinth."* Prior to its barbarous destruction by the Romans, it must have been an extremely magnificent city. Pausanias mentions in and near the city, a theatre, an odeum, a stadium, and sixteen temples. That of Venus possessed above a thousand female slaves.

The original name of Corinth was Ephyra: who the Corinthus was, from whom the city is stated to have taken its present name, is matter of uncertainty and fable.† The Grecian city was destroyed by Roman barbarians. "A dispute, in which the Roman senate interposed, produced a war equally fatal to Grecian liberty and to Corinth. The general of the Achæans was defeated, and fleeing into Arcadia, abandoned this city. Lucius Mummius, who commanded the Roman army, apprehensive of some

* "The women of Corinth are distinguished by their beauty, the men by their love of gain and pleasure They ruin their health by convivial debauches, and love with them is only licentious passion. Venus is their principal deity.....The Corinthians, who performed such illustrious acts of valour in the Persian war, becoming enervated by pleasure, sunk under the yoke of the Argives; were obliged alternately to solicit the protection of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the Thebans; and are at length reduced to be only the wealthiest, the most effeminate, and the weakest state in Greece."—*Trav. of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. c. 37. In this description of the manners of Corinth, we recognise the usual features of a maritime and commercial capital. Cadiz has been called the modern Paphos: at one time the emporium of the Indies, commanding the commerce of both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, eminent alike for its wealth and its profligacy, the charms of its women, the opulence of its merchants, and the gayety of its inhabitants, it might, with singular accuracy in the comparison, have been more appropriately styled the modern Corinth.—See MOD. TRAV., *Spain*, vol. i. p. 365.

† "Corinth," says Wheeler, "hath yet near upon preserved its old name; for they still call it Corintho, or, for shortness, Coritho; seldom, now-a-days, pronouncing the Σ at the end of their words."

stratagem, did not enter until the third day, though the gates stood open. The Corinthians were put to the sword, or sold as captives, and the city was pillaged and subverted. The historian Polybius, who was present, laments, among other articles, the unworthy treatment of the offerings and works of art; relating, that he saw exquisite and famous pictures thrown neglectfully on the ground, and the soldiers playing on them with dice. The precious spoil was among the prime ornaments of Rome and of the places in which it was dispersed. The town lay desolate until Julius Cæsar settled there a Roman colony, when, in moving the rubbish and digging, many vases were found, of brass or earth finely embossed. The price given for these curiosities excited industry in the new inhabitants: they left no burying-place unexamined; and Rome, it is said, was filled with the furniture of the sepulchres of Corinth."*

When "the republics of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, were lost in a single province of the Roman empire,"† which, from the superior influence of the Achæan league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia, Corinth became the capital and the residence of the pro-consul.‡ Hither St. Paul came from Athens, A.D. 52, and continued a year and six months in the city, which appears to have been the furthest point southward of his travels in Greece. Having "shorn his head in Cenchrea," in consequence of a vow, instead of proceeding to the Peloponnesus, he sailed thence to Ephesus on his way to Syria. His two epistles to the Christian Church at Corinth, (written from Ephesus and Philippi, A.D. 56, 57,)

* Chandler, vol. ii. ch. 57.
Gibbon. ‡ Acts xviii. 12.

indirectly prove the licentious state of public morals in the colonial capital.

"New Corinth had flourished 217 years when it was visited by Pausanias. It had then a few antiquities, many temples and statues, especially about the *agora* or market-place, and several baths. The Emperor Hadrian introduced water from a famous spring at Stymphalus in Arcadia; and it had various fountains, alike copious and ornamental. The stream of one issued from a dolphin, on which was a brazen Neptune; of another, from the hoof of Pegasus, on whom Bellerophon was mounted. On the right hand, coming along the road leading from the market-place towards Sicyon, were the odeum and the theatre, by which was a temple of Minerva. The old gymnasium was at a distance. Going from the market-place toward Lechæum, was a gate, on which were placed Phaëton and the Sun in gilded chariots. Pirene entered a fountain of white marble, from which the current passed in an open channel. They supposed the metal called Corinthian brass to have been immersed, while red hot, in this water. On the way up to the Acrocorinthus were temples, statues, and altars,* and the gate leading to Tenea; a village with a temple of Apollo, sixty *stadia*, or seven miles and a half distant, on the road to Mycenæ. At Lechæum was a temple and a brazen image of Neptune. At Cenchreæ were temples; and by the way from the city, a grove of cypress-trees, sepulchres, and monuments. Opposite was the 'Bath of Helen,' water tepid and salt, flowing plentifully from a rock

* These have all disappeared. All that Dr. Clarke observed in going up, were the remains of an ancient paved way near the gate of the fortress, and near it, an Ionic capital.

into the sea. Mummius had ruined the theatre of Corinth; and the munificence of the great Athenian, Atticus Herodes, was displayed in an edifice with a roof, inferior to few of the most celebrated structures in Greece.

"The Roman colony was reserved to suffer the same calamity as the Greek city, and from a conqueror more terrible than Mummius, Alaric, the savage destroyer of Athens and universal Greece. In a country harassed with frequent wars, as the Peloponnesus has since been, the Acrocorinthus was a post of too much consequence to be neglected. It was besieged and taken in 1459 by Mahomet II.; the despots or lords of the Morea, brothers of the Greek emperor who was killed in defending Constantinople, refusing payment of the arrears of the tribute which had been imposed by Sultan Morat in 1447. The country became subject to the Turks, except such maritime places as were in the possession of the Venetians, and many of the principal inhabitants were carried away to Constantinople. Corinth, with the Morea, was yielded to the Republic at the conclusion of the war in 1698, and again by it to the Turks in 1715." *

"The present town of Corinth," says Mr. Dodwell, describing its appearance in 1805, "though very thinly peopled, is of considerable extent. The houses are placed wide apart, and much space is occupied with gardens. There are some fine fountains in the town, one of which is extremely curious, on account of the fantastic ornaments with which it has been enriched by the singular combinations of Turkish

* Chandler's Travels, vol. ii. ch. 57.

taste. Corinth is governed by a Bey, whose command extends over 163 villages.* The chief produce of the territory is corn, cotton, tobacco, and oil, and a better wine than that of Athens, which the Turks quaff freely in spite of their prophet, in order to counteract the bad effects of the air, which in summer is almost pestilential. A thick dew falls during the night; and early in the morning, every thing is as wet as if it had been drenched with rain. The plague, which raged here a few months before our arrival, destroyed about 800 persons. The Bey resides in a large house at the north-eastern extremity of the town. His garden is ornamented with decapitated cypress-trees, which circumstance contradicts the authority of Theophrastus and Pliny, who assert that the cypress dies if its top is cut off. Corinth is the first bishopric of the Morea: the bishop's title is Πρωτοθρονος της Μωρεας.

"The Acrocorinthos, or acropolis of Corinth, is one of the finest objects in Greece, and, if properly garrisoned, would be a place of great strength and importance. It abounds with excellent water, is in most parts precipitous, and there is only one spot from which it can be annoyed with artillery. This is a pointed rock, at a few hundred yards to the south-west of it, from which it was battered by Mohamed II. Before the introduction of artillery, it was deemed almost impregnable, and had never been taken except by treachery or surprise.† It shoots up majes-

* "The caddi," Wheler says, "is counted to have at least 300 villages under his jurisdiction, but these are little better than so many farms up and down the plain between them and Sicyon."

† Owing to its natural strength, a small number of men were deemed sufficient to garrison it; and in the time of Aratus, (according to Plutarch) it was defended by 400 soldiers, 50 dogs, and as many keepers. It was surrounded with a wall by Cleomenes.

tically from the plain to a considerable height, and forms a conspicuous object at a great distance: it is clearly seen from Athens, from which it is not less than forty-four miles in a direct line. Strabo affirms, that it is three *stadia* and a half in perpendicular height, but that the ascent to the top is thirty *stadia* by the road, the circuitous inflections of which render this no extravagant computation. The Acrocorinthos is at present regarded as the strongest fortification in Greece, next to that of Nauplia in Argolis. It contains within its walls, a town, and three mosques. Athenæus commends the water of the fountain Peirene in the Acrocorinthos as the most salubrious in Greece. It was at this fount that Pegasus was drinking when taken by Bellerophon. After gushing from the rock, it branches into several small rills, which find their way imperceptibly to the lower city, which, for that reason, anciently merited the epithet of *ευϋδρον αστυ*, the well-watered city. I was assured that there were scarcely any vestiges of antiquity within the Acrocorinthos, and the walls appear to be of modern construction, but the jealous vigilance of the Turks would not permit me to approach sufficiently near to ascertain if any part of them is ancient."*

Dr. Clarke could only obtain permission to ascend to the summit of the rock, as far as the outside of the gates of the fortress; but Sir George Wheler, who travelled in 1675-6, by virtue of his "consul's patent" from the Grand Seignior, backed by a couple o dollars to the aga of the castle, was allowed to go where he pleased. The following is his account of the place.

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 187. Lusieri, who subsequently obtained access to the fortress, observed only the shaft of a small pillar.

" We went thither on horseback, it being a good hour's work to get up to it from the town; for it is a mile hence to the foot of the hill; and thence a very steep way up, with many windings and turnings, before one arrives at the first gate. The Acrocorinthos is situated upon a very high rock, having a great precipice round it, but not so deep on the south-west side where the entrance is; for thence runs out a ridge of the hill two or three miles southwards in the Morea; and thence it was that Mahomet II. made his assault when he took it from the Venetians after fourteen months' siege, that part of the castle being the only place where it is pregnable. The first gate we came to is plated with iron, where we were made to alight to go in on foot. This side of the rock is well covered with houses; for not only those who still reside here, as well Turks as Christians, have their houses and families there, but, for the most part, even those who dwell below in the town, have houses also in the castle, where they keep all their best goods safe from the frequent and very uncourteous visits of the corsairs, and hither, upon the least alarm, they come flocking with all they can bring with them; the houses below being either houses of pleasure belonging to Turks of quality, or such as have been built both by Turks and Christians for the greater convenience of trade and business. There are abundance of cisterns for water hewn into the rock, and some springs, especially one which is toward the southern side of the hill, called in times past Pyrene.

" There are three or four mosques in the castle, and five or six small churches; but most of these are ruined. The *catholica* is kept in repair, but is a very mean place for such an ecclesiastical dignity. In it we saw two old manuscripts of the Scriptures, divided

according to the usual readings of the Greek Church, and two liturgies of St. Basil, which we took to be very ancient, because written upon long scrolls of parchment upon rollers of wood. But, as to the two epistles written to this church by St. Paul, we had but little account, and as little of their zeal to his doctrine as anciently. Under the walls of the castle, towards the town, is a little chapel hewn out of the rock, and dedicated to St. Paul....The truth is, the Christians here, for want of good instruction and able and faithful pastors to teach them, run daily into apostacy, and renounce their religion for the Turkish superstition upon every small calamity and discontent that happens to them; and this not only among the common people, but even the priests also.

"From the first gate, we mounted yet higher, and came to a second, which is well and strongly built, with two towers on each side of it. This wall, I guess to be about two miles in compass, having some houses inhabited, but many more ruined, within them. The two principal points of the rock are inclosed in them also. On the one, situated S.W. of the other, is a tower built, and on the other, being the highest point, a little mosque.* To the top of this last we mounted, and had one of the most agreeable prospects in the world. On the right hand of us, the Saronic Gulf, with all its little islands strewed up and down it, to Cape Colonni or the Promontory Sunium. Beyond that, the islands of the Archipelago seemed to close up the mouth of the Gulf. On the left hand of us, we had the Gulf of Lepanto or Corinth, as far as beyond Sicyon, bounded northward with all those famous

* Probably this mosque occupies the site of an ancient fane,—perhaps the temple of Venus.

mountains of old times, with the Isthmus, even to Athens, lying in a row, and presenting themselves orderly to our view.* The plain of Corinth towards Sicyon, or Basilico, is well watered by two rivulets, well tilled, well planted with olive-yards and vine-yards, and, having many little villages scattered up and down in it, is none of the least of the ornaments of this prospect. The town also that lieth north of the castle, in little knots of houses, surrounded with orchards and gardens of oranges, lemons, citrons, and cypress-trees, and mixed with corn-fields between, is a sight not less delightful. So that it is hard to judge whether this plain is more beautiful to the beholders, or profitable to the inhabitants.....

"Under the western top of the hill, is a place walled in, which, they say, was the place where the Jews lived when Corinth was under the Venetians. They make four distinct quarters of this castle, each governed by a different *Haga*. But their forces consist now only of the inhabitants, Turks and Christians:

* The following bearings are given by Wheler. The Sicyonian promontory, where the Gulf of Lepanto turns, N.W. by N. The foot of the promontory Cyrrha (now called Tramachi), N.N.W. The promontory Anticyrrha (now Aspropiti) with the bay, and beyond it, the highest point of Parnassus (Heliocori), N. The foot of Mount Gerania, dividing the Gulf into the two bays of Corinth and Livadostro, N.N.E. Above this, Mount Helicon, "with a high bunch on its back like a camel, (now called *Zagara Bouni*,) in the same point." The highest point of Mount Gerania (*Palaio Bouni*), between Megara and Corinth, N.E. by N. The Isthmus itself runs E.N.E. towards the highest ridge of Mount Citheron, now called Elates. Beyond Citheron eastward, follow Mounts Parnes and Hymettus, and between them appears the temple of Minerva upon the acropolis of Athens. By them the island Coulouri, E. (or E. by S.) Ægina, S.E. Strabo has accurately characterised the prominent features of this view, which comprehends six of the most celebrated states of ancient Greece: Achaia, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis.

no Jews were now amongst them. The numbers of Turks and Christians seem to be equal, and are esteemed not to exceed 1500 in number, both in the town and castle, but there are many more dispersed up and down in the villages in the plain."

Both Dr. Clarke and Mr. Dodwell speak in glowing language of the view obtained from this ridge. The former, describing the prospect seen from the outer gate, says: "As from the Parthenon at Athens we had seen the citadel of Corinth, so now we had a commanding view across the Saronic Gulf, of Salamis and the Athenian acropolis. Looking down upon the Isthmus, the shadow of the Acrocorinthus, of a conical shape, extended exactly half across its length, the point of the cone being central between the two seas. Towards the N., we saw Parnassus covered with snow, and Helicon, and Cithæron. Nearer to the eye appeared the mountain Gerania, between Megara and Corinth. But the prospect which we surveyed was by no means so extensive as that seen by Wheler, because we were denied admission to the fortress, which concealed a part of the view towards the right."

The point from which Mr. Dodwell surveyed this magnificent prospect, was from the rock, a few hundred yards S. W. of the Acrocorinthus, from which it was battered by Mohamed II.; and as this view includes the citadel itself, it has the advantage over the other. The Athenian acropolis appears like a white speck in the distance. In point both of grandeur and interest, the panorama forms one of the most captivating views in Greece.

Since the commencement of the Revolutionary war, the Acrocorinthus has repeatedly been lost and regained by the contending parties; and this important fortress, which might be made the bulwark of the

Peninsula, has seemed, through the weakness and improvidence of the Greeks, to have lost all its former consideration and importance. Well provisioned, a small garrison might here have defied the utmost efforts of the Ottoman invaders. Greece has no Mohamed II. to fear in Sultan Mahmoud. The modern town has shared the fate of Argos and Tripolitza, having been alternately devastated by Turk, Albanian, and Moreote; few remains of antiquity, however, were left for them to destroy. Chandler says: "Corinth has preserved but few monuments of its Greek or Roman citizens. The chief remains are at the south-west corner of the town, and above the bazar; eleven columns supporting their architraves, of the Doric order, fluted, and wanting in height nearly half the common proportion to the diameter.* Within them, towards the western end, is one taller, though not entire, which, it is likely, contributed to sustain the roof. They have been found to be stone, not marble, and appear brown, perhaps from a crust formed on the outside. The ruin is probably of very remote antiquity, and a portion of a fabric erected not only before the Greek city was destroyed, but before the Doric order had attained to maturity. I suspect it to have been the Sisypheum mentioned by Strabo.† North of

* Their height, instead of being equal to six diameters, the true proportion of the Doric shaft, according to Pliny, does not amount to four.

† This supposition is rejected by Dr. Clarke as wholly improbable. "The Sisypheum was a building of such uncertain form, that Strabo, eighteen centuries ago, could not positively pronounce whether it had been a temple or a palace; whereas the first sight of this, even in its present dilapidated state, would have been sufficient to put the matter beyond dispute. The Sisypheum is not mentioned by Pausanias, which could not have been the case, if its remains were of this magnitude."

the bazar stands a large mass of brick-work, a remnant, it may be conjectured, of a bath, or of the gymnasium."

Of these eleven columns, only seven remained standing when Dr. Clarke visited Corinth, and only five of the seven supported an entablature. The destruction of four columns out of the eleven seen by Wheler and Chandler, had been accomplished by the Turkish governor, who had used them in building a house, first blasting them into fragments with gunpowder. The disproportion of the length of these pillars to their diameter, is considered by this Traveller as an argument against, rather than in favour of, their high antiquity; and there is no edifice noticed by Pausanias to which, he thinks, it more accurately corresponds, than the temple of Octavia, sister of Augustus, to whom the Corinthians were indebted for the restoration of their city. Supposing the bazar to occupy the site of the ancient *Agora*, its situation would agree with this supposition. Crusius, however, asserts that it is the temple of Juno,* which Pausanias mentions as being below the Acrocorinthus; and Mr. Dodwell says: "It is probably the most ancient remaining in Greece, if we may judge by its massive and inelegant proportions. The columns are each composed of one block of calcareous stone, which, being of a porous quality, was anciently covered with stucco of great hardness and durability. A similar expedient has been practised in all the temples of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, where the columns are of common stone."

Dr. Clarke found, he says, the ruins of some ancient buildings, "particularly of one partly hewn in the

* Pausanias terms it a *hieron* of Bunæan Juno; a word of such doubtful import, that whether he means a temple is questionable.

rock, opposite the remains of the temple. The outside of this exhibits the marks of cramps for sustaining slabs of marble, once used in covering the walls; a manner of building, perhaps, not of earlier date than the time of the Romans. In this building were several chambers all hewn in the rock, and one of them has still an oblong window remaining.....We were unable," he adds, "to find the theatre,* or any remains of a stadium; but, close to the bazar, we saw part of a very large structure, built entirely of tiles or thin bricks. The people of the place remembered this more perfect; and they described it as a building full of seats ranged one above the other. Possibly, therefore, it may have been the Odeum, unless, indeed, it were an amphitheatre, or a theatre raised entirely from the ground, like the Coliseum at Rome."

It is remarkable, that no remains appear to exist at Corinth, of any edifice of the order of architecture said to have been invented there; nor could Mr. Dodwell perceive in any part of the Isthmus, the acanthus plant, which forms the distinctive character of the Corinthian capital.

The port of Cenchreæ, which retains its ancient name under the corrupted forms of Chencri and Kekreh,† was visited by the latter Traveller, from a

* It is not a little singular, that neither Dr. Clarke nor Mr. Dodwell, any more than Chandler or Wheler, could discover the theatre, which Sir W. Gell mentions as occurring in the route from Corinth to Cenchreæ. "At 30 minutes from Corinth, having left the road to Megara on the left, and passed a *teke* with cypresses on the left, near which is still further left, across a ploughed field, the ruin of *a fine amphitheatre cut out of the natural rock*,—cross a river from the right. On the descent to the stream, ancient foundations."

† "At noon we dropped anchor in the port of Cenchris. A small hut near the port serves as a custom-house, the only remain

wish to discover the site of some ancient sepulchres, known only to a few of the inhabitants of Corinth, from which they had extracted vases of the highest antiquity. "We passed," he says, "by some Roman sepulchres and ruins of no import, and, in forty minutes from Corinth, went a short distance from the village called Hexamilia, near which are some ancient stone-quarries of considerable extent. We crossed a stream, and observed some blocks of stone on its bank, perhaps the remains of a bridge. The ruins of a modern fort are seen on a hill to the right. These hills are the boundaries of the Isthmus. In an hour and three quarters from Corinth, we arrived at the sea-side, and, in another quarter of an hour, at the Baths of Helen; which time corresponds nearly to the 70 *stadia* that Strabo gives as the distance between Corinth and Kenchreai. The entrance of the port is between two low capes, on one of which is a magazine and a modern tower in ruins, with some ancient remains.* Other traces are observed on the opposite cape. At the entrance of the port is an insular rock. Pausanias says: 'At Kenchreai there is a temple of Venus and a marble statue; beyond which, in the current of the sea, there is a bronze Neptune; and, on the other extremity of the port, are the temples of Æsculapius and Isis!' The actual appearance of the port itself elucidates the passage in Pausanias as well

of the ancient Cenchreæ. Around it grew corn; and some plantations of cotton were intermixed with the *panicum miliaceum* (panick grass or millet), still called by the Greeks κεγχρι. Might not the original cultivation of this plant here in preference to other places, have given name to the port and village?"—SIBTHORPE'S *Voyage, in Walpole's Travels*, p. 41

* Several blocks of granite form the quay. Near the sea is curious sepulchral cavern."—GELL'S *Itin.* p. 208.

as a medal of Antoninus Pius.* It would appear that the temple of Venus was on one cape; those of Æsculapius and Isis on the other; and the statue of Neptune on the insular mass which is surrounded with the sea.

"The 'Bath of Helena' is at least a mile to the west of the port. The stream that issues from the rock, forms a deep bath several yards above the level of the sea: the water is beautifully clear, rather saline, and in a small degree tepid.† Instead of falling immediately into the sea, which, according to Pausanias, was formerly the case, it is diverted from its original course by ditches, and a large mill is turned by the rapidity of the current, which, after a course of a few hundred yards, enters near a round promontory, projecting from the southern extremity of the hills which bound the western side of the Isthmus. From hence is seen the hilly shore stretching up towards the Epidauriad.

"It appears that when Pausanias arrived at Kenchreiai and the Bath of Helena, he returned by another road; for it is only on his return, that he mentions some ancient sepulchres, which, he says, are near the road. I inquired of the millers at the Bath of Helena, if there was any way leading to Corinth, without retracing my steps. They informed me that there was no regular road, but that I might go by a bad and circuitous route, through a plain on the western side of a range of hills, beginning at the southern foot of the Acrocorinth, and terminating

* The medal alluded to has a head of the emperor on one side, and, on the reverse, a semicircular port, at each projection of which is a temple: and in the sea, at the entrance of the port, is a statue of Neptune, known by the trident in his left hand, and a dolphin in his right.

† According to Dr. Clarke, 64° of Fahrenheit.

near the Bath of Helena. We accordingly proceeded through a very thick and very difficult forest of shrubs. In twenty-five minutes from the Bath of Helena, we passed some cottages, and in twelve minutes further, a village called Gallatăchi. Half an hour more brought us to a miserable village called Mertĕse, and the first cottage we entered, presented objects of great interest, as connected with the sepulchres of which we were in search. Upon the shelf which goes round the interior of these cottages, and on which they place their smaller culinary utensils and vessels of earthenware, I saw two small vases of terra cotta, of rude but ancient workmanship: the other cottages exhibited vases of the same kind, but without any figures on them, or any thing which rendered them interesting in themselves. We succeeded, however, in persuading some of the villagers to accompany us to the spot where they were found, which is about a quarter of a mile from the village towards Corinth. We came to an eminence a little elevated above the other undulations of the plain, and found it covered with sepulchres of the ὑπόγαια kind, similar to those at the Piræus. The countrymen opened a few in our presence, in which we found bones and several vases broken into small pieces. Those which were entire, were plain, and composed of a beautifully shining black varnish, which was still as fresh as on the day when it was painted. The vases were remarkably light, and of elegant forms. We also found a large cinerary urn, of common earth, containing ashes and burnt bones. The sepulchres were confusedly placed, without any attention to regularity of arrangement, or to the direction of East and West. As it appeared probable that these sepulchres belonged to some ancient city in the vicinity, I made every inquiry which might lead to the discovery

if any such place existed; but was assured that nothing of the kind was known. This is another reason for supposing them to be the tombs to which Pausanias refers on his return to Corinth, as he mentions no other remains in their vicinity; and they could not have belonged to Corinth, from which they are distant at least seven miles.

"The villagers of Mertĕse informed me, that a Jew of Corinth, who had lately been digging in this spot, had found several vases. On my return to Corinth, I immediately called upon him, and found them heaped in a corner with other rubbish. He, however, knew, or pretended to know, the value of an inscribed vase, which he shewed me, and which, with some difficulty, I bought of him. The designs of the figures and the forms of the letters are of the most ancient character; and probably no vase of terra cotta has yet been discovered that belongs to a period so remote. It is divided into two compartments, one above the other, in which are lions, bulls, stags, goats, birds, and flowers, which are not historical, but merely ornamental. The cover, however, is of the greatest interest; it represents the chase of a wild boar, in which the name of each of the actors is written by his side, in letters of the most ancient date. The subject is opened by a figure dressed in a long garment, and carrying a caduceus in his right hand, with the inscription, Agamemnon. The next figure is a female named Alka. She places her right hand on the head of a boy, who holds a *paraxonion*, or short sword, in his left hand, and whose name is Doremachos, written from right to left. The next figure is a female named Sakes, holding a singular and indefinite object in her hand. This appears to be the conclusion of the subject, as a bird is placed

after this figure, which is often found on the most ancient vases, marking the termination of the story, or the separation of one subject from another. The figure which commences the other subject is Andrytos, armed with a large Argolic shield, with *knemides*, with the κοντος or δολιχοσκιον εγχος (the long spear), which he is darting at the boar, and wearing a short vest or cuirass, not reaching to his knees. The next to this is Paphon, who is running, and in the act of shooting at the boar with his bow and arrow; his quiver is hanging on his back, and his head is armed with a helmet, embellished with a high *lophos*, or crest. After this figure is placed a bird, smaller than that above mentioned, which appears to be only an ornament to fill up the space, and not a stop to the subject. This continues with the wild boar, which is already pierced behind with two long spears and three short ones, shot from the bow of Paphon. Under the animal is the figure of one of the hunters, named Philon, holding a long spear, but extended on the ground, as if killed by the boar, which is running at full speed, and is met by Thersandros, who pierces his head with a sword. Only one of the figures is armed with a helmet, and one with a shield. This is the termination of the subject. The remaining part of the cover is occupied by two winged sphinxes, with human heads and the bodies and feet of lions: they face each other, and are couched upon their hinder legs, their foremost being erect. Between them is a bird resembling a swan. The figures were evidently drawn with great care, and executed with difficulty, before the facility of after times had been attained. No better specimen of the unimproved archaic style can well be seen. There is a natural motion in all the figures, attended, however, with the rigid

formality and elaborate stiffness of the earliest antiquity. The vase is the colour of box-wood, being a light yellow; the figures are composed of the two colours, black and dark red; the muscles of the body and the plaits of the vests are represented by the paint being scratched with a sharp instrument, until the natural colour of the earth is seen. The earth is extremely fine, and the vase is surprisingly light and thin. It is difficult, and indeed impossible, to determine its age; the style of the design, however, but more particularly the very ancient and curious form of the letters, induces me to place it about 700 years before the Christian era.

"None of the names on the vase are known in heroic history, except those of Agamemnon and Thersandros. The latter was probably son of Sisyphos, king of Ephyra (afterwards Corinth). There was, however, another Thersandros, son of Polynices and Argia, who was with the Greeks at the Trojan war. The hunt which is here represented, is unknown in ancient history.* Those which have come down to us are, the chase of the Calydonian boar, and that of Parnassus, where Ulysses was wounded. The Cromyon sow and Erymanthian boar, which were killed by Theseus and Hercules, seem not to have afforded the opportunity of a general hunt, like the two above mentioned."†

* The wild boar chase is not an uncommon delineation on fictile vases. There is one of great interest and remote antiquity, in the collection of Sir W. Hamilton, which is at present in the British Museum.

† Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 194—200. The learned Traveller describes also the marble περιστομιον, or mouth of a well, which he saw when at Corinth, but which is now in the collection of the Earl of Guilford at London. On the exterior are sculptured ten figures of divinities in very low relief, partaking of the dry rigidity

THE ISTHMUS.

HEXAMILIA derives its name from being situated where the Isthmus is six miles over. Beyond this village towards Mount Oneius, which rises to the north of Port Schœnus, Dr. Clarke thought he observed the form of an ancient theatre, of which nothing but the *koilon* remains; and crossing an artificial causeway over a fosse, he soon found himself within the walls of the ancient Isthmian town. Here, the ground is covered with fragments of various-coloured marble, grey granite, white limestone, broken pottery, and disjointed shafts, capitals, and cornices, among which was part of the fluted shaft of a Doric column five feet in diameter. The ancient wall, which traverses the Isthmus, makes a sudden turn before it reaches the shore of the Saronic Gulf, and bearing away towards Mount Oneius,* embraces the whole of the port of Schœnus, closing it in upon the Corinthian side. The ruins of the Temple of Neptune, the stadium, and the theatre, together with walls and other indications of the Isthmian town, surround this port, being situated on the sides of the mountain sloping down to the sea.

of the earliest sculpture. The subject is supposed to allude to the reconciliation of Apollo and Hercules, and the sculpture had probably belonged, as the mouth of one of the sacred wells used in sacrificial lustrations, to the Temple of Apollo.

* "There is a small ridge of a hill runing along in the middle of the Isthmus, that I should not have taken notice of, had not Thucydides put me in mind of it, calling it *Mons Oneius*, situate between the Port Cenchre and Cromium, which hindered that part of the Corinthian army left at Cenchre from seeing how things passed at Cromium with the other part of their forces, who had joined battle with the Athenians, until by the dust that was raised they had notice thereof."—WHELER, p. 437

The remains of the Temple of Neptune, near which the Isthmian Games were celebrated, are to the west of the wall, upon an area of 276 paces in length by 64. A Greek chapel, now in a ruined state, occupies part of this area. Of the temple itself, not a single pillar is now erect; but the fallen columns, with their entablatures, yet remain. The material is a white limestone. The workmanship of the capitals, the fluting of the columns, and the other ornamental parts are very beautiful. Among seven or eight of these capitals, Dr. Clarke found only one with the acanthus ornament; yet, he supposes the building to have been of the Corinthian order. It was of small dimensions: the shafts of some of the columns are only 2 feet 9 inches in diameter.

The theatre adjoined the southern wall of the area of the temple. The *koilon*, which alone remains, has been almost filled up with the ruins of the temple and by the effect of earthquakes: it faces the port. West of the theatre, at right angles with the Isthmian wall, is the stadium, extending east and west, parallel to one side of the area of the temple. The stone front-work and some of the benches remain at the upper end, although earthquakes or torrents have forced channels into the arena.

Just at the place where the Isthmian wall joins Mount Oneius, is a *tumulus*; "perhaps that which was supposed to contain the body of Melicertes, in honour of whose burial the Isthmian games were instituted, above 1300 years before the Christian era." Within the sacred *peribolus*, Pausanias states, there was a temple dedicated to Melicertes, which contained statues of the boy, of his mother Leucothea, and of Neptune.* This tomb stands on a very conspicuous emi-

* Melicertes was the son of Athamas, king of Thebes. Ino,

neuce above the wall, "almost contiguous" to the *peribolus*. Between the stadium and the wall, Dr. Clarke found fragments of Doric columns nearly six feet in diameter. "But among all the remains here," he adds, "perhaps the most remarkable, as corresponding to the indications of the spot left us by Pausanias, is the living family of those pine-trees sacred to Neptune, which, he says, grew in a right line upon one side in the approach to the temple, the statues of the victors in the Games being upon the other side. Many of these, self-sown, are seen on the outside of the wall, upon the slope of the land facing the port: they may also be observed further along the coast. Every thing conspires to render their appearance here particularly interesting. The victors in the Isthmia were originally crowned with garlands made of their leaves;* and that they were regarded with a superstitious veneration to a late age, appears from their being represented on the Greek colonial medals struck in honour of the Roman emperors."

The vicinity of these ruins to the sea, has very much facilitated the removal of many valuable antiquities, and the inhabitants of all the neighbouring shores have long been accustomed to resort thither as to a

his mother, fled with him to prevent his sharing the fate of his brother Learchus, whom his father had destroyed by dashing him against a wall; and in her terror or despair, she threw herself, with the child in her arms, into the sea, where they were compassionately changed by Neptune into marine deities. Ino was worshipped by the Greeks under the name of Leucothoë, and under that of Matuta by the Romans. Melicertes was known to the former by the name of Palæmon, and among the latter by that of Portumnus. Thus, the supposed origin of the Isthmian Games, like that of the Nemean, was funereal, and, what is remarkable, in commemoration of the death of an infant. They were under the patronage of Neptune, as the Olympic were under that of Jupiter.

* Chaplets of parsley were afterwards used instead of them, but these were at length discontinued, and the wreaths of pine-leaves came again in request.

quarry for building materials; * but excavations would probably lead to the recovery of some interesting remains. At Hexamilia, the villagers offered for sale a great number of bronze coins, and silver and bronze medals, which had been found among the ruins. Between the ruins and that village, by the side of the old road from Corinth to the Isthmian town, are several sepulchral mounds. "There yet exist," Sir W. Gell says, "traces of a canal or ditch carried from the port of Schœnus along a natural hollow at the foot of a line of fortifications. There are also several pits which have been sunk for the purpose of examining the rock previously to cutting through the Isthmus, which has often been in contemplation†. The ground, however, is so high that the undertaking would be one of enormous expense. This place is also ill chosen for defence, as it is overlooked by Mount Geranion, on which the fortifications should be erected."

It is uncertain at what period the Corinthian Isth-

* This work of spoilation appears to have been carried on since Wheler's time, if we may judge from his account of the ruins then existing. "There are yet to be seen," he says, "the ruins not only of the town, old walls, and *several old churches*, but also the remains of the Isthmian theatre. Here were many more temples and excellent edifices mentioned by Pausanias; and many more he gives no account of, as we learned from a very fine inscription we found half way in the ground, by a little ruined church, which speaks of many temples, gardens, and porticoes repaired by one Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus." This inscribed marble is now in the Museum at Verona.

† "The project was adopted by Demetrius Poliorcetes, but his surveyors found the water in the Corinthian Gulf much higher than before Cenchreæ, and were of opinion that Ægina and the neighbouring islands would be flooded, and the canal prove unserviceable. It was revived by Julius Cæsar and by Caligula. Nero commenced a fosse from Lechæum, and advanced about four *stadia*. Atticus Herodes was ambitious of engaging in it; but, as Nero had failed, was afraid of offending the emperor by asking his permission."—CHANDLER, c. 58.

mus was first fortified with walls. Herodotus states that, after the death of Leonidas, the Peloponnesians, dreading the Persian invasion, broke up the Scironian way, and built in haste a wall across the Isthmus, composed of all sorts of materials,—stones, bricks, timber, and sand. This wall reached from Lechæum to Cenchreæ, a distance of five miles. It was afterwards fortified by the Spartans and the Athenians in the time of Epaminondas. Cleomenes is stated to have secured the space between the Acrocorinthus and the Oneian mountains with banks and ditches, and to have fortified also the Oneian passes. This bulwark was afterwards repeatedly destroyed, and as often rebuilt. It was restored by the Emperor Valerian, to resist a Scythian invasion, and was again rebuilt by Justinian, who fortified it with a hundred and fifty towers. It appears to have been neglected and to have fallen into a dilapidated state, when, in the year 1415, it was repaired or rebuilt by Manuel Palæologus. It was again repaired, twenty-nine years afterwards, by Constantine Palæologus, and by the Venetians in 1463, who are said to have fortified it with one hundred and thirty-six towers and double trenches, the whole work being completed in fifteen days by 30,000 men. It was again restored by the Venetians in 1696, and, at the peace of 1699, was made the boundary of the territories of the Republic.*

The existing vestiges of the ancient wall are found about three miles from Corinth, where the Isthmus is "four short miles in width," and to the north of that which extended from Lechæum to Cenchreæ.† On the eastern side of the Isthmus, for a considerable dis-

* See authorities in Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 186.

† The breadth of the Isthmus at the *diolcos* or portage between the two seas, at which it was usual to transport light vessels across on machines, was 40 *stadia*.

tance, the ground appears low and swampy, as if an excavation had been begun at some remote period for the purpose of admitting the sea-water to strengthen the position. " Immediately in front of Corinth, are the vestiges of the modern field-works constructed by the Venetians, terminated, on the western side, by a square redoubt on the Corinthian Gulf near Lechæum: on the east, there was no necessity to continue these works to the shore, on account of a difficult mountain between Corinth and the sea. The position of Lechæum, as well as of Cenchreæ, is sufficiently marked by traces of stone foundations in the sea, which formed the enclosure of the harbour. These ports are now almost entirely filled up and destroyed, and are capable only of admitting the very small boats of the country." *

At the first view, it appears strange that the Greeks should build a wall across the Isthmus as a defence against invasion, instead of fortifying the gorge in the first barrier of Mount Geranion. The latter mode of defence, however, was not neglected; and it may be supposed, that an advanced guard would be stationed to dispute that important pass. † At the same time, they would have to provide against any force which the Persians might attempt to debark on the Isthmus, in the event of a victory obtained by their naval armaments. The ancient line of fortification, therefore, was so drawn as to enclose the harbour of Cenchreæ, and to allow as little space as possible for a debarkation in their rear. In point of fact, the wall has uniformly proved a feeble barrier. In the fifteenth century, it

* Remarks on the Isthmus by Colonel Squire, in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 342.

† The Τειχος Γεραναια is mentioned by Scylax. It appears to have been first fortified by Cleomenes.

was three times forced by the Turks. The pass over Mount Geranion might be defended by a handful of men against the most formidable invader. Yet, in 1822, the Turkish army was suffered to enter the Isthmus without opposition, and to repossess themselves of Corinth.

FROM CORINTH TO MEGARA.

From Port Schœnus, the lower road to Megara lies over a small plain, intersected by frequent torrents, lying between the foot of Mount Geranion and the Gulf, which forms several deep bays. At the end of about an hour and a half, (three hours, forty-two minutes from Corinth,) having passed a church and some olive-plantations, is the village of Kasidi, the name of which seems to identify it with the ancient Sidus. Here are a few traces of antiquity. Twenty-five minutes further, having crossed two more torrents, the traveller has, on his right, a church with a white marble architrave to the door: the peasants call the place Leandra. The path now skirts a bay; on the left, the hill recedes, leaving a small plain covered with pine-forests. The traces of chariot-wheels are yet visible in the rocky road. At eighty minutes from Kasidi is a ruined church with ancient blocks on the left, which probably marks the site of the ancient Crommyon. Eleven minutes further, is the Albanian village of Kineta, in a wood of olives at a short distance from the sea. The name of this miserable hamlet, as Dr. Clarke styles it, is said to be taken from a small lagoon or marsh on the beach, which produces such swarms of gnats in the autumn as to amount almost to a plague. The sickly looks of the inhabitants betrayed the insalubrity of the situation.

From Kineta, there are two different routes to Megara. One, turning to the left, ascends the foot of Mount Geraniou, and, in little more than two hours, falls into the great road from Corinth to Megara. The other runs along the southern side of the mountain. This is the Scironian way, now called *Kaki Scala* (pronounced *Katche Scala*), the Bad Way, and used only, in general, by foot passengers; but Dr. Clarke took this route, having provided himself at Kineta with asses and Albanian guides. At twenty minutes east of that village, the Scironian rocks advance to the sea. These rocks, the learned Traveller says, have a very remarkable appearance. They consist of breccia superposed upon limestone, presenting a steep and slippery slope from the narrowest part of the Isthmian Strait towards the Saronic Gulf. The rock is so highly polished, either by the action of the sea or by occasional torrents, that any person falling from the heights would glide as over a surface of glass, and be dashed to pieces on the shore. The road, though said to have been widened by the Emperor Hadrian, is so narrow, that, after gaining the heights, there is barely room for two persons on horseback to pass each other. The lofty summit of Mount Gerania (now called *Palaio-vouni*),* which overhangs the pass, is covered with snow during the greater part of the year. Sir George Wheler, who travelled from Megara to Corinth by this route, says: "It is worthily called Κακη Σκαλα, the bad way; for it is one of the worst I ever travelled, for narrowness, ruggedness, and danger of falling down some hundred yards headlong into the

* Παλαιο βουνος, the old hill. Mr. Dodwell says, it is called *Derveni-Bouno*. The ancient name of the mountain is stated to have been given it because Megarus escaped hither in Deucalion's flood, being guided by the noise of *cranes*.

sea, which the least stumble of our horses might easily effect. This way, in ancient times, was famous for the robber Sciron, who from thence threw headlong into the sea all such as he had robbed, until Theseus came, who was too hard for him, and, justly made him taste the same punishment he had so barbarously inflicted upon others. The road is at this time (1676) little less infested with the ambuscades of corsairs, than it was of old by that thief. Turks themselves dread and tremble to go this way, for fear of these people. As we passed along, I observed the wind to precipitate itself strangely down from the top of the mountain into the sea, some blasts seeming to fall right down upon the surface of the water, and there to be divided three or four different ways, making the waves to foam as they went. Sometimes I saw the water agitated for several furlongs round about, and in other parts smooth and calm at the same time." These sudden gusts of the Skiron (as the wind is called) are much dreaded by sailors. At one place, where the rock impends over the sea, Ino is said to have precipitated herself into the waves, with her son Melicertes, to escape the fury of her husband. The navigation, besides being both tedious and difficult, owing to the gusts from the mountain, is rendered still more dangerous by some pointed rocks near the foot of the precipice, which Ovid makes to be the *bones of Sciron*.

Soon after reaching the summit of the pass, Dr. Clarke came to "the ancient paved way leading from Attica into Peloponnesus, and arrived at the wall and arched gate high above the sea, where, in the narrow strait, is still marked the ancient boundary between the two countries. The old portal, once of so much importance, is now a ruin; but part of the stone-work, mixed with tiles, which was above an arch, yet

remains on the side of the mountain; and beyond it is seen more of the old paved road." Close to the "Scironian Gate," the learned Traveller observed a prodigious block of white marble, lying out of the road upon the brink of the precipice, and which had very nearly fallen into the sea. The inscription upon it was illegible, but is supposed to relate to the widening of the road by Hadrian. Here, it is conjectured, may have stood the *stélé* erected by Theseus, which bore on one side the inscription "Here is Peloponnesus, not Ionia;" and on the other, "Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia." The traveller begins to descend almost immediately, having before him a beautiful and extensive plain, walled in on all sides by mountains, at one corner of which, situated upon a rocky elevation, is seen the town of Megara.*

* The Scironian rocks commence about twenty minutes E. of Kineta, and terminate about six hours from Corinth, and two hours from Megara. The distance was reckoned forty-eight *stadia*, or not quite six miles. The distance from Kineta to Megara by the Scironian way, Sir William Gell makes less than three hours; total distance from Corinth to Megara, eight hours six minutes. Soon after entering the pass, on the left, is seen a monastery on Mount Geranion; and five minutes further, "a well and limekiln, in which have nearly perished the remains of an octagonal edifice, perhaps the temple of Apollo Latous, of white marble." This appears to be "the ancient monument" spoken of by Wheler, "about midway from Megara to Corinth." He describes it as "being raised up three or four yards from the ground, and eight square. About it lay several large planks of marble, some with *basso-relievos* upon them; one of which hath a man walking on foot, and a horse passing by him the other way; another hath a figure in a lying posture, but much defaced. Whether this was the pedestal to the pillar that King Theseus set up to be the bounds between his Athenians and the Peloponnesians, I dare not say, but rather think it was some octagon temple: it may well enough be that of Apollo and Latona, which Pausanias placeth hereabouts.' Nineteen minutes more, according to Sir W. Gell, bring the traveller to a Venetian wall and watch-tower. "In ten minutes more

Mr. Dodwell entered the Morea by the Upper Way, or the Great *Derveni*. In two hours and a half from Megara, he reached the foot of Mount Gerania, and began to ascend by a steep and winding way. In ten minutes he had a view of the Halcyonian Gulf, now called Livadostro, forming a deep bay on the right, bounded by the rocky mountains called Germano and Makriplai, at the foot of which are the villages and ports of Elapochori, Psatho, and Livadostro.* A few minutes more brought him to the *derveni*, or custom-house, where a Turk and a dozen squalid and insolent Albanian soldiers were stationed in the narrowest part of the pass. The road continues to ascend, passing through a forest of pines, with a great profusion of beautiful shrubs. In forty minutes he reached an elevated part of the mountain, commanding a most animating panoramic view. Below appeared the Isthmus, the Acrocorinthus, and the Saronic and Crissæan Gulfs. The more remote prospect comprised the soft

the road is carried on a shelf of rock, in which are caves. At five minutes after, a descent, a modern wall and gate. At fourteen minutes beyond, having descended to the only dangerous part of the road, ascend and find the site of an ancient gate, near which is a defaced inscription on a block of marble, and may be that which marked the separation of Corinthia from Megaris." This is evidently the Scironian Gate of Dr. Clarke. Hence the road proceeds along the rocks to the plain of Megara, in another hour and a half, or less.

* "The rough and craggy elevations which run in concatenated ridges from Gerania and the Skironian Rocks into the Corinthian Gulf, are the Oneian mountains, at present named Makriplai, which form the sea of Halcyon; one chain advancing towards Cithæron and Bœotia, the other terminating opposite Sicyon, in the Olmian promontory."—DODWELL. A road leads off to the right to the village of Porto Germano, which Sir W. Gell supposes to be the ancient Ægosthenæ, and where there are considerable ruins of ancient fortifications. Beyond this village is Psatho, on or near the site of Pagæ.

and undulating lines of the Attic coast, terminating in the promontory of Sunium, which was distinguishable as a speck upon the blue ether. The beautifully varied coast of Argolis, the abrupt and pointed promontory of Methana, with the islands of Calauria, Ægina, and Salamis, were seen embellishing the Saronic Gulf. Beyond the Corinthian Sea, were distinguished the hills of Achaia, surmounted by the white and glittering summits of the Arcadian range.*

The road continues along the steep and rocky side of Gerania, through forests of pine and shrubberies of myrtle and lentiscus; then, after traversing some cotton-grounds, and crossing a brook flowing down the eastern side of the mountain towards Megaris, it ascends by another rivulet to a fountain surrounded with plane-trees; the place is called Migues (or Εις της Μιγος). Twenty minutes further, to the left of the road, is a little knoll, surmounted with vestiges of a circular tower or tomb, and commanding a fine view of Corinth. In two hours from the fountain, Mr. Dodwell reached the western foot of Gerania, and entered the Isthmus. Soon after, he crossed a bank and large fosse, supposed to be the works begun by Nero, and a quarter of an hour further, the lines raised to defend the entrance into the Peloponnesus

* The top of the pass, between two summits of Geranion, has been fortified, and the foundations of the wall are yet visible. The position, Sir W. Gell says, would be quite impregnable, if maintained by troops sufficiently numerous to protect it from the Scironian Rocks to the Gulf of Livadostro. The view over the Saronic Gulf is magnificent. The summit of Gerania, according to Pausanias, was ornamented with the temple of Jupiter Aphesius; and "there seems to be a *peribolus* on a summit to the left of the pass." As the word summit, however, admits of great latitude, Sir W. Gell suggests, that the site of the temple may be occupied by the monastery above the village of Kineta.

against the Turks. A little beyond, are ancient foundations of a similar kind. In an hour and three quarters from the foot of the mountain, he arrived at Corinth. The total distance from Corinth to Megara by this route is eight hours and thirty-three minutes, being not quite half an hour longer than the route by the Scironian rocks: the route by Kinetta and the Great Derveni is eleven hours and ten minutes.*

A short distance to the south-west of the Canal of Nero, and about thirty-five minutes from Corinth, is Lechæum,† now consisting of about six houses, some magazines, and a custom-house. East of the town, the remains of the ancient port are yet visible at a place where the sea forms a creek. Wheler says, it is now quite choked up. Near it are the remains of a Venetian fort. Close to the spot where the canal ceases, are two immense *tumuli*, which appear never to have been opened: one of them seems to be erected over a sepulchral cavern, and there are other caves in the rocks below. Dr. Clarke traced the canal to the shore, where he observed the rocks hewn into steps to serve as a landing-place. "The remains of the Temple of Neptune," he says, "are very considerable. It has not yet ceased to be a place of worship. We found here one of the idol pictures of the Greek Church, and some ancient vases, serving, although in a broken state, as vessels and offerings upon the present altar. There is a bath, to which they still bring patients for relief. A short time before our arrival, this ancient bath was covered; but wanting materials for building a mill, the inhabitants of a neighbouring village blasted the rocks, which falling

* Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 5.

† The road to it ran between long walls, reaching twelve *stadia*.

into the bath, have almost filled it. The water is very clear and brilliant, slightly brackish: it comes out of the rock from two holes in the bath, and thence falls into the sea. The temperature in the shade was found to be 88°; that of the sea 75°. All around this place are sepulchral caves hewn in the rocks near the sea, resembling the burial-places in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but the caves here are much smaller, and the recesses within them, instead of being intended as receptacles for bodies, were evidently niches for cinerary urns; a mode of sepulture characterising the Romans, rather than the Greeks. Several of these caves remain yet unopened, and the entrances of some are entirely concealed."

Dr. Clarke represents the Canal of Nero as terminating "where the solid rock opposed an insurmountable obstacle" to the prosecution of the work. It is scarcely credible, however, that the undertaking should have been commenced without an accurate calculation of the physical difficulties to be surmounted, or that these should have led to its sudden abandonment.* In order to stimulate the perseverance of the people, Nero, we are told, took a spade and dug with his own hand. There is reason to think that impediments of a very different kind, originating in superstitious alarms or in interested and crafty opposition, occasioned the relinquishment of the project. The legend of the place is, that the workmen continued

* Sir W. Gell says: "The cutting a canal across the Isthmus would be difficult in the centre; but, on the west, the land is low, and on the east, a glen runs up to some distance from the sea." Des Mouceaux, who travelled in 1668, says, that in some parts it would have been necessary to dig the canal to the depth of fifteen toises, and almost throughout, of ten, with the exception of the two extremities, where the land declines towards the sea.

the excavation till blood was perceived to issue from the earth. "Dion Cassius," remarks Mr. Dodwell, "tells nearly the same story about digging the Isthmus as that which is related to travellers at this day. He says, that blood issued from the ground, that groans and lamentations were heard, and terrible apparitions were seen. It is not unlikely that the priests of Delphi had some influence in checking the enterprise. We know from the testimony of Herodotus and Pausanias, that the Pythia forbade the Gnidians to make a channel through their Isthmus, alleging, that if Jupiter had intended the peninsula to have been an island, he would have made it so originally. We know also, that an oracle prevented Nechos, king of Egypt, from cutting a canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf." The reason that is said to have deterred Demetrius from the undertaking, namely, the supposed difference of level between the waters of the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs, has prevented many similar undertakings. Both Sesostris and Darius were in like manner deterred from finishing a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile, by an apprehension that Egypt would be inundated. And, in our own times, the supposed difference of level between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, has been considered as a fatal objection to the project of cutting a passage across the American Isthmus. It seems strange, that if Demetrius was deterred by this apprehension, the project should have been so frequently renewed. The feasibility of the scheme will now probably be, ere long, fully ascertained; but, as the original motives for undertaking it have been superseded by the improvement of the moderns in the arts of navigation and military defence, it does not seem likely that any advantages which could result from

its completion, would be equal to the labour and expense.

FROM CORINTH TO SICYON.

A WRETCHED village of fifty houses, bearing the imposing name of Basilico,* is the only representative of the once opulent city of Sicyon, one of the most ancient seats of Grecian power: its little kingdom was, indeed, one of the most ancient in Europe. It is supposed to have been founded 232 years before Argos, and 2089 B.C. It was sufficiently strong to resist the attacks of the Athenians under Pericles; it furnished a contingent of 3000 troops at Platæa, and had fifteen ships at the battle of Salamis. After the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, Sicyon became possessed of the greater part of the Corinthian territory; and its citizens for some time had the superintendence of the Isthmian Games. This city was the school of the most celebrated artists of antiquity, and was sumptuously decorated with temples and statues. Pausanias enumerates five temples (*ναοι*), eleven *hiera*, one *ækema*, a theatre, two gymnasia, an *agora*, a portico, a senate-house, and a *temenos* for the Roman emperors, with numerous altars, monuments, and statues of ivory and gold, of marble, of bronze, and of wood. But in his time, it was reduced to great distress, having been recently overthrown by an earthquake.

The ruins of Sicyon still retain some vestiges of

* Βασιλικη signifies a royal palace: this name is given to Sicyon by some of the Byzantine historians. It has also, at different times, been denominated Ægialeus, Mekon, Telekinia, and, when taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, Demetrias. See authorities in Dodwell.

ancient magnificence; and in a few instances, they exist in such a state of preservation as to shew that some of the buildings must either have escaped from the effects of the earthquake, or have been constructed at a later period. In this number is the theatre, pronounced by Dr. Clarke to be "by much the finest and the most perfect structure of the kind in all Greece,"—"surpassing every other in the harmony of its proportions, the costliness of the workmanship, the grandeur of the *koilon*, and the stupendous nature of the prospect exhibited to all those who were seated on its benches.* If," continues the learned Traveller, "it were freed from the rubbish about it, and laid open to view, it would afford an astonishing idea of the magnificence of a city whose luxuries were so great, that its inhabitants ranked among the most voluptuous and effeminate people of all Greece. The stone-work is entirely of that massive kind which denotes a very high antiquity. Part of the scene remains, together with the whole of the seats, although some of the latter now lie concealed by the soil. But the most remarkable parts of the structure are two vaulted passages for places of entrance, one being on either side, at the two extremities of the *coilon*, close to the scene, and about half way up, leading into what we should call the side boxes of a modern theatre. Immediately in front, the eye roams over all the Gulf of Corinth,

* Mr. Dodwell says: "Several dilapidated churches, which are composed of ancient fragments, probably occupy the site of the temples. Several fragments of the Doric order are observable among them, particularly triglyphs and *metopæ* of curious forms, but generally of small proportions.' He speaks of the remains of the gymnasium or stadium as supported by strong walls of polygonal construction. Near the theatre are some large masses of Roman brick walls. Neither Mr. Dodwell nor Sir W. Gell speaks so highly of the theatre as Dr. Clarke.

commanding islands, promontories, and distant summits towering above the clouds. To a person seated in the middle of the *cavea*, a lofty mountain with bold sweeping sides appears beyond the gulf, placed exactly in the centre of the view, the sea intervening between its base and the Sicyonian coast: this mountain marks the particular part of Bœotia now pointed out by the natives of Basilico as *Thiva* (Thebes). But, to a person placed upon the seats which are upon the right hand of those in front, Parnassus (here called *Lakura*, from its ancient name, Lycorea) most nobly displays itself. This mountain is visible only in very clear weather. During the short time we remained in the theatre, it became covered with vast clouds, which at first rolled majestically over its summit, and afterwards concealed it from our view.

"The stadium is on the right hand of a person facing the theatre. It is undoubtedly the oldest work remaining of all that belonged to the ancient city. The walls exactly resemble those of Mycenæ and Tiryns: it may therefore class among the examples of Cyclopean masonry. In other respects, it is the most remarkable structure of the kind existing, because it is partly a natural and partly an artificial work. The persons by whom it was formed, finding that the mountain upon which the *coilon* of the theatre had been constructed, would not allow a sufficient space for another oblong *cavea* of the length requisite to complete a stadium, built up an artificial rampart, reaching out into the plain from the mountain towards the sea; so that this front-work resembles half a stadium, thrust into the semicircular cavity of a theatre, the entrances to the area included between both, being formed with great taste and effect at the two sides or extremities of the semicircles. The an-

cient masonry appears in the front-work so placed. The length of the whole area equals 267 paces; the width of the bastion, 36 paces; and its height, 22 feet 6 inches.

"In front of the projecting rampart belonging to the outer extremity of the stadium, and at a short distance below it in the plain, are also the remains of a temple, completing the plan of this part of the ancient city, which was here terminated on its western side by three magnificent structures,—a theatre, a stadium, and a temple; as it was bounded towards its eastern extremity by its acropolis. We can be at no loss for the name of this temple, although nothing but the ground-plot of it now remains. It is distinctly stated by Pausanias to have been the temple of Bacchus, which occurred beyond the theatre to a person coming from the citadel; and to this temple were made those annual processions which took place at night and by the light of torches, when the Sicyonians brought hither the mystic images called Baccheus and Lysius, chanting their ancient hymns. Around the theatre and stadium, besides the traces of this temple, other ruins may be noticed, but less distinct as to their form. In the plain towards the sea, are many more, perhaps extending to the Sicyonian haven, which we did not visit.

"The whole city occupied an elevated situation; but, as it did not possess one of those precipitous rocks for its citadel which sustained the bulwarks of Athens, Argos, Corinth, and many other Grecian states, no vestige of its acropolis can now be discerned, excepting only the traces of its walls. It is situate above the place now called *Palaio-Castro*, occupying that part of the ruins of Sicyon which lies upon the south-east side.....It may be recognised both in the

nature of its walls, which are very ancient, and in its more elevated situation. Near this place we observed the fragments of architectural ornaments, and some broken columns of the Ionic order. Hard by the acropolis may also be seen some ancient caves, as in the vicinity of Athens: in all probability, they were the sepulchres, rather than the dwellings of the earliest inhabitants; they are all lined with stucco. There is still an ancient paved road, that conducted to the citadel, by a narrow entrance between rocks, so contrived, as to make all who approached the gate pass through a defile that might be easily guarded. Within the acropolis are the vestiges of buildings, perhaps the *Hieron* of *Fortuna Acræa*, and of the Dioscuri; and below it is a fountain seeming to correspond to that of Stazusa, mentioned by Pausanias as near the gate. The remains of a temple built in a very massive style of structure, occur on the western side of the village of Basilico; and in passing the fosse of the citadel, to go towards the theatre, which is beyond the acropolis, a subterraneous passage may be observed, exactly above which the temple seems to have stood; as if by means of this secret duct, persons belonging to the sanctuary might have had ingress and egress to and from the temple, without passing the gate of the citadel. This was perhaps the identical place called *Cosmeterium* by Pausanias, whence the mystic images were annually brought forth in the solemn procession to the temple of Bacchus." *

In the southern part of the ruins, facing Corinth, there are two copious springs, supposed by Mr. Dodwell

* Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. (8vo.) pp. 533—41.

also to be the fountain *Stazousa*, which was near the gate leading to Corinth, though the water no longer drops from the roof of the cave, as in the time of Pausanias. Above this spot are the ruins of some strong modern walls, probably built by the Venetians, as Basilico was a place of strength in their time: the castle was considered as an important post, and was garrisoned by the Turks in 1654. Its final destruction is said to have been occasioned by the plague.*

Basilico is about three hours N.W. of Corinth, and about an hour from the sea, where there is a great tumulus on the shore. Between Corinth and Sicyon, Mr. Dodwell passed near fifteen villages. The extraordinary fertility of the soil and the commodiousness of the situation, he says, have attracted a numerous population. An olive-grove extends for a considerable distance; and a brook and four rivers are passed in the plain, all issuing from the hills on the left.†

One of these is evidently that which is mentioned by Strabo and Livy under the name of Nemea, and which separated the Corinthian and Sicyonian terri-

* "Basilico, or, as some call it, Basilica, when the kingdom of the Morea was under the Venetians, was a considerable town: now, it is but a heap of ruins, and inhabited only by three families of Turks, and about as many Christians. This final destruction, one of the inhabitants told us, happened about twenty years ago by the plague: which they held to be a judgement of God upon the Turks for profaning one of the Christian churches there, turning it into a mosque by command of the *vaivode*, who fell down dead upon the place the first time he caused the Alcoran to be read in it; whose death was followed soon after with such a pestilence as in a short time utterly destroyed the whole town, which could never since be repeopled."—WHELER'S *Journey*, b. vi. p. 446.

† Pausanias merely notices the Asopos as occurring between Sicyon and Corinth. Strabo mentions two others, called Cephissos and Orneai.

tories.* It flows by Nemea, whence its course was followed by Dr. Clarke, in journeying from Nemea to Sicyon. He calls it the Nemeæan rivulet, and says, that "it flows in a deep ravine after leaving the plain, and then passes between the mountains which separate the Nemeæan plain from that of Sicyon." The rocks on either side appeared to consist of a chalky limestone. After riding for about two hours along its left bank, he suddenly quitted its course on descending into the Sicyonian plain, having on the right a tomb and ruins. Soon after, he observed, also on the right, a chapel containing Ionic capitals and other marble fragments. Within thirteen minutes of Sicyon, the road from Corinth crosses the Asopus, flowing from the valley of Agios Giorgios and by the ruins of Phlius. Over this river, which runs under the eastern side of Sicyon, there have been two bridges, one of which has a fine arch of ancient workmanship and large blocks still standing. In Wheler's time, there were some powder-mills here; the first, he says, he ever saw in Turkey.

FROM SICYON TO ARGOS.

In the neighbourhood of Sicyon was the town of Titana, seated on a mountain, where, in a cypress wood, was a temple of Æsculapius, containing a

* Wheler, describing his journey from Corinth to Sicyon, says: "We left the olive-yards and vineyards on our right hand, which are watered by the rivulet *Ornea*, running down from the mountains that bound this plain south and south-westwards; and from thence, I believe, it runs into the river *Nemea, which we passed about mid-way by a bridge*. This river then was not very considerable, but, after rains, is poured down from the mountains in such abundance, that it fills many channels on each side of it which before were dry."

statue of the deity, clothed in a tunic of white woollen, and another of Hygeia, also robed, and covered with votive locks of hair. The place is mentioned by Pausanias as being the scene of a very ancient astronomical and religious establishment. The real site of the temple, Sir W. Gell considers to be a peaked mountain above the villages of Paradisos and Alopeki, about three hours S.W. of Sicyon, commanding a most magnificent view of the Acrocorinthos, the Isthmus, and the two Gulfs, extending as far as Athens and the promontory of Sunium. The summit is now called *Agios Elia.** The *peribolus* and other traces still remain. About half an hour S. of Alopeki, is a ruined Hellenic fortress, small but curious, which, the learned antiquary thinks, may have been the town of Titanos. Below this, on a knoll, is a church with ancient blocks. The neighbourhood is much troubled with earthquakes. At Alopeki, in 1805, Sir W. Gell experienced one of the most alarming nature.

About three miles further south, in the road from Phonia to Argos, are the ruins of Phlius, one of the places selected by the Abbé Fourmont for his palæographical exploits. This city had for its territory a fertile plain, about eight miles in length, which, according to Stephanus, took its name from its abounding in fruit (παρα το φλειν). Pausanias tells us, what comes to the same thing, that Phlias, son of Bacchus, gave his name to the country.† Mr. Dodwell says,

* That is, Saint Elias. It has been remarked, that this name has been given to many mountains consecrated to the sun, as if either a mistake for Ἡλιος, or a sort of play upon the name of the saint, who would seem to have no inherent right to these high places. In the present instance, it corresponds to the ancient name σιτανος, the mountain of the sun. From Alopeki, Corinth bears S. 63 E.

† Its more ancient names were Arantia and Aræthyrea. Homer mentions it under the latter name.

it is now called Staphlika, but Sir W. Gell calls it the valley of Agios Giorgios, from the large and populous village of that name, famed for its excellent red wine. The exuberant fertility of the vineyards in this district, has always been, as at present, the theme of anegyric: it produces the best wine in the Peninsula. The Corinth grape, or currant (σταφυλα), the produce of the Phliasian plain, is not cultivated at Corinth, but took its name from being exported by the merchants of that city. The Asopus has its source in this territory, which it fertilises with its meandering stream. The ruins of the ancient city are described by Sir W. Gell as extending half across the plain: he mentions traces of walls and foundations of two temples. The citadel was on the hill. A fine causey crosses the plain to the foot of Mount *Agios Basili*. In the road to *Agios Giorgios* occur other ancient vestiges; in particular, a chapel of Saint Irene, containing fragments of a Doric temple and a bridge formed of an ancient architrave. The church of St. George has also Doric fragments. From this village to Argos, the road passes through as ugly and uninteresting a country, Sir W. Gell says, as can well be imagined. The distance is about twelve miles.*

But we must no longer suffer ourselves to be detained in this interesting corner of the Peloponnesus,

* Five hours, according to the Author's Itinerary; four hours, in his Narrative. At 35 min. from Agios Giorgios, having entered a defile, the traveller sees on the right, a monastery of the *Panagia*, in a curious situation on a precipice. Within the next 20 minutes, the road crosses some walls which are found again in the route from Nemea to Mycenæ, and are supposed to mark the ancient boundary between the Argian and Phliasian territories. At 2 hours 40 min., a road turns off to the left, to Phytai, where are ruins, supposed to be of the *Heræum*, or temple of the Argive Juno.—*Itinerary*, pp. 160, 171.

having yet to explore the narrow slip of territory lying between the Gulf of Lepanto and the ancient Arcadia and Elis, which formed Achaia Proper.* Here, again, we take Mr. Dodwell for our guide, in his route

FROM SICYON TO PATRAS.

In the first four hours, proceeding westward from Basilico to Kamares, no object of particular interest occurs. The road lies near the Gulf, crossing several rivers and brooks that find their way into it, and, at an hour and a half, passes the remains of a wall running from the hill on the left to the sea, apparently intended to guard the pass. This, therefore, was probably the boundary of the Sicyonian and Ægiratan territories. Near this place are vestiges of an Ionic temple of white marble: the prospect from the ruins is very fine. At the end of about three hours, the road crosses a large river near the village of Xilo-Kastro, which is seen at the foot of a hill to the left: the summit is crowned with the imperfect remains of an acropolis. The situation corresponds to that of Ægira, which Polybius describes as standing near some abrupt and broken hills, seven *stadia* from the sea, and opposite to Parnassus. In the time of Pausanias, it possessed three *hiera*, a temple (ναος), and another sacred edifice (οικημα). The khan of Kamares takes its name from the remains of some small Roman arches in its vicinity, which appear to have belonged to an aqueduct. Near it is a small marsh, with a

* "Achaia was formerly inhabited by those Ionians who are now settled on the coast of Asia. They were expelled by the Achæans, when the latter were compelled to yield the kingdoms of Argos and Lacedæmon to the descendants of Hercules."—*Travels of Anacharsis*, ch. 37

spring of good water. The village of Kamares is nearer the coast, about a quarter of an hour distant. On the high pointed acclivity above the khan, stands a church called the *Panagia tes Koruphes*. Thus far, the country is described as pre-eminently beautiful,—a picturesque succession of hill and dale, the hills shattered by earthquakes into the most picturesque forms, and luxuriantly mantled with wood, principally the evergreen oak. On the right, occasional views are obtained of the Gulf, with the grand mountains of Locris, Phocis, and Bœotia on the opposite coast.

An hour and fifty minutes from the khan of Kamares, and about a hundred yards to the left of the road, there is an ancient monument of a square form, constructed of fine blocks of stone, nine layers of which are still remaining. On the top of the ruin is the fragment of a bas-relief, consisting of two naked feet sculptured in a beautiful style. "This is probably the monument which, Pausanias says, was on the right of the road, between the river Krathis and Ægira, on which there was an equestrian figure nearly effaced." About an hour further, proceeding through some vineyards, olive-groves, and corn-fields, and crossing a shallow stream in a broad channel, brings the traveller to the remains of another monument, supposed to be Roman: the foundation is of small stones and mortar, while the superstructure is of large blocks. Twenty-six minutes further, a small cape projects into the Gulf, covered with pines and bushes, among which are a few ancient vestiges. After crossing the broad channel of another stream, and passing through some more vineyards, olive-grounds, and corn-lands, Mr. Dodwell approached a place called *Maaro-Petra*, at the entrance of a narrow pass which

had long been a favourite resort of banditti.* A hill on the left is crowned with the ruins of a *palaio-kastro*, supposed to be the site of the ancient Ægæ (Αιγαι). Forty minutes further, he crossed, by a bridge of seven arches, a shallow but rapid river, called Sakratas or Akrata, a corruption of Krathis, which rises at a village called Zaroukla, eight hours distant, in Mount Krathis, and after traversing a fertile plain, falls into the Gulf. On its banks is a khan, called the khan of Acrata, where Mr. Dodwell passed the night.†

Soon after quitting the khan, the road crosses a stream conveyed by an artificial channel to turn a corn-mill. A fertile and richly-cultivated plain extends beyond, occupied with vineyards and currant-plantations, which at length contracts as the mountains approach the sea, and then the vale again expands. The heights are covered with evergreens and shrubs, and as they alternately recede and approach, the scenery is beautifully varied. At the end of about two hours and twenty minutes, the road crosses a rapid river by a bridge of one arch; but when Mr. Dodwell passed it, it had become so swollen by the rains as to form several branches, which he crossed with difficulty. The banks are shaded by impending

* Near this place, a Turkish army of 3,000 men was arrested in its progress by General Lundo in 1822. See vol. i. p. 184.

† It is not easy to reconcile Mr. Dodwell's route exactly with that given by Sir W. Gell. (Itin. p. 13.) He makes the distance from Acrata to Kamares, five hours and a half. At 3 hours and 39 min. from Kamares, he mentions, "a rivulet and ruins at Blou-bouki; on the r., the woody hill on which stood Ægira above the road; on the l., the ruins of the port or *Navale Ægiræ*, choked with sand: the black posts upon the two piers have occasioned the name of *Mauro Lithari*." Here also is a derveni. This is evidently the *Ægæ* and *Mauro Petra* of Mr. Dodwell, who places Ægira at Xilo-Kastro.

trees, or obstructed by almost impenetrable bushes, which threw down their horses and tore their clothes. They deemed themselves, however, fully recompensed by the singular beauty and impressive grandeur of the scenery. The river is the Bouraïkos, or Kalavryta river, which flows through the glen of Megaspelia in Arcadia. The chasm through which the river is precipitated, is described by Sir W. Gell as perhaps "one of the most stupendous scenes in the world." The rocks on each side of the glen are for the most part perpendicular, rising to a tremendous height, and shattered into irregular forms: wherever there is a projection, they are fringed with verdure, and crowned with oaks and pines.

"No part of Achaia," says Mr. Dodwell, "abounds so much as this in enchanting localities and picturesque wilds. The concussions of earthquakes, to which this coast has always been subject, and from which it is not yet free, have tossed the surface into a multiplicity of forms, with deep dells and craggy steeps, yawning ravines and cloud-capped precipices." —After passing near a water-mill to the left, is seen, on a wooded hill, a *metochi*, or farm, belonging to the monastery of Megaspelia. The road then lies over a plain cultivated with Indian corn, and traversed by several rivers, which in the summer are nearly dry, but, on the melting of the snows on the Arcadian mountains, become turbulent torrents, rushing into the Gulf. The broadest of these rivers is the *Selinos* of Pausanias. In the evening, Mr. Dodwell reached Vostitza; distance from the khan of Acrata, five hours.

The town of Vostitza (Bostizza), the representative of the ancient Ægium, stands in a fertile plain a little elevated above the sea, surrounded with gardens, olive-grounds, vineyards, and currant-plantations:

corn, cotton, tobacco, and maize, are also grown in the neighbourhood. Ægium was one of the most celebrated cities in Greece. It is mentioned by Homer as having supplied vessels for the Trojan war, and was for many ages the seat of the Achaian Congress. In the second century, it still possessed fifteen sacred edifices, a theatre, a portico, and an agora.* At the time of Mr. Dodwell's visit, it was reduced to "a large village," in which the Greeks formed the majority of the population: the Turks had only one mosque.† Scarcely any vestiges of its edifices were observable, their destruction having probably been occasioned chiefly by the violent convulsions of nature. Since then, "the greater part of the town of Vostitza has been destroyed by a similar catastrophe, and a cape in its vicinity, like the city of Helice, has been engulfed in the sea, and has totally disappeared!" On the beach, overshadowing a copious fountain, stood a magnificent plane-tree, the trunk of which measured 38 feet in girth, and the branches spread 60 feet on each side. The fountain is mentioned by Pausanias.‡ There is an ascent from the shore through a subterraneous

* "The Turks burned Ægium in 1536, and put the inhabitants to the sword, or carried them away into slavery."—CHANDLER.

† Sir W. Gell states the population at about 2000: it might therefore claim to be called a town, though built in a straggling manner.

‡ Mr. Dodwell describes the spring as issuing from the ground near the roots of the tree, and, after a rippling course of a few yards, entering the gulf. Chandler says: "By the plane-tree is a plentiful source of excellent water, streaming copiously from ten or more mouths of stone, and many transparent springs rise on the beach. We were told that an earthquake and a mighty inundation of the sea happened not many years ago; that the water thrice mounted above this tree and the tall cliff behind it; that some of the branches were torn off by its violence; and that the people fled to the mountains."

passage cut in the rock. The anchorage of the harbour is not safe with a northerly wind.

In half an hour from Vostizza, the road to Patras passes a river at a ford, (supposed by Mr. Dodwell to be the Phœnix,) and, in the course of the next hour, three other streams, one of which only is crossed by a bridge. A river now called Soria, which rises near the village of Zeria, high up in the mountains, "may be the Meganitos." After crossing another stream, he arrived at a narrow pass, where the mountains approach the sea; and here was a *derveni* guarded by some dirty Albanians. In two hours and twenty minutes from Vostitza, he came in view of a turn of the Gulf where it bends westward, and saw Lepanto on the opposite side. In three hours and forty-four minutes, he crossed a stream falling from the mountains on the left, and forming "a high but thin cascade," (Sir W. Gell terms it a magnificent one,) perhaps 400 feet high," called *Balto Korupho*. The mountains here rise abruptly from the sea, covered with pines and other trees, and the scenery is very fine. Within the next half hour, Sir W. Gell mentions two ancient ports now concerted into lakes, each having near it a tumulus and some ancient blocks. The low promontory of Drepanum (still bearing that name) commences after passing the second. Immediately opposite to Lepanto is a tumulus, so large as to appear like a natural mound, with broken tiles near it. From an eminence, about an hour from Balto Korupho, Mr. Dodwell obtained a magnificent view of this part of the Gulf. "We looked down," he says "upon the entrance of the Gulf, which is between the promontories of Rhion and Antirrhion, on which are respectively situated the castles of Morea and Romelia. The

former bears N. 83° W.; the latter, N. 70° W.; and the intermediate space is certainly much more considerable than it was computed by the ancients. These promontories are denominated by Livy, 'the jaws of the Corinthian Gulf.' We discovered the projecting coast from the Araxian promontory, and, in the faint distance, the islands of Cephalonia, Ithaca, and the Echinades, with the Ætolian shore near Mesaloggion (Missolonghi). These soft distances are well contrasted with the rugged and frowning precipices of Chalcis and Taphiassos, presenting their craggy sides to the open sea, and uniting with the lofty chains of Rhegana and Loidoriki, as they branch out from Pindus and Œta. The town of Nepaktos (Lepanto) is seen on the Locrian coast in a direction of N. 6° E.; and the sickle-formed cape of Drepanon projects in a thin line from the Achaian shore."

The road passes within a mile of the castle of the Morea, and then lies over a level country in a S.W. direction, crossing three "insignificant streams," called by Pausanias the Bolinaios, the Selemnos, and the Charadros, and, where the plain is about two miles wide, the Meilichos, now called Melikoukia. Beyond this river, the hills called *Skata Bouna* approach the road, and the cultivation of Patras begins. The distance from Vostizza to Patras is eight hours and a quarter, or twenty-five computed miles. * The total distance from Patras to Corinth by Sicyon, is, according to Mr. Dodwell, thirty-three hours. Sir W. Gell makes it only twenty-six hours, or seventy-six computed miles. Before we describe this important place,

* Sir W. Gell mentions, at two hours fifty-five minutes from Vostitza, a khan called the khan of Lampiri, prettily situated at the foot of the chain of Mount Voidia, the ancient Panachaikos.

the emporium of the Morea, we shall trace another route taken by Mr. Dodwell, leading through the heart of the Peninsula.

FROM TRIPOLITZA TO PATRAS.

THE road from Tripolitza to Kalabryta has already been traced as far as Kalpaki in the plain of Orchomenos.* From this place, Mr. Dodwell proceeded in a north-easterly direction towards Stymphalus or Zaraka. On descending into the plain, where the traces of Orchomenos end, he crossed a copious stream called Sosteno, which rises near the deserted village of Nudimo (or Nudines), three hours distant, and in thirty-seven minutes from Kalpaki, came to a fine *kephalo brusi*, rushing in seven clear streams out of the rocks at the foot of the *Kokino Bouno* (the red mountain), which rises close to the traveller's right. These soon collect into a single stream, which, after a course of a few hundred yards, enters the lake of Orchomenos, of which it forms the principal supply. Half an hour from this source, Mr. Dodwell noticed a tumulus to the left, crossed a rivulet, running towards the lake, and came to some traces of an ancient paved way. In an hour and a quarter, he reached the extremity of the plain, and observed the monastery of Kandēlas conspicuously perched upon a high rock. A few minutes more brought him to the *metochi* of the monastery, a short way beyond which, is the scattered and deserted town of Kandelas (or Kandyla.) All the principal inhabitants, unable to support the vexatious extortions of the Pasha of the Morea, had, a few years before, emigrated to the coast of Anatolia. After

* See p. 45 of the present volume.

passing some mills turned by a rivulet running towards the lake of Orchomenos, the road begins to ascend the precipitous sides of a mountain, (supposed to be the ancient Oligyrtos,) winding along the edge of precipices in a zig-zag direction. This road, Mr. Dodwell says, is not difficult in summer, but, at the time he traversed it (March 12), it was completely encrusted with snow to a great depth: no beaten track, consequently, was visible, and at almost every step, the party were in danger of falling down the precipices; "nor do I recollect," he adds, "ever to have been in a more perilous situation." The guides whom he had hired at Kalpaki, when they saw the depth of the snow, obstinately refused to proceed, till the Tatar who accompanied Mr. Dodwell had recourse to the common Turkish persuasive, the "*argumentum baculinum.*" It took an hour and ten minutes to reach the summit of the pass, and an hour and twenty minutes more, to descend by a difficult path to the long flat plain at the foot of the mountain, in which stands the village of Skotini near the confluence of two streams. The plain was cultivated with corn. An hour and a quarter from this village, are vestiges of walls composed of large rough stones, at the foot of some rocky hills to the left, on which there appears to have been an acropolis. "This place exhibits indications of great antiquity, and may be the site of the town of Alea." *

* This can hardly be the same spot that Sir W. Gell refers to in his journey from Phonia to Argos. He describes the road to Agios Giorgios as ascending from the valley of Stymphalus between two hills, and then descending into "a little hollow," where he found the ruins of a town, which he took for the ancient Alea. A dreary and uncultivated tract succeeded, and after proceeding some way, he observed "a very large and most singular tumulus, encircled with a wall of huge stones. The mass had been cut into two equal semicircular portions by an excavation, by which other

The road then lies over some rocky elevations, and, in twenty-five minutes, brings the traveller in sight of the Lake of Stymphalus (now Zaraka), which, though not of considerable dimensions, is very grand and picturesque, being surrounded with mountains of a bold outline and magnificent aspect. The route now falls into an ancient paved way, running along the south-eastern extremity of the lake. After crossing two branches of a stream which rises two hours to the north, at the village of Dusio (or Dugio), and here enters the lake, the traveller arrives at the miserable village of Zaraka, seven hours from Kalpaki. Here, the power of the black aga of the village was in vain exerted to procure for the *milordos* wine and provisions: the villagers were furnished with scarcely any thing but "ripe olives, pungent cheese, and gritty bread."

The remains of the ancient city of Stymphalus,* are about an hour W.S.W. of Zaraka, on a rocky

stones were exposed. The learned Traveller concludes that this must be the tomb of Æpytus, the father of Aleus, the founder of Alea, which is thus mentioned by Pausanias. "This sepulchre I examined very particularly, *because Homer mentions it:*

("Where, under high Cyllene crowned with wood,
The shaded tomb of old Æpytus stood."—*Iliad.* b. ii.)

it is a mound of earth not very large, surrounded with a circular wall of stone. Homer admired it only because he had never seen a more magnificent monument." Half an hour further, through "a frightfully ugly and dreary country," brought the Traveller within view of the village of Agios Giorgios, and a steep zig-zag path led into the Phliasian plain.—*Narrative*, pp. 364—6.

"From Stymphalus the bright Metopa came,
Mother of warlike Thebes, whose silver spring
I drink."——WEST'S *Pindar*, olymp. vi. strophe 5.

"And Stymphelus with her surrounding grove."
POPE'S *Iliad*, b. ii.

eminence rising from the north-eastern side of the lake. They are thus described by Mr. Dodwell.

"The first ruin we reached, appeared to be the remains of a temple, consisting of a quantity of blocks which constituted the cella. We also observed some fluted *frusta* of the Doric order, three feet in diameter. Several other traces are dispersed in all directions. At the distance of ten minutes from this place, the fountain of Stymphalos, which at present is known by the usual denomination of *Kephalo-Brusi*, gushes with turbulent vehemence from the rock, and forms a copious stream. This is the river Stymphalos, which, after a short and rippling course, enters the lake, which it traverses, and falls into the chasm, or *katabathron*; from whence finding its way in a subterraneous channel, it re-appears near Argos, forming the source of the river Erasinos, which enters the Argolic Gulf near the Lernæan marsh. This physical curiosity is noticed by many ancient authors; particularly by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pausanias. The length of its subterraneous course was supposed to be 200 *stadia*.

"We proceeded for a short space along the foot of the mountain, by the ancient way, which is paved with large square blocks of stone, unlike the roads of the Romans, which are composed of irregular polygons.*

* This magnificent causey, worthy of Hercules, and which, like that of Phonia, was decorated with parapets of hewn stone, not only afforded an excellent road, but "confined the lake to a certain degree; besides raising the whole level of the marsh, by arresting the deposite washed by rivulets from the mountain. About midway is a canal, running rapidly in a direct and artificial course." (GELL's *Nar.* p. 381.) This is said to have been formed by Hercules to carry off the superfluous waters of the Aroanios, and to protect the country from the calamitous effects of inundation. A

We soon came to the remains of a temple, consisting of a considerable quantity of Doric *frusta*, and some pilasters or *antæ*, both fluted, and some large blocks of marble and stone. The columns are of moderate proportions; the larger measure three feet in diameter, and the smaller only eighteen inches. The place is called *Kionea*, the Columns. The dilapidated Catholicon or episcopal church, which has evidently been a handsome edifice, is close to this temple, and is composed of ancient remains. A few hundred yards from the Catholicon, we came to the ancient walls of Stymphalos, which were fortified with square towers, and constructed in the second style of masonry, with large polygon stones. Nearer the lake, the brow of an impending eminence is characterised by the ruins of another temple, the lower part of the *cella* of which is still visible. This whole side of the lake appears to have been covered with buildings belonging to the town, which was of a long and narrow form, adapted to the nature of the spot on which it stood. The mountain which rises above the ruins is part of the great Mount Cyllene, the loftiest in Arcadia."*

Pausanias asserts, that the lake, which is always small, is quite dry in summer; but this, Mr. Dodwell was assured, never occurs, though it is then very much reduced in extent. In fact, the fish called *kephales* are said to abound in it. Sir W. Gell noticed numerous flocks of wild-fowl, near the *katabathron*, "apparently attracted by the floating of every swimming object to a common centre, waiting for their prey." Having ascended to the top of a preci-

part of the river seems to flow in its natural channel; but a great part, Mr. Dodwell says, is evidently directed to the lake by the canal."

Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 433.

pice, he looked down upon the fearful chasm. "A sort of imposing stillness," he says, "rendered more terrible the sight of what appeared an unfathomable abyss, drawing to itself, in treacherous silence, every floating object, till it became insensibly and irrevocably lost in the dark and tremendous gulf below. The water had all the appearance of immense depth, so that, though perfectly transparent, and seen from a considerable elevation, no signs of the bottom were visible. The natives believe that the cones of fir-trees, having been thrown in considerable numbers into the water here, have really re-appeared at the fountain-head of the Erasinus." An unfortunate bather is said to have disappeared at this spot, but the body would seem not to have been seen again. On the other side of the water, near Zaraka, Sir W. Gell noticed arches of the aqueduct erected by Hadrian to convey water to Corinth.*

The route to Phonia lies along the north-eastern side of the lake, through the ruins of Stymphalus, and then continues on the side of a steep precipice rising from the water, bearing the traces of wheels in the ancient road hewn in the rock. In less than an hour, the traveller reaches the north-western extremity of the lake, which, at that end, is enclosed by an ancient wall to protect the adjacent plain from its inundations. Three quarters of an hour further, he crosses a river which turns some mills in its way to the lake; and soon after, begins to ascend the mountainous ridge of Geronteion, which separates the plains of Stymphalus and Pheneos. Here there is a khan, called Moura. The village of Kastania is left on the right. On a rocky hill to the right are seen numerous caves, probably sepulchral. From the top of the pass, after an

See p. 163.

ascent of forty minutes, the Corinthian Gulf is visible toward the east, while, on the west, the plain of Pheneos presents a surface of fine verdure and great extent, its little lake being scarcely visible at its northern extremity. The road runs along the rocky sides of the mountains which rise majestically on the north-eastern side of the plain, and which are enlivened with villages and trees. After a long descent, leading through some villages, the traveller crosses, in the plain, the river Olbios, or Aroanios, (now called *Tranopotamo*, the Great River,) and passing through a large *kalybia*, called Moshea, in fifty minutes from the river, arrives at the populous village of Phonia, situated on the side of a picturesque and wooded mountain above the ruins of the ancient Pheneos: distance from Zaraka, four hours and seventeen minutes, and consequently eleven hours and a half from Kalpaki.

The direct route to Phonia, which was taken by Sir W. Gell, is not half the distance. About an hour from Kalpaki, the roads divide, that to Zaraka bending to the right, while that to Phonia turns to the left, and in about eight minutes begins to ascend a chasm or bushy glen, apparently referred to by Pausanias as the passage of the rocks of Caphya. On the right, is the monastery of *Agia Triada* (the Holy Trinity). The pass, which is very rugged and difficult, has been fortified.* In forty minutes, on reaching the summit, the road issues from the glen, having a small lake on the left; it then traverses another summit, and in twenty-five minutes more, begins to

* This appears to be the pass occupied by Demetrius Ypsilanti in 1827, where he was enabled effectually to bar the further progress of Ibrahim Pasha in his attempt to open a communication with Patras. See vol. i. p. 254.

descend the northern side of the mountain by a narrow chasm walled in by lofty precipices on each side, and darkened by overhanging trees, the effect of which is at once singularly gloomy and magnificent. The elevation, and a partial thaw produced by the morning sun, added to the cold and dampness of the situation; and the oaks were covered with long, shaggy coats of green moss, in a manner quite uncommon in these latitudes. After a terrible rocky descent through a wood of ilex, our Traveller passed a cave called Ghiosa (or Geousa), from the roof of which hung the first icicles he had seen in Greece. On the rocks above were pines; and with the oaks in the glen were intermixed birches and other productions of a northern climate. Phonia is now seen, bearing due north, at the further extremity of another plain, backed by another range of lofty mountains. In a quarter of an hour further, the road passes a church, under which a beautiful source gushes out from a rock, forming a river at once; and soon after is seen the village Ghiosa, near the ancient Carya. Near the road, Sir W. Gell observed a chair cut in the rock. In another quarter of an hour, he reached the bottom of the descent, "which, in the summer, can scarcely have any equal for picturesque beauty, with all that rocks, trees, and headlong torrents can produce." The river here, running to the right, is quickly swallowed up in a *katabathron* at the foot of Mount Sciathis.* In three quarters of an hour further, the road enters upon a magnificent causey, formed with immense labour, which, Pausanias says, was thirty feet high,

* "The *katabathron* receives the Aroanios at the foot of a steep and rocky mountain called *Kokino Bouno*, the Red Mountain. It is disgorged after a subterraneous course of a few miles, and forms the Ladon."—DODWELL.

and which appears to have been originally bordered with a stone parapet. The plain on the right is cultivated, and is terminated by the immense mass of Zyria, the Cyllene of the ancients, reputed the highest mountain in the Morea. On the left, the mountains anciently called Orexis recede, leaving space for a fine lake, the waters of which are supplied by the river, and passing by a *katabathron* to Lykourio, there form the source of the river Ladon. On the rocks to the left, are very visible the traces of the water-mark mentioned by Pausanias as a proof of that elevation of the waters of the lake which destroyed Pheneos. The lower parts of the mountains, for some hundred feet above the plain, are of a much lighter colour than the upper parts, and a yellow border is carried along their bases round the whole circle of the plain. It is evident, however, that a temporary inundation could not have produced so striking a difference in the surface of the rock, and the phenomenon demands the attention of the naturalist. If the rock itself is of the same composition throughout the whole elevation, the lighter part will probably be found to derive its colour from a concrete deposite, the effect either of the waters having, in a remote age, occupied the whole plain, before they opened for themselves a subterraneous channel, or else of the action of the rains.

In three quarters of an hour after entering upon the causey, Sir W. Gell arrived at the ford of the Tranopomo, the embankments of which, together with the magnificent road, form one of the achievements attributed to that most useful personage, Hercules, during his residence at Pheneos. A bridge here, our Traveller remarks, would have made his work perfect. After passing the river, leaving on the left a monastery near

some ancient quarries, he ascended to Phonia, after a journey of five hours and a half.*

Phonia, says Sir William Gell, "was originally a *kalybea* or summer residence, and consisted of huts; it retained that appellation to a late period, but is now become a town reputed to contain a thousand houses, and consequently a population of between four and five thousand souls. The houses are prettily interspersed with trees, from which I conjecture that the site was formerly a wood. Every house seemed to have its little garden; and the place altogether was rather flourishing, for the Morea. The Phonia or Pheneos of history was evidently placed upon an insulated hill, south-east of the modern town, where the ruins of the whole circuit of the wall are visible." The rest of the ruins consist of scattered blocks and confused heaps; but it is probable that interesting objects might be discovered here. Pheneos was one of the most ancient cities in Greece.† Mercury was the particular object of worship here: he had a temple consecrated to him, and was honoured with games called *Hermaia*.‡ Bacchus and Proserpine are also

* Total distance from Tripolitza, 10 hours, 56 min., or 31 computed miles. Yet, "by an observation of the sun," Sir W. Gell found that he had advanced, in his two days' journey, only 21 miles north from Tripolitza.

† Οἱ Φενεον τ' ἐνεμοντο και Ὀρχομενον πολυμηλον·
"The Phenean fields and Orchomenian downs."
Iliad, b. ii. 605.

‡ The precise origin of these games does not appear, but they were probably connected with the legend referred to by the coins of Pheneos, in which Mercury is seen with the child Arkas in his arms: inscription, Φενεων-Αρκας. Arkas was the son of Jupiter by Callisto, daughter of Lycaon. When the mother was transformed into a bear and killed by Diana, the infant was saved by Mercury. So the story is told by Pausanias. It is probable that,

seen on the coins of Pheneus; and the bull, the sheep, and the horse, which are represented on them, may be supposed to allude to the rich pasturage of the Phenean territory, which, we are told by Pausanias, was preferred by Ulysses for his horses to any other. The head of Proserpine has a reference to the legend connected with the *katabathron*, where, according to some authorities, Pluto is said to have opened himself a passage to his infernal palace, when he carried off the daughter of Ceres. A less classical version of this tradition is current among the people of Phonia. One of their kings is said to have engaged in an unequal conflict, at this place, with the Prince of Darkness, whose only offensive weapons were balls of grease. On being struck with one of these, the unfortunate Phonian caught fire, and was hurried with impetuous velocity through the mountain, leaving behind him the perforation which became the outlet of the lake. The waters of Pheneos, as well as those of the neighbouring Styx, were anciently supposed to possess peculiar properties. Ælian states, that the lake contained no fish; and Ovid pretends, that while its water might be drunk with impunity by day, it was pernicious at night.* The Abbé Fourmont makes it out to resemble the Asphaltic Lake in its bituminous odours; but neither Mr. Dodwell nor Sir W. Gell appears to have perceived any such phenomenon,

On a very steep and lofty peak of the mountain above the modern village, there are remains of a *palaio-kastro*, probably of high antiquity, bnt not otherwise interesting. The way to it is by a mere

like the Nemean and Isthmian Games, the Heræan were originally funereal; and it is singular that, in each instance, an infant should be the principal object of religious honour.

Metam. xv. 332.

goat-track, through a wooded and picturesque tract of country. It took Mr. Dodwell forty minutes to reach the foot of the conical rock on which the ruins are situated, and another hour to ascend by a very steep and circuitous winding path to the flat, circular area on the summit. Here, they found remains of walls composed of a thick mass of small unhewn stones without mortar, but having nothing characteristic in their construction. A few ancient tiles were seen scattered about the ruins, but not a single block of hewn stone could be found. Other similar remains occur in the mountainous parts of Greece, and these may possibly, Mr. Dodwell suggests, be of very early date,—the κωμοπολεις or walled villages of the ancients. The view from the rock embraced only a mass of mountains with wild glens and rugged indentations; a deep solitude, where the voice of man is not heard, nor are any signs of human habitation visible.

The route pursued by the learned Traveller now led in a south-westerly direction across the plain, having the lake on the left, and leaving on the right a monastery at the foot of the mountain. In an hour and a quarter, he arrived near the confines of the lake, the banks of which were then inaccessible from the swamps which formed its border. On quitting the lake, the road begins to ascend through a forest of scattered firs, and, in half an hour, attains the summit of the ridge which constitutes the line of division between the modern jurisdictions of Corinth and Kalabryta. On descending by a steep road into the plain, the straggling village of Lykourio is seen on the right, in a valley which exhibits signs of cultivation, environed with lofty hills. In two hours from the lake, Mr. Dodwell reached a very abundant *kephalobrusi*, which immediately forms a fine rapid river.

This spring is the outlet of the subterraneous waters of the river and lake of Phonia, and the stream is the Ladon, which, after a circuitous and rapid course through Arcadia, joins the Alpheus. On quitting the source, the road makes a turn to the north, passing under a magnificent precipice on the right, and after crossing two streams, leads, in two and twenty minutes, to the *kalybia* of Mazi, situated on a gentle elevation overlooking the plain of Kleitor. Near the village are some remains of a small Doric temple.

The ruins of Kleitor (or Clitorium), which are about twenty minutes from the *kalybia* (where the Author passed the night), "are situated in a fertile plain, surrounded by some of the highest mountains in Arcadia, at the northern extremity of which Chelmos rises in conspicuous grandeur. This mountain is interspersed with sylvan scenery, where fine masses of rock peer out amid the united foliage of the pine, the plane-tree, the ilex, and the oak, its grand outline terminating in a pointed summit of great height. Most of the walls of Kleitor may be traced, though little of them remains above ground. They inclose an irregular oblong space, and were fortified with circular towers. The style of construction is nearly equilateral, which gives them an appearance of great solidity; their general thickness is fifteen feet. Here are remains of a small Doric temple with fluted *antæ* and columns with capitals of a singular form. Beyond the walls of the city, on the side towards the *kalybia*, the ground is covered with sepulchres of the *hypogaia* kind, similar to those at the Piræus: they might be opened with little trouble and expense."

Kleitor took its name from its supposed founder, the grandson of Arkas, and one of the most powerful kings of his time, who generally resided at Lycosura.

" The history of this little state is enveloped in obscurity, and not much more is known of it, than that it was sequestered in the heart of Arcadia, and excluded as it were, by its mountainous inclosure, from the other states of Greece." Kleitor was so strong a post as to be able to resist, on one occasion, the attempt of an Ætolian army to carry it by storm. In the 148th Olympiad, the Achæan council was held in this city, in the presence of the Roman legates.* Its principal temples were those of Ceres, of Æsculapius, and of Diana Eileithuia. It was most celebrated for its fountain, to the water of which was ascribed the very admirable property of producing in those who drank it, a distaste for wine ever after, and even a dislike of its smell.† Mr. Dodwell found it pure and limpid, but was unable to detect any of its extraordinary qualities. This is the source of the river Kleitor, which, rising near the ruins, ripples in a meandering current through the plain, and, after a course of less than a mile, enters the Aroanios. Its banks are in some places shaded with trees, and it has much of the character of an English trout-stream.

A species of fish in this river is gravely reported by Pausanias to have had the singular power of singing like a thrush; but, though he saw them when caught, he was never fortunate enough to hear them sing. Mr. Dodwell learned from a fisherman who had just been successful in catching some trout of a fine bright colour beautifully variegated, that the river abounds most in this species of fish; that it is seldom taken of more than a pound and a half in

Polybius in Dodwell.

† *Clitorio quicunque sitim de fonte levarit,*
Vina fugit, gaudetque meris abstemius undis.
OVID. *Metam.* xv. 322.

weight; and that it forms a considerable object of traffic with the neighbouring villages, especially in fast-time, for which period they are salted and smoked. The learned Traveller supposes this fish to be the ποικιλία of Pausanias, and that name to have been given to the trout from its spotted and many-coloured scales.* Pliny, however, states, that this vocal fish was denominated *exocœtus*, because it used to go upon the land to sleep; that it was peculiar to the vicinity of Clitorium; that it had no fins; and that it was sometimes called Adonis.† It seems more reasonable to reject the whole as a fable, than to suppose that a fish s well known as the trout should be invested with such marvellous attributes. Ridiculous as the whole story sounds, it appears to have gained such general credence, that one can scarcely avoid supposing that it may have originated in some unexplained phenomenon.‡

Pursuing his route in a northerly direction, Mr. Dodwell passed by a copious stream called the river of Katsánes, which descends from Mount Chelmos; it is shaded with plane-trees, and bounded by fine precipices. Where the vale contracts into a glen, he crossed another stream, and soon began to ascend to the elevated plain of Suthena, near the further end of

* The modern name for trout, Mr. Dodwell says, is πεστσολα, or πεστροφη.

† Possibly corrupted from αδων, from αειδω, to sing.

‡ A remarkable account is given by Lieut. White, of a species of musical fish found in the Saigon river, which would seem to render it not absolutely incredible, that a fish might be endued, not indeed with voice, but with sonorific powers by means of spasmodic action, like the insect race of vocalists. If any sounds were emitted by the *poikilia*, the marvel would easily be heightened into their resembling the song of a thrush. See MOD. TRAV., *Birmah*, &c. p. 334.

which are obscure traces of the *cella* of a temple, supposed to be the site of the temple of Diana, which was between Kleitor and Cynætha. The road then becomes, for thirty-five minutes, a steep ascent to the summit of a pass, and in forty minutes more, leads down to a plain, in which is an insulated rock surmounted with ruined walls, composed of small stones, called Palaio Kalabryta. The ruins appeared to Mr. Dodwell modern: Sir W. Gell supposes that the site may be that of Cynætha. The monastery of Megaspelia is visible from this point at the extremity of a deep, uneven valley. A quarter of an hour further brings the traveller to the modern town of Kalabryta, situated in a deep valley. This is the head-town of the district, and the seat of a voivode, but it appears to have nothing to recommend it to attention. Its scanty remains, Mr. Dodwell says, have an ambiguous character: he passed through it, however, very hastily. It appears to be the representative of the ancient Cynætha, although it may be questioned whether it occupies the same situation. It is mentioned as a town in the year 1450. M. Pouqueville gives the following account of the place.

"Calavrita is a town surrounded with mountains, and contains about 300 houses, but it does not appear to occupy the place of any town or village mentioned in antiquity. It is governed by a Turkish aga, and defended by a paltry kind of castle built of wood, with a palisade. There is a wretched khan, destined for the reception of travellers. In time of war, a military guard is stationed here by the Pasha of the Morea: the possession of this point is essential for securing the command of the defiles over all this part of the province. The greater part of the inhabitants are Albanians, the remains of those who invaded the Morea

in 1770. The environs of the town are pleasant, notwithstanding the rugged nature of the country. There are many delicious fountains, planted with orange and lemon-trees, besides abundance of mulberry-trees, cultivated for feeding the silk-worms, considerable numbers of which are bred here. In this place as well as at Vostitza, large quantities are also made of the hard cheese used for scraping upon macaroni and other Italian pastes; dishes which are held in particular esteem among the great people of the country. It is well known how much the cheeses of Achaia and Sicyonia were sought after in ancient times by the Athenians. It should seem that they have undergone no change; that they preserve the same form, and have the same solidity." *

The ancient Cynæthans bore a very indifferent character, being esteemed an unprincipled, uncivilised, and cruel race, the very reverse of their generous neighbours, the Kleitorians. For this remarkable difference, Polybius very satisfactorily accounts: they were the only people in Arcadia who did not cultivate music! The present race would seem to bear a family resemblance to their predecessors. Mr. Dodwell describes the people of Suthena as a savage-looking people, many of them being robbers by profession; and those of Kalabryta were, apparently, little better. The monks of Megaspelia were loath to believe that a single Frank should venture to travel in such a country, at a late hour, attended only by Turks. The insecurity of their situation, and the lawless distraction of the country, compelled them to take every possible precaution to prevent surprise and spoliation; so

* Pouqueville's Travels, p. 48.

that our Traveller, arriving after the gates were shut, with difficulty obtained admission.*

The country between Kalabryta and Megaspelia is romantically wild and grand. On leaving the town, Mr. Dodwell traversed part of the plain of Kalabryta, and entering a gorge of precipitous mountains, descended to a winding glen with a rapid river flowing through the midst, while perpendicular rocks rise above in every fantastic variety of form. This river is the Bouraikos, here called Ποταμος των Καλαβρυτων, the river of Kalabryta, which, after winding through craggy hollows and dark glens, and washing the foot of the rock on which the town of Boura stood, crosses the road from Basilico to Patras, and falls into the Corinthian Gulf about seven miles S.E. of Bostitza. In two hours from Kalabryta, he reached the monastery of Megaspelia,†—the largest establishment of the kind in the Morea, and one of the most singular edifices in the world. Seen by moonlight, Mr. Dodwell says, it had a most extraordinary appearance: that which it presented the next morning, is thus described.

"The monastery is erected upon a steep and narrow ridge, and against the mouth of a natural cavern.‡ Indeed, most of the interior of the edifice is within the cave itself, or projects but little beyond. It is a

* A quarter of an hour elapsed after they had consented to admit the Traveller, before the door was opened; he then had to enter by a long passage between a double line of monks, all of whom, he afterwards found, had arms concealed under their ample robes.

† Two hours and a half, acording to Sir W. Gell (Itin. p. 131); and the last half hour, from the bridge below the monastery, is stated to be "a terrible ascent."

‡ Hence its name, Μεγα Σπηλαιον, the Great Cave.

large white building, of a picturesque and irregular form, consisting of eight stories with twenty-three windows in front; it faces the west. A magnificent precipice, four or five hundred feet in height, rises from the cave, and overhangs the monastery in such a manner, that when the Arnauts, who ravaged great part of the Morea, found it impossible to take the monastery in front, on account of the narrow and defensible passes, they attempted to roll down upon it large masses of stone from the precipice above; but they all fell beyond the walls of the consecrated edifice.* The monks, of course, were not backward in ascribing this circumstance to a miracle. The garden of the convent is in front of it, on a rapid slope supported by terrace-walls, and approached by zig-zag paths. Some cypresses add greatly to its picturesque effect. When I requested permission to inspect the church, the monks seemed more desirous of shewing their cellar, which is indeed one of the finest in the world. It occupies the greater part of the ground-floor, and was filled with large casks containing better wine than that usually found in the Morea; it is, moreover, always cool. The church is incrusted with ancient marbles, embellished with gilding, and sanctified with the paintings of the Panagia and saints. It is illuminated with silver lamps, but badly lighted from without.

"Megaspelia owes its foundation or completion to the Greek emperors, John Cantacuzene, and Andronicus and Constantine Palæologus. It supports about 450 monks, most of whom are dispersed about the country, and engaged in superintending the *metochia*

* They endeavoured in vain to throw down a great fragment of rock apparently poised on the verge of the precipice.

and cultivating the land.* Its currant-plantations are considerable, and produce 80,000 lb. weight annually. It is a *βασιλικα μονασταηρια* (royal monastery), and enjoys great privileges. The *hegoumenos* (abbot) is elected yearly; but the same individual is frequently re-elected, if his conduct has been approved. When they cease to hold that place, they are denominated *προηγουμενοι*, † and are more respected than the other monks. The palladium of this monastery is an image of the Virgin, said to have been made by St. Luke. This attracts the visits of pilgrims, and brings in a great addition to the revenue of the establishment."

The monks are believed to possess a charter from one of the Constantines, and some books, but are represented by Sir W. Gell as unwilling to shew either. Above the gate are some remains of building, of the time of the Greek emperors. "From the entrance, an inclined pavement extends to a sort of portico, between which and the church are two new and handsome brass doors. The pavement of the church is mosaic. The refectory is large, and its table clean. The monks distribute an engraving of the place, surrounded with little pictures of the miracles wrought there. They are hospitable to strangers, and have a separate house for their Turkish visiters."

Such is the account given of this singular establishment as it existed in 1806. What part its monks have taken in the turbulent events of the past six years, and how far the establishment itself has suffered

* The vines, on account of the coldness of the situation, are cut down in winter and covered with earth. The monastery itself is damp, and the inmates are subject to rheumatism.

† The prefix *προ* has evidently in this word the sense of former; as the French would say, *ancien abbé*, or ex-prior.

from the effects of the Revolution, we are not informed. The standard of independence was first raised in the Morea by Germanos, archbishop of Patras, in the neighbourhood of Kalabryta; and it may be presumed that the monks of Megaspelia were not backward in obeying the summons and in affording their holy aid to the insurgents.* Next to that of Megaspelia, the largest monastery in the Morea is that of *Taxiarchi*, which is also a royal foundation, about an hour and a half from Vostitza, towards the mountains.

The distance of Megaspelia from Vostitza is computed to be fifteen miles (5 hours 40 min.) The road first descends to the bridge below the monastery; in ten minutes, crosses another with a pretty mill; and after a very steep ascent of thirty-five minutes towards Mount Phteri, a third. It then leads to a summit commanding a magnificent view of the Gulf of Lepanto, with Parnassus, Helicon, and Pindus beyond In another half hour, it crosses another summit, and then, in thirty-five minutes, leads to "a fount near a species of isthmus connecting the more lofty range of mountains with a high top covered with the ruins of an ancient city. This city was Bura, as may be learned from the cave of Hercules Buraicus on the north side of the rock. The whole country exhibits strong marks of the violence of earthquakes."† After

* See vol. i. p. 129. "At the beginning of the Revolution, 150 of the monks had turned out against the Turks. The superior told me, that he and they were ready to take the field again when required." STANHOPE'S *Greece*, p. 202.

† Gell's Itin. p. 9. The cave of Hercules, which we presume to be the one here alluded to, is on a hill to the left of the road leading from the *metochi* of Megaspelia to Vostizza, about 2 hours and 18 min. from the latter place. "It is accessible by climbing among the bushes. Before the cave is a terrace wall, and holes in the rock for beams indicate a roof or portico in front. The cavern itself has been much enlarged by art, and a number of niches for

crossing the foundations of four walls which once secured the pass between the city and the mountain, the road turns to the right under the perpendicular rocks of Bura. A fountain is on the left, and another fine one is said to be among the ruins. To the left is a picturesque glen with a stream running from Mount Phteri. In three hours and three quarters, the road quits the mountains, and crosses the river. For a considerable distance, it lies in the bed of a torrent, and then leads into the maritime plain, where it is about three quarters of a mile wide, near the spot where once stood the city of Helice, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the 100th Olympiad.* In about an hour and a half further, the traveller reaches Vostitza. The whole of this road, apparently, is formidably strong, and might easily be rendered inaccessible. In winter, it must be almost impassable.

On leaving the monastery for Patras, the traveller has to regain the plain of Kalabryta. In two hours, he crosses a bridge of six arches, near which may be observed some small Doric columns and capitals lying

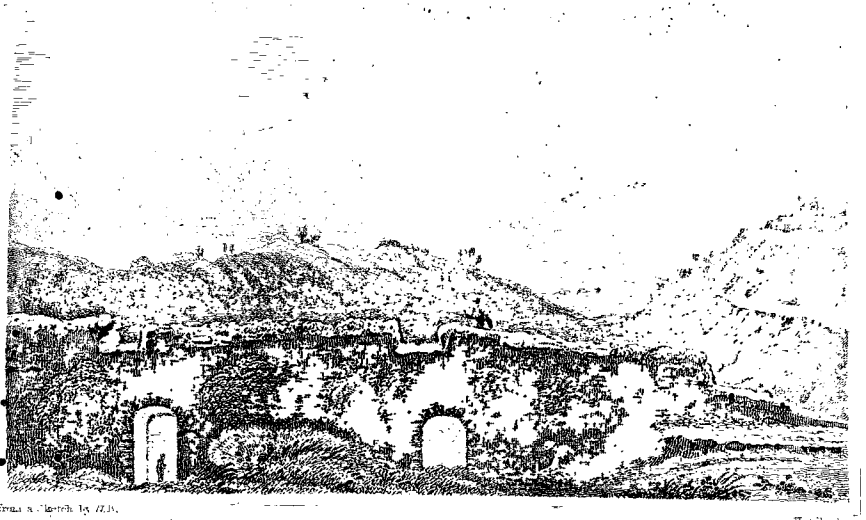
votive offerings attest its ancient sanctity. At a short distance is a sepulchral cave."—GELL's *Itin.* p. 7. In the cave or grotto of Hercules, a number of dice, marked in a particular manner, were placed before a statue of the god: four of these were taken promiscuously and rolled on a table on which corresponding marks were traced, with their interpretation. This chance-oracle was deemed infallible, and was as much frequented as others.—See *Trav. of Anacharsis*, c. 37.

* Helice was 12 *stadia* from the sea, and 40 *stadia* from Ægium. Yet, the shock is said not to have been felt in the latter city, its direction being toward the other side; and in the town of Bura, at nearly the same distance, walls, houses, temples, statues, men, and animals were all destroyed or crushed. The citizens, who were absent, rebuilt the town on their return; but Helice, which is said to have been partially covered by the rise of the sea, never recovered from its overthrow, and Ægium took possession of its territory.—*Trav. of Anacharsis*, c. 37.

on the ground, and, in the rock, a sepulchral cave, "at present used as a church," the roof ornamented with square compartments. Near it is another sepulchral chamber, also hewn in the rock. A few minutes further is a clear spring, forming a small stream, which in some places spreads into marshy ground, and contributes to fertilize the rich pastures of Kalabryta. The spring is supposed to be the fountain Alusson, the water of which was anciently deemed a specific cure for the bite of a mad dog: it is still considered as very salubrious, and is resorted to by those who attend the church. The road to Tripotamia (Psophis) here turns off to the left through a narrow pass with a *derveni*: on the right is seen a *metochi* of Megaspelia. The road to Patras now lies over a gentle elevation to a forest of oaks, crossing, by a bridge, a river that falls into the Gulf between the Bouraikos and Vostitza. Mount Olenos is seen rising to the west. From this plain, the road again ascends through fine forests of oak and plane, formerly notorious as the haunt of banditti, crossing several times a winding stream, which soon enters the Selinos. This river is then crossed by a bridge; and an hour and five minutes further, a khan occurs on the left, where, on an eminence to the right, is a *palaio-kastro*, which now bears the name of *Agios Andreas*, from a church seen among the ruins. The walls are in most places nearly level with the ground, but may be traced round the ancient city, which was of considerable extent, and may possibly be Tritaia. About twenty minutes from the ruins is the village of Gusumistris, (where Mr. Dodwell passed the night,) situated in a large, undulating plain, under cultivation, but bare of timber: it is traversed by a river flowing S.E.

The next morning, Mr. Dodwell proceeded through a gloomy country, in which were seen, scattered here and there, a few poor villages, apparently of Albanians. Within two hours and twenty minutes, he crossed a stream and two larger rivers flowing towards the Corinthian Gulf; probably the Phœnix and the Meganitas. The road then plunges into a deep and almost impervious forest of various species of oak,* formerly much dreaded on account of the robbers who infested this part of the way to Patras. One steep pass in particular had obtained the name of *Makellaria* or the butchery, from the murders committed there. To avoid this pass, and to baffle the pursuit of some Albanians who were watching the party, our Traveller was led by his guides a considerable circuit towards the foot of Mount Boidia (Panachaikon). This grand and picturesque chain, which begins at Patras, sends forth two principal branches, one of which stretches along the coast to Sicyon, uniting with a branch of the lofty Cyllene; while the other runs southward towards Elis, thus inclosing one of the angles of Arcadia, and separating it from the Achaian plains. The greater part of it is covered with venerable forests of oak and pine, and the side towards Patras is divided into green knolls and fertile glens. At length, after scrambling through the forest for three hours, the party had the joy of looking down on the fertile plain of Patras, at the extremity of which was seen the town, with the Ionian Sea and the entrance to the Gulf. In the plain, they crossed the slender stream of the Glaukos (now called Leuka), flowing through

* Particularly *quercus suber* and *q. ilex;* also, the silver fir (ἐλάτη), from the branches of which depended great clusters of mistletoe.



From a Sketch by H.B.

PATRAS.

H. Adlard sc.

a broad channel, and in an hour and ten minutes further, reached the city.*

PATRAS.

PATRAS, pronounced Patra by the Greeks, Patrasso by the Italians, and converted into *Balia Badra*

* Mr. Dodwell makes the total distance from Tripolitza to Patras, thirty-five hours. (Vol. i. p. 124.) This agrees very accurately with Sir W. Gell's computation, viz.

	hours	min.
From Tripolitza to Phonia	10	56
——— Kalabryta	10	32
——— Patras	12	55
	34	23m.

The distance, according to the usual rate of travelling with baggage horses, must, therefore, be about 100 miles. The distance from Patras to Sinano (Megalopolis) is stated by Mr. Dodwell to be forty-two hours; to Mistra, sixty-three; to Arkadia (Cyparissiæ), forty hours; to Modon, by Arkadia, sixty. The road from Sinano to Patras has been traced as far as Karitena; (vol. ii. p. 27;) from which place a route is given by Sir W. Gell to Tripotamia (Psophis), leading through Saracinico, Anaziri, Agiani, Tsouka, Katzioula, and Vanina; distance, twenty-five hours, forty-one minutes. In this route, the sites of chief interest are:—Between Saracinico and Trupé, the ruins of Buphagus and the source of its river. About two hours further, ruins of a Roman bath, with a source, said to have been once warm, but now mixed; chapels and ancient vestiges near it; the ancient name, Melænea. Agiani (or Agios Joannes) is a small hamlet on the site of Heræa, seated on an eminence projecting from the hills which bound the vale of the Alpheus on the north, and commanding twenty miles of its course. Half an hour further is the confluence of the Ladon and the Alpheus; the road then turns N. up the left bank of the Ladon, through a beautiful country. Near Katzioula, on the supposed site of the ancient Teuthis, are vestiges of a considerable *modern* city. Vanina (Banina), a *kalybea* of miserable huts, overlooking the beautiful valley of the Ladon, has its *palaio-kastro* and very considerable ruins of walls, colonnades, &c. In less than an hour further, is the high, picturesque bridge of Spathari, and the supposed site of Haluns. Tripotamia derives its name from the junction of the Erimanthus, the Aroanius, and a third river, the source

(Παλαια Πατρα) and Badradshik by the Turks, is seated on a gentle eminence projecting from the foot of Mount Boidia, which rises about three miles to the east, and within a mile from the sea. Ancient tradition ascribes its name to Patreus, son of Preugenes, who first surrounded it with walls, prior to which it was called Aroa: Augustus Cæsar made it a Roman colony under the title of Aroa Patrensis or Patrensium. Under the Greek emperors, Patras was a dukedom*. It is the see of a Greek archbishop, and the Turkish governor has the title of vaivode. All the principal European states have resident consuls here. Although it suffered considerably in the year 1770, when it was pillaged by the Albanians, it had, prior to the Revolution, recovered its former prosperity, and was the most commercial place in Greece. "The commodiousness of its situation is the reason that it has never been completely abandoned since its foundation; and Roman merchants were settled there in the time of Cicero, as the English and French are at present. It is the emporium of the Morea, and trades with all parts of the Levant, with Sicily and Italy, and even with France and England." Mr. Dodwell gives the following description of the place.

"Like all other Turkish cities, Patras is composed of dirty and narrow streets. The houses are built of earth baked in the sun: some of the best are white-

of which is at a village only seventy minutes distant. From this place, it is seven hours to Kalabryta. Total from Sinano 36 h. 41 min.; which will make it about forty-nine hours and a half by this route to Patras. There is probably a shorter route, through Dimitzana, and more to the east.

* In 1408, it was purchased by the Venetians; was taken from them by the Turks in 1446; retaken by the Venetians in 1553; and finally regained by the Turks.

washed, and those belonging to the Turks are ornamented with red paint. The eaves overhang the streets, and project so much, that opposite houses come almost in contact, leaving but little space for air and light, and keeping the street in perfect shade; which in hot weather is agreeable, but far from healthy. In some places, arbours of large vines grow about the town, and with their thick bunches of pendent grapes, have a cool and pleasing appearance. The pavements are infamously bad and calculated only for horses; no carriages of any kind being used in Greece, although they are known in Thessaly and Epirus..... Patra is supposed to contain about 8000 inhabitants,* the greater portion of whom are Greeks: many of them are merchants in comfortable circumstances. The Turks also are reckoned as civilized as those of Athens, but more wealthy. They have six mosques, one of which is in the castle, and the Greeks have nine principal churches. † The archbishop has under him the suffragan bishops of Modon, Coron, and Bostitza: his title is Metropolitan of ancient Patrai and of all Achaia, ‡, and his yearly revenue, about 10,000 piastres.

"The few ancient remains at this place are of Roman construction, and are neither grand, interesting, nor

* Sir W. Gell says, about 10,000; which is the more usual estimate. Many Jews resided here, and they had a synagogue. "Black slaves are more numerous at Patra than in any other part of Greece: after having faithfully served their masters a certain number of years, they obtain their freedom and marry."

† Wheler says, the cathedral has been turned into a mosque.

‡ Παλαιων Πατρων και πασης Αχαιας μητροπολιτης. The παλαιων is added "to distinguish the Achaian Patrai from the νεαι Πατραι, New Patras in Thessaly." The other archiepiscopal sees are those of Corinth, Nauplia, and Mistra.

well preserved: it is vain to search for traces of the numerous temples and public edifices mentioned by Pausanias. The soil is rich, and has probably risen considerably above its original level, and conceals the foundations of ancient buildings. Indeed, the earth is seldom removed without fragments of statues and rich marbles being discovered. Some marble columns and mutilated statues were found here, a few years ago, in the garden of a Turk, who immediately broke them into small pieces. Towards the middle of the town is a fount, called Saint Catarina's Well, near which is the foundation of the *cella* of a temple, consisting of square blocks of stone, upon which is a superstructure of brick. This may be a Roman restoration. The ancients, however, practised the same mode of construction; and the ruin may be the temple of Jupiter and Hercules, which, Pliny affirms, was of brick, except the columns and the epistyles. Within the castle are two beautiful *torsos* of female statues. The house of the imperial German consul stands on the ruins of a Roman brick theatre, of such small dimensions that it cannot be the Odeum, which, Pausanias says, was the finest in Greece, next to that built by Herodes Atticus at Athens. Not far from the house of the English consul is a long brick wall supporting a terrace, the probable site of a temple.*

* Wheler describes the church dedicated to Saints John, George, and Nicholas as "a very ancient church; but hath ill-favoured arches within, though sustained by beautiful pillars of the Ionic order. On the outside, among many scraps of marble, is the basso-relievo of a peacock sitting upon a three-leaved tree, I guess to be *anagyris* (trefoil), which is not wanting in these parts; whence we judged also, that the church was built out of the ruins of some temple of Juno. At the door of this church is a stone which, being struck with another stone, sendeth out a stinking bituminous savour. This, the Greeks make a miracle, telling that the judge,

"The castle is situated on an eminence which commands the city: it was probably built on the ruins of the Greek and Roman acropolis, which contained the temple and the statue of Diana Laphria.* The walls, particularly that part facing the north, are composed of fragments of ancient edifices: among them are several blocks of marble, architraves, triglyphs, and *metopæ*, one of which was ornamented with a rose in high relief and elegantly worked. The castle is at present so much neglected, that it has not above a dozen bad cannon fit for use, and it is merely calculated to keep the Greeks and Albanians in subjection. There are some large fissures in the walls, occasioned by an earthquake which occurred about thirty years ago: the same shock killed forty persons, and thirteen were crushed by the falling of one of the turrets. A few years after I visited Greece, the round tower at the southern angle, which was the powder-magazine, was struck by lightning and totally destroyed.

"The ancient port was situated to the west of the present harbour, near the ruined church of St. Andrew: it was artificial, and composed of large blocks of stone, great part of which have been removed to construct a mole to shelter small boats. Ships anchor in the road, half a mile from land, where there is good holding-ground, but no shelter whatever from the west and

when he condemned Saint Andrew, sat upon that stone, which hath ever since had that ill scent. But I have smelt the like smell in other stones when broken." It is probably the black fetid lime-stone. The peaked summit now called Kaki Scala, on the Ætolian side of the Gulf, still emits the fetid odour noticed by Strabo.

* This is scarcely to be reconciled with the statement, that "Guillaume de Ville-Hardouin, Prince of Achaia and the Morea, destroyed the archiepiscopal church of Patra, and built the castle upon its ruins." Had the temple of Diana, or that of Minerva Panachaïda, been converted into a cathedral?

east winds: the latter sometimes blows with great impetuosity from the Gulf. Some large foundations, scarcely perceptible, mark the direction of the two long walls which united the city and the port. A short way out of the town are remains of a Roman aqueduct, of brick: it had two tiers of arches, and some of the lower are entire. The small stream by which it is supplied, originates from a spring on the mountain: it now finds its way through the town, and forms a fountain near the custom-house. It still retains the name of Melikoukia,* and supplies the whole town with water.

"Pausanias mentions a temple of Ceres and an oracular fountain near the sea. The church of Saint Andrew is in all probability built on its ruins: the pavement is composed of rich marbles taken from some ancient edifice. Here are several fragments of the *Rosso* and the *Verde Antico*, and the purple and green porphyry. But the only thing which seems to identify the place, is the fountain, which remains nearly as Pausanias describes it, and is still an *agiasma* or sacred well, being dedicated to Saint Andrew. It is enclosed with a wall, which, being composed of small stones and mortar, seems not to be of more ancient date than the neighbouring church. Some steps lead down to it; the water is extremely cold and good. The church is completely in ruins, having been destroyed by the Albanian Moslems in the year 1770. The Greeks have made large offers to the Turks for permission to rebuild it, but which they have not been able to obtain. They are never permitted to erect

* Pausanias tells us that the river was formerly called Amilichus, (ἀμείλιχος, inexorable,) from the human sacrifices offered on its banks to Diana Laphria; but that, on their being abolished, it was changed to Milichus.

new churches, or to repair old ones, unless by special favour and a large sum of money. Saint Andrew's church is held in great veneration, as it is supposed to contain the bones of the apostle. On the anniversary of his festival, all the Greeks of Patra and the neighbouring villages resort to the ruins to pray. Candles are every night lighted in a shed, near which the body is thought to be buried. Gibbon tells us, that the town was saved in the eighth century, when besieged by the allied Slavonians and Saracens, 'by a phantom, or stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St. Andrew the Apostle; and the shrine which contained his relics, was decorated with the trophies of victory.'*

* In Pococke's time, a "large uninhabited convent" stood here, which was furnished with a stone tomb for the apostle, a little cell half under ground, in which he was represented to have dwelt, and the stone scaffold on which he was martyred! This Traveller mentions *twelve* parish churches, besides four other chapels: to each of the parishes belonged about eighty Christian families. There were about 250 Turkish families and ten of Jews. He speaks also of some small ruins, apparently of a circus, which, on one side, seemed to have had the advantage of a rising ground for the seats; and across the bed of a torrent to the east of the castle were remains of *two* aqueducts: the southern one, built of very thick walls of brick, was entirely destroyed; the other, consisting of two tiers of arches, was standing. Patras was then the residence of the English consul-general of the Morea; the French consul-general resided at Modon, and had a vice-consul here. Sir George Wheler, who travelled about sixty years before Pococke, could not find any traces of a theatre; but "under the wall of the town," he says, "is a place that seemeth to have been a circus or stadium, or perhaps a naumachia." Many in the town could yet remember an iron ring fastened to the wall, "which they supposed was to tie vessels to." The sides consisted of ranges of arches. Not far thence was the foundation of a church of St. Andrew, which seemed to have been a Roman sepulchre: in a vault beneath were niches for cinerary urns. If Pococke's account of Patras be correct, earthquakes and Albanians must have committed great havoc since he visited it.

"About two miles to the south of Patra is the famous cypress-tree, the trunk of which was eighteen feet in circumference when Spon visited Greece. I found its circuit twenty-three feet: it has therefore grown five feet in one hundred and thirty years.* Its body appears perfectly sound, and its wide-spreading branches form a dense shade impenetrable to the sun. Near it are four others of considerable size, but of a different form from the large one, and tapering towards the top. The people have a kind of religious veneration for this tree, which they shew to strangers with pride.† The spot is beautiful; and beneath the overhanging branches are seen the Laertian Islands,

* Wheler says, that the body of the tree, a foot from the ground, was twenty-one feet about; at four feet from the ground, seventeen feet eleven inches. The boughs extended from the trunk 28½ feet. In returning from the gardens called *Glycada*, in which this cypress stands, this Traveller came to "the convent *Hiercomium* on the top of a hill, which hath about a dozen caloyers, and a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, which is built with no great art, but well adorned, according to their mode, with pictures and silver lamps before them." An inscription in modern Greek "shewed that the convent was built out of the ruins of the fortress of Achaia, which is about ten miles from Patras."

† *Antiqua cupressus*
Religione patrum multos servata per annos.
VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 715.

Pliny says, that the cypress was sacred to Pluto: it was the funereal tree of the ancients, like the yew-tree of English churchyards; and the Turks have adopted it. At Constantinople, and in most large towns in Turkey, their burial-grounds are full of them. Mr. Dodwell says, he has seen Turks planting cypresses near the tombs of their friends and relatives; and it is interesting to observe with what care and attention they water them and watch their growth. The veneration for large trees is common to the Greeks and the Moslems. The cypress-tree near Mistra measures thirty feet in circumference. (Vol i. p. 350.) Near Constantinople are others celebrated for their bulk. At Soma, near Milan, there is one nearly as large as that of Patras.

the Acarnanian and Ætolian coast, the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, with Mounts Chalcis and Taphiassos,* and the town and castle of Patra."†

The exports of Patras consist of silk, oil, the Corinth grape or currant, cheese, wool, wax, leather, and the juniper-berry (κεδροκοκκος): its imports were trifling. The greater part of the plain is planted with vines, currants, and olives, interspersed with orchards of fig, pomegranate, almond, orange, lemon, and citron trees: the latter are celebrated for their delicious flavour. The fields produce rich crops of corn, millet, cotton, and tobacco. About forty years ago, Mr. Dodwell says, nearly the whole plain was in an uncultivated state; the consequence of which was, that the air of the place, which is still reckoned unhealthy, was "as bad as that of Corinth, where the human frame subsists with difficulty." The marshy and uncultivated land which lies about three miles east of Patras in the road to Vostitza, and which is left in that state to afford pasture, is one cause of the present unhealthiness of the place. There can be little doubt that, by draining and cultivation, and an increased population, many tracts now abandoned as uninhabitable, might be redeemed from desolation. The *malaria*, the modern Hydra, will be subdued by the true Hercules—Labour.

FROM PATRAS TO OLYMPIA.

Four hours to the west of Patras is a small village called Old Achaia (Παλαια Αχαια), near an ancient site and a *palaio-kastro*, which occupied a small round

* Now called Barasoba and Kaki Scala.
† Dodwell, vol. i. pp. 115—121.

hill. The city is supposed to have been Olenus. Near the village is a khan, and on the shore, a custom-house. About a quarter of an hour to the east of the khan, there is a difficult ford over the broad and rapid Kamenitza, the ancient Peiron, which separated the territories of Patræ and Dymé. In the walls of the khan are some ancient blocks with sepulchral inscriptions. The site of Dymé is fixed by Sir W. Gell at a place called Palaio-Kastro, exhibiting only very obscure vestiges, seventy minutes to the west of the khan.†

On leaving Palaio Achaia, the road runs along a continued plain, part of which is under cultivation, and the rest covered with forests of oak.‡ At the end of two hours and a half, there are remains of an ancient castle on a rocky hill, surrounded with deep and extensive marshes communicating with the sea, and abounding with fish and wild fowl. The castle is built of rough unhewn stones, the largest of which measured seven feet in length, and has evidently been much restored and modernised. It appears to have had but one entrance, facing the sea, and is approached by a difficult and winding path. The walls in this part are fifteen feet in thickness. On the opposite side, a wall extends from the summit of the hill to the marshes. The eminence on which the castle

* This must be the fortress of Achaia, the ruins of which, Wheler says, were used to build the convent near Patras. Pococke calls the place Caminitza, but agrees in fixing Olenus here: the river also, he supposes to be the Melas or Peirus. Phatæ might, he thinks, be at Saravalle, about a league from Patras, under the mountains, where there is an old castle.

† Pococke evidently refers to this spot as the site of Dymé, but says, it is called by the Greeks, Old Achæa. Possibly that name may have been applied to more than one *palaio kastro*.

‡ *Quercus esculus; q. suber;* and *q. ægilops.*

stands, forms part of the chain of hills which, commencing in the plain, divide it into two parts, and terminate in the promontory of Araxos,* now called Cape Papa (or Baba), the extreme north-western point of the Morea. Mr. Dodwell supposes the site to be that of the ancient fort of Teichos, erected, according to fable, by Hercules, as a strong-hold against the Eleians. To the right of the road is seen a salt lake, also called Papa, which appears to have been anciently a bay or creek. It is six miles in length, but narrow, and separated from the sea only by a low sand-bank, which is occasionally overflowed. It abounds with fish, which are a source of profit to the neighbouring villages. In the lake is a small island, on which stands a church dedicated to St. John.

Forty minutes beyond the fortress, the river Larisos is crossed, running to the marshes; and twenty minutes further, (seven hours and a quarter from Patras,) the traveller arrives at a village and *metochi* called *Mauro Bouna*,† composed of some scattered huts, and belonging to the monastery of Megaspelia, which is computed to be eighteen hours distant. Some massive blocks and fragments, and a large quantity of ancient tiles, indicate an ancient site. The surrounding country is a rich agricultural plain of great extent. The soil is sandy. The road now bends to the S.W., and in three hours and forty minutes, leads to a small village in a bushy hollow, called Capeletto. Two hours

* Supposed to derive its name from its *dividing* the Eleian and Achaian territories. So, the Araxes divided Olympus from Ossa, and the Arachthos is thought by Mr. Dodwell to have the same derivation.

† No name is given to this *metochi* in the Itinerary. *Mauro Bouno* signifies black mountain; and under this mountain, five hours from Capelletti, is Portes, "probably the Pylos of Elis."—*Gell's Itin.*, p. 20.

and a half further, a road leads off on the right to Gastouni (Castagni), while that on the left bends more to the eastward, and runs on to Palaiopoli, the ancient Elis. Castel Tornese is seen some time after, on an eminence rising from the sea, in a direction nearly W.S.W.; and in about an hour after, the broad, shallow stream of the Peneus is crossed at a ford. In another hour, the traveller reaches the village of Palaiopoli, situated at the south-western foot of some hills, on one of which was the Eleian acropolis.

ELIS.

Of this ancient capital, the ruins are few and uninteresting. "Of Grecian remains," Mr. Dodwell says, "nothing is seen but a confused wreck of scattered blocks. There are some masses of brick-work, and an octagon tower of the same materials, which appear to be of Roman origin. There are niches within the octagon building; and we were informed that, below them, some statues had been excavated about fifteen years before our arrival, and had been sent to Zante, where they were purchased by a Venetian. It is surprising that there should be so few remains of the temples, porticoes, theatres, and other edifices which embellished the town of Elis in the second century. Much is no doubt covered by the earth, which is considerably above the original level." Of the acropolis, the only remains are a few large blocks of stone, some foundations, and the single *frustum* of a fluted Doric column. There are also remains of a modern castle, apparently Venetian, which, Sir W. Gell says, is called *Kaloscopi* or Belvedere. The latter name is stated by Pococke to have been given to the whole of Elis and Messenia under the Venetians.

Hence it would seem, that this has been the site of a modern capital. But if so, Belvedere has shared the fate of Chiarenza.

The latter town, which was a flourishing capital under the Venetians, occupied the site of the ancient Cyllene, the port of Elis, from which it was 120 stadia, or about fifteen miles distant. Cyllene contained two or three temples, one of which was famous for its ivory statue of Æsculapius. Its modern representative stands on a rough tongue of land, on the southern side of the bay to which it gives name. The port, Chandler says, is choked up: it still forms a convenient landing-place, however, for the small craft by which a petty commerce is carried on with Zante. "The *débris* of its ruins and the remains of a few churches of the lower empire, still indicate," Mr. Emerson says, "the considerable extent of the town, which is now reduced to five or six ruined huts." Yet, this obscure place gave its title to a Greek dutchy comprising the greater part of Achaia, the name of which is still preserved in that of our English dukes of Clarence.*

The total decay of this place seems to have been in part occasioned by the rising importance and superior advantages of the neighbouring port of Gastouni, distant about eight miles southward, on the left bank of the river Igliako; three leagues E. of Palaiopoli, and four hours from Castel Tornese. This place was, a short time ago, one of the most flourishing places in the Morea. M. Pouqueville estimates the population at 3000 souls. "I know not," he says, "what may

* This title is stated to have come to the royal family of England through the marriage of one of the Dukes of Clarenza (Chiarenza) into the Hainault family. It was borne by Lionel, third son of Edward III.

be said concerning the antiquity of Gastouni, but I know that it is one of the richest towns in Peloponnesus for its size and population." The surrounding country was well cultivated, and furnished abundance of wheat, maize, silk, cotton, wine, and cheese. The state of the town in the year 1825, is thus described by Mr. Emerson.

"This extensive town, which now presents merely a mass of ruins, was formerly one of the richest in the Peloponnesus; being inhabited chiefly by Turks, who carried on an extensive trade in fruits and oil, which were shipped from a little harbour on the coast, formed by the mouth of the Peneus; but even before the bursting out of the Greek Revolution, it was in a most dilapidated state, having been sacked by the Schypetars, or bandit peasantry of the neighbouring district of Lalla. At the moment I passed it, it presented one of the most striking pictures of solitude and misery I have ever witnessed;—seated in the midst of an immense plain, its view bounded only by the ocean and the sky, its houses desolate and overthrown, and its streets grass-grown and noiseless. Its population having been almost exclusively Turks, their residences were, as usual, destroyed by the victorious Greeks; and its passages were now choked up with the weeds which have sprung up amidst the *débris* of their mud walls and ruins. Its inhabitants are very few; and at the moment of our arrival, they were probably enjoying their mid-day sleep, as the only living beings we saw, were a few lazy soldiers basking amongst the ruins, who scarcely raised their heads to gaze on the passing Franks. We walked through apparently uninhabited streets, where not a sound was audible but the busy hum of clouds of insects, who were flitting

round in all directions under the burning sun-beams." *

"Ancient authors," remarks Mr. Dodwell, "enumerate above forty places in Eleia, which may come under the denomination of towns, villages, or castles. Of these, scarcely any vestiges are left. As the whole territory was defended by the superstition of the times from the intrusion of enemies, walls and fortifications were deemed unnecessary precautions. The traces of some of their villages are marked by heaps of broken tiles and small stones which lie scattered about the plain. But no part of Greece of the same extent exhibits such a scanty portion of ancient remains as the country of Eleia; and no coins are known to exist of any town in that territory, except of the capital. There were two places called Pylos in Eleia, and a third in Messenia,† each of which laid claim to the honour of having given birth to the venerable Nestor. The former two have so entirely disappeared, that probably not a trace now remains by which their situations can be identified.

"No part of Greece is more fertile than the territory of Eleia, in which there is a rich mixture of hill and dale, of arable and pasture land, where numerous streams dispense their waters, and extensive forests spread their shade. Polybius says, that Eleia is the most populous and plentiful part of the Peloponnesus, and that some of the families, preferring a country life, never visited the capital for two or three generations. After the re-establishment of the Olympic

* Pict. of Greece, vol. i. p. 49—51. In this deserted spot, an amiable and accomplished young nobleman had breathed his last a short time before;—Lord Charles Murray, son to the Duke of Athol.

† See vol. i. p. 265, and vol. ii. p 245, *note*.

Games by Iphitos, the whole Eleian territory was consecrated to the service of Jupiter. The inhabitants of this favoured region were exempt from bearing arms; the territory was inviolable; and when it was traversed by the troops of any neighbouring state, such troops were obliged to deposit their arms on the confines, nor did they receive them again till they quitted the territory. All the Grecian states were bound to abstain from invading it by most solemn obligations; and this engagement was preserved with scrupulous fidelity, until the Spartan king, Agis, led his army into the country, and devastated the consecrated land. Olympia was seized by the Arcadians in the 104th Olympiad, and the temple despoiled of its treasures. Elis was also taken by surprise by the Messenians." *

Elis has been supposed to derive its name from its marshy situation. † The principal wealth of Augeas, one of its early kings, consisted in the immense herds pastured in the level plain, which stretches north and south from the Peneus to the Alpheus. The royal stables, Mr. Dodwell suggests, were probably nothing more than the plain itself, the waters of which, for want of proper outlets, had stagnated into foul marshes, which were cleared and purified by means of fosses and

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 317—320.

† From ἕλος, a marsh. It is remarkable, the learned Author observes, that most of the towns whose names begin with *el*, are situated in low and generally marshy ground; for instance, the Eleusis of Bœotia and Attica, and Elateia in Phocis. "Even the name of our Ely in Cambridgeshire may owe its origin to a similar cause." Jacob Bryant would have found a very different etymology; and in fact, Elis has been supposed to derived its name from Elisha, the son of Ion of Javan; and the isles of Elisha (Ezek. xxvii. 7.) are supposed to be the Ionian Isles.—See CALMET'S *Dict.* (art. Elisha), and VINCENT'S *Periplus*, vol. ii. p. 534.

drains. To clean out these stables, Hercules is said to have diverted the Peneus from its course. An hour and twenty minutes from Palaiopoli towards Pyrgo, there is a large ancient fosse extending towards the sea, which seems to have been contrived for the purpose of carrying off the waters in case of inundation. The coast is low and without any picturesque features. Pursuing this road through the plain, Mr. Dodwell, in about four hours, passed through a village named Messolongachi, within a mile and a half from the sea; and in three more, arrived at Pyrgo.

This is described as a considerable town, pleasantly situated amid gardens and plantations on a moderate eminence, commanding an extensive view of a rich plain, terminating on one side in the Cyllenian Gulf, and separated by green and undulating hills, on the other, from the plain of Pisatis or Olympia. * The population was entirely Greek, with the exception of the aga, and the place wore the aspect of prosperity. It was the residence of a bishop, styled bishop of Olenos and Pylos. The town was under the government of the agas of Lalla, who were then "the real sovereigns of the country." Mr. Dodwell observed no traces of antiquity in the place; and in fact, in 1795, the town was new: it then consisted of 600 houses.

The port of Pyrgo is about two hours from the town; the road lies over a rich plain of argillaceous soil. About an hour from the landing-place is the monastery of the *Panagia Scaphidia*, or Virgin of the Skiffs, situated on an eminence a little to the south

* Elis was divided into three valleys, the Peneian, the Pisatian, and the Triphylian. According to Strabo, the ancient Pyrgos was

of Point Pheia.* Dr. Sibthorpe, who landed here from Zante (in 1795), found the establishment small and apparently poor: the frequent and unwelcome visits of the Turks, and the fear of robbers and pirates, kept the caloyers in constant alarm. A little river flows below, in which otters are frequently taken, and the green-backed lizard was seen sporting on its banks. Near the monastery is a lake fed by this stream, which appears to be the same that Dr. Sibthorpe calls the Milavla. He observed several water-tortoises in the pools. The gnats in this marshy district are so numerous and troublesome, that, this Traveller says, it is no wonder that the inhabitants of the banks of the Alpheus sacrificed to Jupiter Apomuius, the fly-expeller.

"The town of Pyrgos," says Mr. Emerson, describing it in 1825, "is in the best state of preservation of any that I have ever seen in Greece; which arises from its having been totally inhabited by Greeks, who formerly carried on an extensive trade in wine; the country adjacent being particularly well adapted to the culture of vines. The only traffic, however, which now subsists, is the transportation of sheep and cattle to the Ionian Islands; and its only trade, a manufacture, which is, however, very extensive, of dresses, arms, and pistol-belts. The shops are pretty numerous, and in general well stocked with those articles, as well as with shawls, cloths, and cotton goods; and at each door, the children, and even men, were busily employed in the manufacture of gold thread and braiding for the embroidery of the

* This was the beginning of Pisatis. On the promontory are a few vestiges of Pheia, and a castle now called Katakolo-kastro.

vests and greaves. It contains a good church and the cathedral of the bishop of Gastouni, to which see Pyrgos belongs." *

In proceeding from Pyrgo to Lalla, Dr. Sibthorpe travelled over a rich plain cultivated with vines, and in an hour passed the village of Berbasina. In something less than another hour, he crossed the Arvoura, flowing into the Alpheus, which glided, on the right, through a rich plain, gay with a profusion of various-coloured anemonies. Leaving the plain, he then entered the mountains, which are covered with the sea-pine, mixed with phillyrea, heath, arbutus, kermes oak, and mastic. Proceeding amid beautiful sylvan scenery, he left Olympia about an hour's distance to the right, passed a scattered village called Stavrokephalo, and, late in the evening, arrived at Lalla. This village appears to have had nothing remarkable about it, except the imposing military appearance of the *pyrgo* of the aga. † Of its "martial but ferocious inhabit-

* From this place, Mr. Emerson proceeded southward to Agolinitza, a ruined town built on the acclivity of a picturesque hill, commanding an extensive prospect of the Ionian Sea and the windings of the Alpheus, now called the Rouphia. The route had hitherto lain almost constantly along the shore, but now it entered a pass, and proceeded over a beautiful hilly country to Cristena. The next day, he reached Andruzzena, distant from Cristena eight hours.

† It is a modern town. See vol. i. p. 281. note. From Lalla, Dr. Sibthorpe proceeded over an elevated plain to Deveri, five hours distant, on the confines of Arcadia; and thence, winding through glens by a narrow rocky road, to Tripotamo (Tripotamia), a distance of three hours. Here he crossed a stone bridge of one arch, and traversed a rich plain, occasionally interrupted by a mountainous tract of wooded land, to Xeropotamio; a distance of four hours. In half an hour further, he arrived at the banks of the Alpheus. The road now lay through sylvan scenery and a well-watered country, much infested with robbers, to the khan of Dara, near a trout stream. On leaving the khan, he entered the

ants," such as they were in 1795, this Traveller gives the following account.

"The Lalliote is always clad in armour: when he dances, he does not lay aside his arms. His feet and legs are naked to the knees, which are covered with large plates of silver. A breast-plate with embossed buttons protects his body. His pistols and his dirk, richly ornamented, form constantly part of his dress, being stuck in his girdle. Lambs roasted whole are served at table, and every one has his fingers in the dish. Said-aga (the chieftain), when we visited him, was seated upon a carpet spread in the gallery of his house, which was extremely mean, as the habitation of a powerful chieftain who could lead into the field of battle upwards of a thousand armed men. The room in which we slept was the principal one in the house: it had not even glass in the windows; there were only wooden shutters of such rude work, that they were ill calculated to resist the cold winds that sweep the high exposed plain of Lalla. During the day (March 3.), we had severe storms of snow and hail, and we crowded round the hearth, which was warmed with a good fire. Said had, a few years before, with four and forty of his followers, taken sixty Albanian rebels, and sent them to Tripolitza, where they were executed. The terror of these people keeps the Morea in subjection. They were originally little better than a band of robbers, who, adding to corporal strength great courage, and inhabiting a country strongly fortified by nature, resisted

pass of Dara, and in three hours left a lake a mile to the left; then proceeded over some rocky ground covered with low wood, and crossed "the plain of Lebetha" (Lebadi or Livadi, the ancient Orchomenos; see p. 43); and in the evening reached Tripolitza. —See WALPOLE'S *Travels*, pp. 81—3.

successfully the precarious and unequal attempts to subdue them. In the invasion of the Morea, their services in repelling the Russians were rewarded with the grants of the lands of the unhappy Greeks. They are now increasing in opulence, which, by softening the ferocity of their manners, will, perhaps, at the same time diminish that hardy courage for which these mountaineers have been distinguished."

In proceeding from Pyrgo to visit the ruins of Olympia, Mr. Dodwell passed for an hour and twenty minutes over the undulating plain, and then suddenly arrived on the banks of the Alpheus, where it forms two low islands. The opposite bank is composed of low and picturesque hills, broken into glens and wooded, with the pretty village of Gulanza (or Boulantza) "peering on one side." Ascending the valley along the right bank of the stream, Mr. Dodwell passed a ruined church with a fluted Doric column, and, in a few minutes after, arrived at the Turkish village of Phloka, pleasantly situated in the midst of orchards on a green knoll rising from the plain. On leaving this place, he descended to a plain environed by low hills fringed with pines, and in half an hour crossed the Kladeos, turning a mill on its way to the Alpheus. Here the road bends round the foot of the hill, when suddenly the plain of Olympia, in all its classic interest, bursts upon the view.

OLYMPIA.

THE present name of the Olympic plain is Antilalla, which it appears to have derived from its situation opposite the town of Lalla.* It is of an oblong form,

* M. Pouqueville pretends, that it signifies the village of the echo.

extending about a mile and a quarter from east to west, and is now "a fertile corn-field," the soil being saturated with the muddy deposite of the Alpheus, which forms its southern boundary, and which overflows at least once a year. The earth is consequently raised above its original level, and no doubt conceals many rich remains of ancient art. Beyond the Alpheus is seen a range of hills, varied with wooded promontories and luxuriant recesses, their slopes cultivated in terraces supported by walls, and presenting the appearance of a colossal theatre. This chain of hills is much higher than that on the northern side of the plain, and is more particularly characterised by a steep rock rising from the river. This, the learned Traveller supposes to be Mount Typhæon, from which those rash and presumptuous females were precipitated, who, in disregard of the stern interdict, sought to gratify their curiosity with a sight of the Olympic Games.

The first ruin that occurs after passing the Kladeos, consists of some "unintelligible masses" of Roman wall at the foot of a pointed hill, supposed to be the Κρονιος Ὀχθος, or Hill of Saturn. The side of the hill facing the Alpheus, has "a semi-circular indentation," which has induced some persons to imagine it the remains of a theatre; but there are no traces of architecture to confirm this opinion. Near this spot is a tumulus.

Pausanias mentions at Olympia, an amphitheatre built by Trajan, who is also stated to have constructed some baths, an *agora*, and a hippodrome. The other edifices enumerated by the classic Topographer, are, the Great Temple of Jupiter, the temples of Juno, Ceres, Hercules, and Venus, the Metroum, or temple of the mother of the gods, a temple dedicated to Pelops, the double temples of Lucina and Sosipolis, a stoa or

portico, a gymnasium, a prytaneum, and various others of uncertain nature. "Of all this architectural splendour," says Mr. Dodwell, "the temple of Jupiter alone can be identified with any degree of certainty. A little imagination can discriminate the stadium, which was between the temple and the river in a grove of wild olives. It was composed of banks of earth that have been levelled by time and the plough. Not many paces from the foot of the Kronian hill towards the Alpheus, we came to the miserable remains of a spacious temple, which there is every reason to suppose that of the Olympian Jupiter. The soil, which has been considerably elevated, covers the greater part of the ruin. The wall of the *cella* rises only two feet above the ground. We employed some Turks to excavate, and we discovered some *frusta* of the Doric order, of which the flutings were thirteen inches wide, and the diameter of the whole column seven feet three inches. These dimensions considerably exceed those of the Parthenon and of the Olympeion at Athens, and are probably larger than the columns of any temple that was ever erected in Greece. We also found part of a small column of Parian marble, which the intervals of the flutings shew to have been either of the Ionic or of the Corinthian order. It was too small to have belonged to the interior range of columns, being only one foot eight inches in diameter, but perhaps formed part of the inclosure of the throne of Jupiter.

The great dimensions of the temple are particularly mentioned by Strabo. According to Pausanias, it was built of a stone found near the spot, approaching in hardness and colour the Parian marble, but of less specific gravity. "The stone, however, of which these ruins are composed," Mr. Dodwell continues,

"retains none of the characteristics mentioned by these authors, except its lightness. It is of a sand colour, soft, brittle, and full of holes, as it is composed of shells and concretions, which probably owe their formation to the waters of the Alpheus. Some remains which are still visible, render it evident that the columns were covered with a fine white stucco, about the tenth of an inch in thickness, which gave them the appearance of marble, and which might easily have imposed upon inaccurate observers. Not only the great dimensions of the columns which are found among the ruins, corroborate the supposition that this is actually the temple of Jupiter, but the conjecture seems to be confirmed by the black marble which we found in excavating, and which, according to Pausanias, composed the pavement in front of the statue. We found several fragments of the slabs, which appear to have been about six inches in thickness. It is perfectly black, and takes a fine polish, but is friable, and not of a very hard quality. This celebrated temple has of late years suffered considerable demolitions. The Lalliotes have even rooted up some of the foundations of this once-celebrated sanctuary, in order to use the materials in the construction of their houses. The statue of the god, the finest that the world ever beheld, was sixty feet in height, and was reckoned among the great wonders. Indeed, it seems to have united at once all the beauty of form, and all the splendour of effect, that are produced by the highest excellence of the statuary and the painter. It was embellished with various metallic ornaments, aided by the gorgeous and dazzling magnificence of precious stones.

"We ascended a hill to the west of the temple, and observed on its summit some ancient vestiges

and large blocks of stone. This spot commands a most beautiful view, comprising the whole of the rich Olympic plain, with its ruins, its winding rivers, and surrounding hills, scattered with trees. The Alpheus, at Olympia, is broad and rapid, and about the breadth and colour of the Tiber at Rome. Like that river, it varies in the hue of its stream, according to the nature of the soil through which it flows; being clear and transparent in its rocky channels in Arcadia, and yellow and opaque in the rich plains of Eleia. Both the Alpheus and the Kladeos were revered nearly as divinities, and had altars dedicated to them, and were personified on the temple of Jupiter." *

In proceeding towards the wretched village of Miraka, which is at the eastern extremity of the plain,† our Traveller observed in the way, some faint traces of banks and walls, which may have been the hippodrome and the stadium.‡ They crossed a rivulet issuing from the hills to the left, and flowing to the Alpheus, near which are a few remains of ancient sepulchres. Chandler supposes that Miraka may

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 334—6.

† Here Mr. Dodwell passed the night, lodging in the *pyrgos* of the aga, a castellated house resembling the smaller kind of Highland castle in Scotland. In the night, they were awaked by an earthquake, which caused a violent concussion of the tower. The aga with great kindness came into their room to assure them, that there was no danger of the house falling, for that, "being composed of pliable materials, it would bend, but not break." After remaining two days in this vicinity, the Travellers crossed the Alpheus, opposite Palaio Phanari, and prosecuted their journey through Messenia.—See vol. i. p. 200.

‡ This was a terrace of earth, enclosed with banks of considerable height. The area was usually a stadium (620 feet) in length, whence the name; but this, being measured by the foot of Hercules was nearly double that length.

stand on the hill of Pisa. Of the city of that name, the ancient capital of this district of Eleia, and the mother city of the Etrurian Pisa, it were in vain to look for any traces. So completely had it been destroyed by the Eleians, that, in the time of Pausanias, not so much as a ruin remained, and the whole space of ground which it occupied, had been converted into a vineyard. This circumstance, however, favours the supposition that it was built on an acclivity; and as there is said to have been a fountain of the same name, the rivulet above mentioned may possibly have its source near the spot, and may serve to identify it. Tradition must have preserved the knowledge of its situation in the time of Pausanias. Pisa is said to have derived its name from a daughter of Endymion, or, according to others, from a grandson of Æolus. Its real origin is perhaps to be found in the nature of the surrounding territory, which answers to the word Πισος, a marshy meadow. It is said to have been situated between two mountains, called Ossa and Olympus. If Palaio Phanari may be thought to occupy one of these summits, and Lalla the other, Miraka might be said to lie between them.

From the former village, a bird's-eye view is obtained of the level and verdant meads of Olympia, with the meandering course of the Alpheus to its mouth. The name of Pisa was long preserved to designate the Olympian plain.* Olympia itself never was a town, nor is it called so, Mr. Dodwell remarks,

* "Where Pisa's olive decks the warrior's brow."
PINDAR, Olymp. vi. stroph. 2
"Till Pisa's crowded plains rise to thy raptured view."
Ib. Epod. 3
"If the love of Pisa's vale
Pleasing transports can inspire." Olymp. i. stroph. 2

by any ancient author.* It seems rather to have been the honorary designation of the sacred district of which Pisa was the chief town; and not only Pisatis, but the whole of Elis, was Olympian territory, consecrated to Jupiter. The name of Olympia was at first applied, probably, to the *Altis*, or sacred grove and the walled enclosure or peribolus. Afterwards, the proud appellation was assumed by the Eleian metropolis.† The true origin and derivation of the name are matter only of learned conjecture. Homer makes no mention either of Olympia or of the Olympic Games, and their real founder is supposed to be Iphitus, King of Elis, acting under the direction of the Delphic oracle, 776 B.C. Strabo states, that Olympia at first derived its reputation from the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; and that though this oracle fell afterwards into decay, yet the temple regained its ancient honour. The fixing upon this spot for the celebration of the Games, would indeed go far to prove its previous sanctity. The word Olympus has been supposed to have an astronomical import; and the Olympiad, it has been observed, is a lunar cycle corrected by the course of the sun.‡ Upon the whole, it appears probable, that the worship of Jupiter, as well as the Olympic Games, was grafted here upon some still more ancient institution, perhaps of Egyptian or Phenician

* West calls Olympia a city, and refers to Diodorus Siculus as his authority; but this seems a mistake.

† A unique coin in the British Museum, containing the word ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ, belongs to Elis.

‡ The word has been derived by some from an Egyptian word signifying the zodiac; by Bryant and others, from *ομφη*, an oracle, and *El*, the Sun. Omphis is said to have been the name of an Egyptian deity; and again, Olympia is stated by Eusebius to have been, in Egyptian, an appellation of the moon.—See West's *Dissertation*, § 4. Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. i p. 295.

origin, and blending, like that of the Æsculapian Grove, philosophy with superstition and priestcraft. The first Olympian fane was probably only the *altis* itself, styled by Pausanias an antique word, and evidently a local, if not an exotic one.* This was no other than a sacred grove, such as, alike in Syria, Greece, and Britain, was deemed the fittest temple for the mystic rites of that early idolatry which appears to have been common to those countries, and of which, under different names, the sun and moon were the primary objects. That the Olympic oracle was of Egyptian origin, seems to be rendered highly probable by a circumstance mentioned by Herodotus. The Eleians are said to have sent deputies, in ancient times, into Egypt, to inquire of the sages of that nation, whether they could suggest any necessary regulation which had been omitted in the management of the Olympic Games.†

* *Baaltis* was a title of Astarte, the Phenician Diana or Juno, and goddess of the groves. May not this suggest the etymology of the appellation, and Baal-altis be the queen of the grove? Temples of the moon generally accompanied those of the sun. Thus, Baal and Astaroth are commonly associated in the Old Testament, (2 Kings, xxi. 3—7; xxiii. 5,) as the temple of Juno is found near that of Olympian Jupiter, the Egyptian Osiris is accompanied by Isis, and Apollo is associated with Diana. So Horace (*Carm. Secul.*):

> "*Phœbe, sylvarumque potens Diana,*
> *Lucidum cœli decus.*"
>
> "*Condito mitis placidusque telo*
> *Supplices audi pueros, Apollo:*
> *Siderum regina bicornis audi,*
> *Luna, puellas.*"

† Herodot. lib. ii. c. 160. See Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. iii. c. 38. Thus we find the Birman emperor sending deputies to the sacred island of Ceylon, the seat of Pali learning, for information respecting the Buddhic tenets and ritual.—See MOD. TRAV., *Birmah*, p. 163.

Olympia preserved much longer than Delphi, and with less diminution, the sacred property of which it was the depository. Some images were removed by the Emperor Tiberius, but, in the time of Pausanias, the temple of Jupiter still retained its original splendour. The number of altars and statues within the Altis, and of votive offerings which he mentions, is truly astonishing. Besides four hundred and thirty-five statues of gods, heroes, and Olympic victors, he enumerates images of horses, lions, oxen, and other animals in brass; also, votive offerings of crowns, chariots, &c., and precious images in gold, ivory, and amber.* He declares that a person might see many things wonderful to tell of among the Greeks, but that the Olympic Games and the Eleusinian mysteries exceeded all other exhibitions. No religious ceremony in Greece was conducted with such striking pomp, or awakened such general enthusiasm. The Isthmian, the Delphic, the Nemean Games, the Panathenaia, even the Eleusinian processions, could not be compared in magnificence to those of

> "Olympia, mother of heroic games,
> Queen of true prophecy,"

* It was a favourite plan of the learned Winkelmann, to raise a subscription for the excavation of the Olympic plain; and Mr. Dodwell says the diversion of the Alpheus from its present channel might be effected without great difficulty, and would probably bring to light many curious and valuable remains. "The fishermen at this day, frequently drag up in their nets from the bed of the Alpheus the remains of ancient armour and utensils of brass." At Phloka, the learned Traveller was shewn the fragments of a circular shield of bronze; and a friend of his was fortunate enough to obtain from some fishermen, two entire helmets of bronze in perfect preservation and of excellent workmanship, the extreme thinness of which renders it probable that they were never used in war, but worn only in the armed race, and in processions—σπλα πομπευτηρια. For this purpose five-and-twenty brass buckles were kept in a temple at Olympia.

which were held in Pisa's glorious vale. The computation by Olympiads was used till the reign of Theodosius the Great, when a new era was adopted,—that of the victory of Actium. The Olympic Games, with the general assembly, were then abolished; and the image of Jupiter by Phidias, which Caligula had in vain wished to transport to Rome, was removed to Constantinople.* Jupiter and Pelops were banished from the seat of their ancient worship; and Olympia, "venerable for its precious era" in the estimation of the historian, and still more sacred to the fancy on account of the odes of the great Theban bard, in which the tournaments † of ancient Greece are immortalized,—is now a name forgotten in its vicinity, and allied to nothing that any longer exists. Pisa's crowded plains are a solitude, and the name of Antilalia reminds the traveller that its vineyards and olive-groves now enrich a barbarous tribe of Slavonian Moslems. ‡

Here, having now completed our circuit of the Peloponnesus, we take leave of that portion of ancient Greece which is the richest in the monuments of classic art, as well as in historical and poetic recollections. All that remains of Sparta, Argos, Mycenæ, Nemea, the Arcadian cities, the Æsculapian town, Corinth,

* Chandler, c. 75.

† This word will recall Gibbon's bold remark, that "impartial taste must prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic Games of classic antiquity."

‡ For further details relating to the Olympic Games, the reader may refer to West's Dissertation prefixed to the Odes of Pindar; Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. iii. c. 38; and Dr. Hill's Essays on the Institutions, &c. of Ancient Greece, c. 56; with their authorities. In Faber's Agonisticon, many of the customs and ordinances of the Roman Church are shewn to bear a close resemblance to those of the Olympic stadium. St. Paul has been thought frequently to allude to these contests in illustrating the Christian conflict.

Sicyon, and Olympia, has now in succession passed before us, mingled with strange intrusive names and images of Turkish pashas, Venetian nobles, Greek caloyers, and Albanian robbers, with other things of modern date. All in Greece is transition and contrast. But we have yet before us Athens, Egina, and Delphi, the Heliconian mount, the vale of Tempe, and the glorious defile of Thermopylæ.

END OF THE MOREA.

HELLAS.*

FROM PATRAS TO SALONA.

THE Corinthian Gulf, the southern coast of which we have traced from Basilico to Patras, has a length of eighty-five miles assigned to it by Pliny, reckoning from the opposite promontories of Rhium and Antirhium. It is now reckoned, however, only sixty miles from Patras to Corinth by sea. It has been distinguished by different names. It is called by Thucydides the Sea of Crissa; by Scylax the geographer, the

* This name, according to the usual etymological system of the Greeks, is derived from a certain king Hellenus, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; as Perseus is said to have founded the empire of the Persians, and as Græcus was the father of the Thessalus who gave name to Thessaly. This Hellenus, moreover, is supposed to be the Elishah of Gen. x. 4. and Ezek. xxvii. 7. The application of the word is almost as arbitrary as its derivation is doubtful. Anciently it is said to have been restricted to part of Thessaly, about Larissa. At length it was extended to the whole of Greece, including Peloponnesus and both the Ionian and Egean Islands. It is now understood to be applied only to Continental Greece.

Delphic Gulf; and it is now generally known as the Gulf of Naupactos or Lepanto, or sometimes as the Gulf of Salona.

The coast as far as Phocis was the Ozolæan (or Western) Locris, afterwards annexed to Ætolia. In this territory was included the ancient Naupactos, now called Epacto by the Greeks, Enebechte by the Turks, and by the Italians, Lepanto. This is "a miserable pashalic and a ruinous town, but," Sir W. Gell says, "is worth visiting, because it gives a very exact idea of the ancient Greek city, with its citadel on Mount Rhegani, whence two walls come down to the coast and plain, forming a triangle. The port absolutely runs into the city, and is shut within the walls, which are erected on the ancient foundations. Chandler says, that its appearance "has been likened to the papal crown, the lateral walls being crossed by four other ranges, and ascending to a point at the summit. The wall next the sea is indented with an oval harbour, of which the entrance is narrow, and capable of admitting only barks and small galleys." From the sea, five mosques are distinguishable. Lepanto was frequently taken and retaken in the wars between the Turks and the Venetians. Together with Patras and the castles of Romelia and Morea, it renders the Turks at present masters of the Gulf, but is not otherwise a place of much importance. It is reckoned seven hours from Messolunghi, and thirteen from Vrachori, the ancient Thermo, the capital of Ætolia.

The Gulf widens considerably after passing the promontories of Rhium and Antirhium, but still more between Petronitza and Vostitza.* The former of

* Both sides of the Gulf, Mr. Dodwell says, but particularly the Locrian, are very incorrectly laid down in our maps.

these towns is conspicuously seated upon a hill a few miles from the sea, six hours S.W. of Salona: near it, there is said to be a *palaio-kastro*. After doubling Cape Andromarchi, on entering the Gulf of Salona, there is on the Locrian side, a large port called Anemo-Kabi; further on, the small island and chapel of St. Demetrius; beyond which are other insular rocks with chapels on each, called Apothia, Agiani, and Panagia; then, the harbour of Inachi, and, after passing close to a low insulated rock, Galaxidi, supposed to be the ancient Œanthea, a town of the Locri Ozolæ.

Galaxidi* is about fifteen miles from Salona, and thirty-six miles from Patras. The town is built on a rocky peninsula, having two secure ports, and bears a considerable resemblance to Mitylene on a small scale. The houses were of earth; some of the best were whitewashed, and had two floors. At the time of Mr. Dodwell's visit, the place was rapidly improving. The Galaxidiotes had purchased permission to erect a new church, which was far advanced; it was dedicated to Agio Nicolo, the Neptune of the modern Greeks. The place labours under the disadvantage, however, of having no source of fresh water within the distance of three miles, that in the wells being almost salt. "Fortunately for the Galaxidiotes," says our Traveller, "no Turks live amongst them: their industry, therefore, is not nipped in the bud, and they are beginning to be a commercial and wealthy

* The name is apparently derived from a plant bearing a yellow flower (the *euphorbia characias*), which, when in bloom, gives a peculiar sour smell to the country, and, the Greeks think, occasions bad air: hence the name, which signifies sour milk (from γαλα and ὀξώδης). Mr. Dodwell suggests, that this may be the origin of the term Ozolai, applied to the country, which, Pausanias says, some attributed to the quantity of asphodel that grew there.

little community. Their ports are excellent, and their territory affords a sufficiency for the consumption of the inhabitants, and for some trifling exports. They began to trade, and to construct merchant ships, about thirty years ago. Their commerce was at first confined to the Gulf, but they soon extended it to the Ionian Islands, and afterwards to Italy, Sicily, and Spain. They have thirty small merchant ships for foreign commerce, and fifteen decked boats for the Gulf and the neighbouring islands. They bear a good character, and are skilful seamen." Such was Galaxidi; but all its rising prosperity has been annihilated. In the first year of the Revolution, the town was burned by the Capitan Pasha, and its little navy fell into the hands of the enemy.*

The only remains of the ancient town consist of some foundations and a long wall with three courses of large stones, well preserved, and built in "the fourth style," approaching to regular masonry. The principal part of the town seems to have been on a peninsula a few hundred yards to the east of the village, where the rocks have apparently been cut and flattened for the foundation of edifices, and some large blocks are yet remaining. Parnassus forms from this place an exceedingly grand object: its outline, however, is not much broken, but is composed of several round, undulating masses.

At Galaxidi, Mr. Dodwell commenced his tour in Greece, proceeding by land to Salona. The road lay through a barren, rocky country, bounded on the north by bare hills, and on the south by the Gulf. Some small tracts of rich corn-land appeared among

* See vol. i. p. 146. Like Hydra, Galaxidi appears to have been colonized by Albanian Greeks; the women all wore the Arnaut costume.

the rocks as they approached, at the end of three hours, a village and ruined site, called Aiathemia (Agia Euphemia). The ruins consist of walls in the style of those of Galaxidi, in good preservation, with square towers at regular distances, about a mile and a half in circuit. Within the walls there are scarcely any remains, but merely several heaps of small stones and tiles, without any architectural fragments. From this place, the road led across a deep glen, with lofty calcareous rocks on each side, of a bright ochreous tint, looking as if they had been painted.* Leaving the village of Kouski to the right, it then turns round the point of a hill, and brings the traveller in view of Salona; distance from Galaxidi, five hours.

The port of Salona, called Scala, is at the head of the Gulf, from which the town is only three hours distant. Here, is a very good port with traces of an Hellenic city; also a magazine and custom-house. About half an hour to the eastward of Scala is Cirrha, the port of Delphi, from which it was reckoned eighty *stadia* distant. The walls of the ancient city, enclosing a quadrangular area on a very gentle eminence, are composed of large blocks. On the shore are a church and tower, and ruins of the ancient mole; also, a mill turned by a salt stream. The Pleistus, which here falls into the Gulf, appears to be dry in summer. Chandler says, that, instead of its pursuing its way to Cirrha, he found it absorbed among the olive-grounds and vineyards. At the foot of

* This appears to be the same glen that is referred to by Sir W. Gell in his route from Salona to Scala. "Segditza is a village three hours from Salona, one hour from which is a glen or chasm with water in it, so steep that there is no path to the bottom. Near this is a *kastro* called Kronia."—*Itinerary*, p. 198.

Mount Cirphis, about half a mile from Cirrha, is the small village of Xerro-Pegadia.[1]

Salona, the ancient Amphissa, is very picturesquely situated at the northern extremity of the Crissæan plain, (still called Καμπος του Κριστου,) at the foot of some lofty mountains called Kophinas and Elatos, which nearly surround it. The castle, which occupies the place of the ancient acropolis, stands upon an abrupt rock, rising nobly in the middle of the city, which it completely commands. The town, being at the extremity of a long valley and at the foot of high mountains, is exposed to severe cold in winter, and oppressive heat in summer. Putrid fevers are very prevalent and fatal here. The inhabitants were computed, in 1806, at between four and five thousand, nearly half of whom were Turks. The town contained several mosques besides a ruined one in the castle; the Greeks also had many small churches, most of which were in a state of dilapidation. In the citadel, there is a ruined church of St. Anthony, beneath which is a subterraneous passage, said to communicate with the monastery of St. Saviour (ο Σωτηρος), a mile distant. There is also a natural cavern in the rock, which is used as a nitre-manufactory. The acropolis is a mass of ruins. Three distinct periods of architecture are, however, distinguishable in its walls; the second Hellenic style, consisting of well-united polygons, that of the Lower Empire, and the Turkish. There are no remains of the temple of Minerva: its supposed site is occupied by the ruins of a large mansion, apparently Venetian, at the foot of which rises a copious spring, forming several clear

[1] Gell's Itinerary of Greece, p. 199. Chandler, vol ii. c. 69.

fountains. In the cellar of one of the houses in the town, Mr. Dodwell was shewn a large Mosaic pavement, coarsely worked, representing dogs, horses, tigers, and other animals. A short way out of the town, near the stream called Katzopenikta, there is an ancient sepulchral chamber, excavated in the rock in the shape of a bell. "The sarcophagus, which has been opened, is part of the solid rock: it is called λυκου τρουπα, the Wolf's Hole, and is held sacred by the Turks, who imagine it once contained the bones of a Mohammedan saint, in honour of whom they place lighted candles in it."

Amphissa was the most considerable city of the Hesperian* Locris; it is described by Pausanias as a large and celebrated town. Salona still retains the shadow of its ancient importance. It is a bishopric, and its voivode had thirty-six Greek villages under him, including Galaxidi, Krisso, and Kastri. The author called upon this personage, and found him counting his beads, in a handsome apartment, well carpeted, and the divan furnished with large red velvet cushions; the small upper windows were "Gothic," and ornamented with painted glass, and the ceiling was of wood neatly carved: a chimney faced the entrance, before which hung a ponderous leathern curtain, such as those anciently used in Greece and Italy, to exclude the air from the apartment; and they are still in use in some parts of Italy.† The principal

* So called from their westerly situation with respect to the rest of Greece. Strabo states, that their public seal was the evening star, and it is represented on the Locrian coins.

† Called by the Greeks παραπετασμα; by the Latins, *aulæum*, and *velum*; and the servants in attendance to hold them up were called *velarii*.

resource of Salona is its olive-groves, which yield a crop every other year. Here, as well as at Athens, are produced the *columbades*, the only olives which have the honour of being eaten in the Seraglio; and Mr. Dodwell says, that he nowhere else in Greece saw either the tree or the fruit of so large a size. The cotton also of Salona is remarkably fine, and its yellow leather is sought for all over Greece. Nitre and gunpowder are made here, but of a bad quality. Its chief trade used formerly to be in tobacco.

At an early period of the revolutionary contest, Salona fell into the hands of the Greek *armatoli* under Panouria; and in April 1824, a congress was got up here under the auspices of Colonel Stanhope and his friends Odysseus and Negri, the professed object of which was to terminate the differences between the constitutional and military parties, and to concert measures for the ensuing campaign in Eastern and Western Greece. The real views of its chief promoters appear to have been, to expel Mavrokordato and the Hydriote party, and to place Odysseus and Ipsilanti at the head of the government. Panouria and Goura were present, but Mavrokordato and Lord Byron declined attending; and the congress broke up without having accomplished anything.* In the campaign of 1825, a Turkish division of the Seraskier's army, making a rapid movement from Zeitouni, seized upon Salona, but it appears to have been subsequently abandoned.

Next to that of the Isthmus, the route from Salona to Zeitouni is the most important in Greece, owing to the shortness of the distance from the head of the

* See vol. i. p. 201 *et seq.*; and p. 245. Soon after Lord Byron died, Col. Stanhope left Greece, and Odysseus deserted the cause of Greece.

Bay of Salona to the Maliac Gulf, and the facility of maritime intercourse which the latter affords with Salonika and the Hellespont. Its military strength is equal to its importance. It traverses two of the most remarkable passes in Greece. The more northern crosses a ridge which connects Mount Callidromus with the great summits of Œta, dividing the plain of the Spercheius from the Dorian valley: the more southern separates Mount Cirphis from Parnassus.

The Krissæan plain extends from Salona to the foot of Parnassus below Kastri, a distance of twelve miles: it then dwindles into a narrow glen. The general breadth of the plain is from a mile and a half to two miles; but near Krisso it widens considerably, extending to the Gulf. When Mr. Dodwell travelled, it was cultivated with corn, cotton, millet, maize, and vines, interspersed with olives, but the hills which bound it are barren. At the end of two hours, he arrived at Krisso (the ancient Crissa), which is six miles from Salona, but only three from Scala. This is a town containing about 180 houses, then under the government of a Turkish aga. Traces of houses and several ruined churches near it, shew that it has been a much more considerable place, but, with the exception of some scattered blocks and illegible inscriptions, it contains no antiquities.

Krisso was at that time the residence of the Bishop of Salona, to whom our Traveller had a letter of introduction; and here he had an opportunity of seeing, for the first time, the interior of a Greek house. The primitive simplicity of the episcopal table was, however, but little to his taste. "There was nothing to eat," he says, "except rice and bad cheese; the wine was execrable, and so impregnated with resin, that it almost took the skin from our lips. Before sitting

down to dinner, as well as afterwards, we had to perform the ceremony of the *cheironiptron* or washing of the hands.* We dined at a round table of copper tinned, supported upon one leg, like the *monopodia* of the ancients, and sat on cushions placed on the floor. The bishop insisted upon my Greek servant sitting at table with us; and on my observing that it was contrary to our custom, he answered, that he could not bear such ridiculous distinctions in his house. It was with difficulty I obtained the privilege of drinking out of my own glass, instead of out of the large goblet, the κυλιξ φιλοτησια, or *poculum amicitiæ*, which served for the whole party. The Greeks seldom drink till they have dined. Xenophon mentions the same custom among the ancients. After dinner, strong, thick coffee without sugar was handed round. The houses have no bells, and the servants are called by the master's clapping his hands. The bishop is highly respected by the villagers, and receives their homage with becoming dignity. After dinner, he sat smoking his pipe on a sofa, and several of the country people came in to pay their respects: they knelt down to him, touched the ground with their forehead, and then kissed his hand. The ceremony is almost as servile as the Chinese *Ko Tou*. The bishop keeps a καλογραια or good old lady in his house, who manages his domestic concerns: such a person is frequently found in the houses of the bishops, who are not permitted to marry."

A short way out of the town, the church of *Agioi Saranta* (Forty Saints) stands on the brink of an

* The servant holds on his left arm the tin basin (λεβης), called by the Turks *levent*, while, with the other hand, he pours water from the *ibrik* on the hands of the washer, having a towel (μανδιλη) thrown over his shoulder to dry them with.

abrupt and lofty precipice, and the traces of walls are seen about the place. This, Mr. Dodwell thinks, was probably the ancient Crissa. The church commands a fine view of the plain, the town of Salona, the ports of Galaxidi, the Gulf, and the Achaian mountains in the distance. Sir W. Gell conjectures that the church may occupy the site of the temple of Ceres, and that the glen of the Pleistus beneath it was the site of the Delphic hippodrome, "for which there was no sufficient space on the declivities above." There is a semicircular hollow between the foundations of two ruined towers, which, he thinks, may have been either "the boundary of Crissa and Delphi, a theatre, or a place for Games. Pindar says, that the Games were at Crissa, as does Pausanias also; but they were in the valley or plain; nor, indeed, could any space be found at Crissa, except below the rocks, any better than Delphi afforded."

About half-way from Krisso to Kastri, "a vast precipice renders the approach to the far-famed Delphi awfully grand and picturesque. On the left of the road, the rock contains several sepulchral chambers cut in the solid mass; their entrances are in the form of round arches. Some of them contain three sarcophagi, each under a round niche, and forming but one mass with the rock: they have all been opened, and the covers are broken. Some large fragments in the vicinity have been thrown down, probably by earthquakes, and the sepulchres which were in them were rent asunder.* One of the tombs is an insulated

* This may illustrate Matt. xxvii. 51, 52. This kind of sepulchre, called by the ancients σπηλαιον and κρυπτον, is seen at Athens, Haliartos, Thisbe, Amphissa, Demetrias, and in other parts of Greece; in Palestine, Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt, Sicily, and Italy.

mass close to the road. A few yards beyond, are traces of the walls* and one of the gates of

DELPHI.

"The road in this part is extremely narrow, overlooking a precipice on the right hand, while a rock rises on the left. There can be no doubt that this is the spot described by Livy, where some Macedonians, by order of Perseus, waylaid and attempted to destroy Eumenes, King of Pergamos. In about two hours (from Krisso), the traveller arrives at the village of Kastri.† The approach to this singular spot is exceedingly striking; and, when its gods, its temples, and all the objects of its superstition were in full power and splendour, it must have impressed the beholder with religious awe. Its grand and theatrical appearance, combined with its ancient celebrity, its mouldering ruins, and its fallen state, forms so extreme a contrast, that it is difficult to decide whether more regret is excited by its departed splendour, or more satisfaction felt at still beholding some remains of its former magnificence.

"The first objects that attract the attention, are

* According to Justin, Delphi had originally no walls, being defended by its precipices, or rather, perhaps, like Pisa, by the sacredness of its territory. Strabo, however, gives it a circuit of sixteen *stadia*, which implies that it was then a walled town; and Pausanias calls it πολις, a city.

† "The computed distance from Salona to Krisso is two hours, and from the latter to Kastri, as much more, answering to about 120 *stadia*, which Pausanias makes it from Amphissa to Delphi. It is remarkable, that Æschines makes it only half that distance, which is evidently a mistake, in which he has been followed by Barthelemy."—DODWELL. Sir W. Gell makes the distance from Kastri to Salona, 3 h. 9 min.

the vast precipices of Parnassus, which rise nearly in perpendicular majesty behind the humble cottages of Kastri, and form the two noble points celebrated in antiquity. The vale is circular and deep, surrounded with the rough and barren rocks of Parnassus and Kirphis, by which it seems excluded from the rest of the world. Part of the vale is planted with olives and mulberry-trees; and the corn grows on the terraces which were raised by the Delphians for the security of their temples and their habitations, which could not otherwise have been supported, against the rapidity of the descent."

At the base of the double-pointed precipitous rock (the Φαιδριαδαι πετραι), from which the mountain received its ancient epithet of *Biceps Parnassus*, and a few hundred yards to the east of the village, is the far-famed fount of inspiration, the CASTALIAN SPRING. The water, as it issues from the rock, is received into a large, square, shallow basin, with steps to it, cut in the marble rock; supposed to be the Castalian Bath, where the Pythia used to wash her whole body, and particularly her hair, before she placed herself upon the tripod in the temple of Apollo. Upon the opposite side is a stone seat, also hewn out of the rock. The face and sides of the precipice have been cut and flattened, and niches have been scooped, intended, Dr. Clarke thinks, to receive the votive offerings. One large circular niche is mentioned by Mr. Dodwell as probably designed for a statue. Wheler says, "there are three niches for statues; a greater one in the middle, and two lesser." Below these, and above the fountain, is "a kind of little chapel," dedicated to St. John, the Midsummer Apostle, who seems to have been fixed upon as the

most appropriate successor to the Grecian Apollo.* The fountain is ornamented with pendent ivy, moss, brambles, and flowering shrubs, and is overshadowed by a large fig-tree, the roots of which have penetrated the fissures of the rock, while its wide-spreading branches throw a cool and refreshing gloom over this most interesting spot.† In front of the spring, a majestic plane-tree nearly defends it from the rays of the sun, which shines on it only a few hours in the day. A little above the usual level of the spring, a small arched conduit has been made on the western side, apparently to carry off the water when swelled by rain or snow. "Above the Phædriades," Mr. Dodwell says, "is a plain with a small lake, the waters of which enter a *katabathron* or chasm; and it is probably from this, that the Castalian spring is supplied. The superfluous water, after trickling among the rocks, crosses the road, and enters a modern fount, from which it makes a quick descent to the bottom of the valley, through a narrow, rocky glen, fringed with olive and mulberry-trees, when it joins the little river Pleistos, and enters the sea near the

* See page 12 of this volume, *note*.

† When Dr. Clarke visited Delphi, some of the pensile plants and shrubs were in flower, and mingled their varied hues over the red and grey masses of the marble. He mentions the *silene congesta* of Dr. Sibthorpe; the *arum arisarum* (friar's cowl); and a nondescript species of *lithospermum* (gromwell), which he calls *l. pythicum*. Dr. Sibthorpe observed on the neighbouring rocks, several curious plants; among others, a new species of *daphne*, which he calls *d. castaliensis*. Mr. Dodwell found some fine water-cresses growing on the sides of the fountain, some of which he gathered for dinner. The villagers, strange to say, were unacquainted with this wholesome salad, and were highly pleased at the discovery. They said, they should for the future call them *φραγκοχορτον*, *the Frank's herb*.

ruins of Kirra. When we were at Delphi (Feb. 28), the Castalian spring was flowing in a copious stream, and formed several cascades, the appearance of which was highly picturesque."

The water of the fount is limpid, pleasant to the taste, and extremely cold;* "fit," Wheler remarks, "to quench the thirst of those hot-headed poets" of his time, "who, in their bacchanals, spared neither God nor man." But the only use the present Delphians make of the sacred stream, is "to season their casks!"† Thus, the ancient connexion between Apollo and Bacchus would seem not to be entirely dissolved. One of the pointed summits of the cliff was sacred to the former, and the other to the latter: sacrifices also were offered to Bacchus on the summit of the mountain, which is not visible from Kastri. There are, indeed, *three* pointed rocks rising from Delphi: the lowest is to the west of the Phædriades. On a unique copper coin which Mr. Dodwell found at this place, Parnassus is represented with a triple summit. The other two, however, between which the hallowed stream descends, formed the sacred rock: these were distinguished by the names of Naupleia and Hyampeia. From the latter point, the Delphians were accustomed to precipitate those who were obnoxious to their god, or to his priests; and from this precipice, the famous fabulist Æsop was thrown down, about 560 B. C. After that infamous act of injustice and cruelty, the point Naupleia is said to have

* Dr. Chandler was seized with a violent chill and tremor after washing his hands in it in the evening, which he attributes to its coldness. "Perhaps," he remarks, "the Pythia, who bathed in this icy fluid, mistook the shivering for the god."

† Sibthorpe in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 68. Some barrels, with other rubbish, then served to choke up and interrupt the source.

been used for that purpose. This, Mr. Dodwell supposes to be the point which is to the west of the spring: the other rises immediately above it, to the height of about 100 feet. The chasm or fissure by which they are separated, is not more than five or six yards in breadth. This Traveller climbed up the rocks, by some ancient steps which are cut into it, to the small platform within this cleft. Wheler refers apparently to these stairs as leading up to what he judged to be the *Antrum Corycium*, the Grotto of the Nymphs; but they were so broken, he says, that there was no clambering up. By throwing stones up into the hole, he ascertained that there was water in it; and he understood that after rains it formed a fine cascade. Dr. Clarke speaks of a cavern within the cleft as visible from below, though he rejects Wheler's notion of its being the Corycian Cave; but he too was deterred from the attempt to ascend the rocky staircase. Mr. Dodwell, who seems to have succeeded in reaching the platform, speaks of no cave, but says: "Those who were hurled from the rock Hyampeia, owing to the unevenness of the precipice, probably sometimes fell upon this spot; and the steps were perhaps made for the purpose of removing the bodies of those who had fallen there, and of giving the *coup de grace* to those who had not been killed by the fall, as the Romans did to those who happened to survive their projection from the Tarpeian rock."*

Next to this spot in interest, is the site of the temple of Apollo. Of the fane itself, however, not a vestige

* This very ancient mode of punishment appears to have prevailed all over Greece. The Athenian *Barathron*, the Spartan *Ceada*, the Olympian *Typæon*, and the Leucadian promontory are well-known examples. The same practice evidently obtained among the Jews.—See LUKE iv. 29.

remains, and even its site cannot be identified with any certainty. It must be sought for, Mr. Dodwell says, under the humble cottages of Kastri, as the whole village probably stands within its ancient *peribolus*. It was in the upper part of the ancient town, and near a magnificent theatre. The Grecian theatres are generally hewn out of the solid rock, and are, therefore, the most indestructible of ancient monuments. Yet, no positive traces have hitherto been detected of this edifice, any more than of the temple. The gymnasium and the stadium, however, are still to be traced.

The site of the gymnasium is now partly occupied by a monastery called Panagia, its church being dedicated to the Virgin. It is built upon the brink of the mountain, below the fount, the foundations of the level area upon which it stands, being sustained by an immense bulwark of hewn stone. The ancient city rose in a theatrical form, on a series of similar terraces, and the same front-work of hewn stone is to be seen in different parts of the abrupt declivity. Within the monastery are found several architectural fragments, capitals, friezes, and triglyphs, and a few inscriptions.* Those that went up from the gymnasium to the temple, Pausanias states, had the fountain on their right hand. Some remains of the town wall

* Wheler found these words inscribed in the pavement of the church: Δελφον πωλεως απ' ελευθερου The caloyers were much pleased at being shewn the name of Delphos written in their church. In the wall was a marble inscribed, Αιακιδα χαιρε, Æacides, farewell; and on another, with an olive crown, was inscribed:

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΥΘΙΟΙΣ.

Mr. Dodwell calls this the convent of *Kalogeroi*, and supposes it to have been erected on the site of a temple. "The *Kalogeroi*," he says, "who are of the order of St. Basilius, subsist by alms and

are seen a little to the east of the fountain, where the eastern gate must formerly have stood, joining the foot of the Hyampeia. No part of the wall is left but the interior mass, consisting of an exceedingly hard composition of stones and mortar, which was probably coated with large blocks of stone. The ancient and modern roads pass in this place: it was the sacred way by which the Athenians and Bœotians brought their pompous offerings to the Delphian shrine.

The remains of the stadium are found on the other or western side of the village, on the highest part of the slope, under the precipitous rocks of Parnassus.* It is even more entire than that of Athens, for some of the seats yet remain on the sides: at the upper extremities, they are hewn in the rock. Wheler says, that it is much smaller than the Athenian stadium, "although both had the same founder, Herodes Atticus." Pausanias states, that Herodes Atticus only ornamented the stadium with Pentelic marble; and Dr. Clarke says, "the marble seats yet remain;" but adds, "they consist of the same substance as the cliffs around Delphi." This, we presume, is not Pentelic marble; and Mr. Dodwell states, that the ruins are entirely of stone, without the smallest fragment of marble. The situation of the stadium is very remarkable, as it includes, in every direction, as much space as the nature of the ground can afford: the two extremities, east and west, are terminated by rocks, which are

the culture of their land. The hospitality which they exercise towards travellers, is made up of bread and cheese, olives and wine, with the use of an unfurnished apartment." Wheler praises the "very good white wine."

* The son of the *papas* of Kastri accompanied Mr. Dodwell as far as the stadium without making any remarks: but he then exclaimed, ἐδῶ εἶναι το δικον μας; πενταθλον: here is our *pentathlon* (stadium)!

cut into seats; the northern side is bounded by the rise of the mountain, and the south by the rapid slope. There are ruins of the ancient wall which supported the terrace, composed of large blocks, some of which are 13 feet in length. The ancient and modern road passes at the foot of the wall. Dr. Clarke found the area to be 220 paces in length. A fine view of Salona, the Gulf, and the Achæan summit, is obtained from this part of the mountain.

Near the stadium is a hill, where some ancient foundations may be discerned: three roads meet at this spot. The summit of the hill is flat, but not of large dimensions, and, as it is higher than the fountain Kassotis, it could not, Mr. Dodwell thinks, have been occupied by the temple of Apollo. Pausanias states, that the temple contained a very large space where several roads meet, and that the fountain Kassotis passed under ground in a secret part of it. The learned Traveller traced to its source, the small stream which runs towards the village. It is "situated near a large mass of rock, where several vestiges of antiquity are scattered around. At this spot, the Turks have constructed a fountain with a cistern, for the purpose of collecting the waters, to which the washerwomen of Kastri habitually resort. It is at present called *Kerna*. Some scattered blocks of considerable magnitude render it probable that the fountain was once sumptuously adorned. A little above it are some ancient foundations, perhaps the *Lesche* (or portico), which contained the paintings of Polygnotos. The stream which issues from the spring, runs towards the middle of the village, where it loses itself, imperceptibly, near the aga's house. There are several remains about this spot; and in the lower part of this and some adjoining houses, are some fluted *frusta*, of the Doric order and of large dimensions.

Some very long inscriptions, also, are still left on the walls which form part of his granary, and which almost cover one side of a neighbouring cow-house.* Near the same place is a fine inscription on a block of white marble, in which, as well as in some other inscriptions, the word *ieromnemon* (the title of an Amphictyonic deputy) frequently occurs."

Below the village, towards the south, is the small church of St. Elias, composed of ancient fragments, and standing upon a terrace supported by a fine wall of regular masonry, with projecting buttresses, which formed the *peribolus* of a temple. This is the spot fixed upon by Wheler and his learned companion, Spon, as the site of the temple of Apollo. In the church are two architraves of Parian marble of very great magnitude; and at the door is a square stone, inscribed on every side, but the letters are too much effaced to be legible. From the immense foundations observable here, it is plain, Dr. Clarke says, that the monastery was erected upon the site of one of the principal temples; and Mr. Dodwell is of opinion, that it may comprise part of the ancient enclosure of the temple of Apollo; but he conceives that the body of the temple, comprising the *manteion*, or the place where the oracles were given, must have been higher up, and probably within the present village, as Strabo particularly tells us that it was near the summit (κατα κορυφην). The name of the saint to whom the monastery is dedicated, is remarkable. The *heliæa* was the name given to an uncovered court of judicature, on account of its being exposed to the sun; and the places consecrated to St. Elias, are usually found to be

* One of these, in Greek and Latin, given by Mr. Douwen, relates to boundaries, and is supposed to be of the time of one of the Roman emperors.

heliacic summits. Although the temple was in the upper part of the city, the sacred enclosure, which was of vast extent, and contained several small edifices used as treasuries, may have extended to this part of the declivity. In "the court of a house situate in the very centre of the ancient city," and in an adjoining "stable" and "wood-house," Dr. Clarke supposed that the architectural remains and inscriptions plainly implied that he was on the site of the temple itself. This is evidently the spot fixed upon by Mr. Dodwell, near which the stream of Cassotis loses itself. One inscription, found by the former Traveller on this spot, is highly remarkable; it is to this effect: "The father and mother of Amarius Nepos Ægialinum, who had been honoured by the senate of Corinth with rewards due to him as senator and overseer of the forum, place their son under the protection of the Pythian Apollo."

But where is the prophetic cavern? It has been searched for by every traveller in vain. It was probably nothing more, in fact, than a small crevice or fissure, produced by an earthquake, and discovered by accident.* It could not have been very large, as the tripod stood over it, and concealed it from view, while the mephitic vapour was by this means prevented from dispersing itself in the cavern, or even affecting the priests who forcibly held down the agonizing Pythia to the ὀλμος or seat. That spot was in the adytum of the temple, which was constructed of *five stones*, the

* The legend is, that some goats accidentally approaching the fissure, were suddenly affected with convulsive emotions, and that the shepherds, attracted by the prodigy, on approaching the spot, experienced the same effects. In like manner, the temple of Apollo on Mount Soracte is said to have been founded on account of a pestilential vapour arising from a cavern, to which some shepherds were guided by a wolf.

work of Cyclopean architects.* This description of the Delphic sanctuary, which was no doubt the most ancient part of the temple, and probably, like the Caaba of Mekka, the nucleus of the idolatry,—would favour the supposition, that the original temple belonged to the same class of rude, gigantic lithic monuments, as the cromlechs and circular sanctuaries consecrated to the same deity. From the number of stones mentioned, it may be inferred, either that there were four uprights supporting a flat stone, or, if the temple was uncovered, three uprights supporting two transverse blocks.

The origin of the Delphic oracle and shrine stretches back into the twilight of history. Its wealth had become proverbial so early as the time of Homer, who, in the Hymn to Apollo, (if it be his,) gives a fabulous account of the institution, which may be held to prove that its true origin was unknown. The ancient temple having been, it is said, destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt by order of the Amphictyonic deputies, about the year 513 B.C. The architect is stated to have contracted to finish it for the sum of 300 talents (66,666*l.*), three-fourths of which sum were raised by a tax on the different cities of Greece, and the other fourth, by the inhabitants of Delphi. The edifice was of stone, fronted with Parian marble, and the labours of the sculptor and the statuary were lavished on its embellishment. The enclosure was filled with trea-

* Stephanus of Byzantium in Clarke. Chandler, without citing his authority, says: "It is related that the temple of Apollo was at first a kind of cottage covered with boughs of laurel. An edifice of stone was erected by Trophonius and Agamedes, which subsisted about 700 years, and was burned in the year 636 after the taking of Troy, and 548 B.C." How the stone edifice could be burned, is not very obvious. Probably the *adytum* only was of stone. Was the temple a grove?

suries, in which many cities had consecrated tenths of the spoil taken in war, with the master-pieces of art, and the pompous offerings of monarchs.* Of the prodigious amount of these treasures, we may form some idea from the alleged fact, that the Phocians plundered the temple of gold and silver to the enormous amount of above two millions sterling.†

"It is observed by Strabo," says Chandler, "that great riches, though the property of a god, are not easily secured. Several attempts to rob Apollo are on record. Neoptolemus was slain, while sacrificing, on suspicion. Xerxes divided his army at Panopeus, and proceeded with the main body through Bœotia into Attica, while a party, keeping Parnassus on the right, advanced along Schiste to Delphi, but was taken with a panic, as near Ilium, and fled. This monarch, it is related, was as well apprised of the contents of the temple, and the sumptuous offerings of Halyattes and Crœsus, as of the effects which he had left behind in his own palace. The divine hoard was seized by the Phocensians under Philomelus, and dissipated in a long war with the Amphictyons. The Gauls experienced a reception like that of the Persians, and manifested similar dismay and superstition. Sylla, wanting money to pay his army, sent to borrow from the holy treasury; and when his messenger would have frightened him by reporting a prodigy, that the sound of a harp had been heard from within the sanctuary, re-

* Even the Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Italians, and the Hyperboreans themselves, sent offerings to Delphi. Strabo calls the temple of Apollo, το ιερον κοινον, the common temple; and Livy, *commune humani generis oraculum*.—See DODWELL.

† 10,000 talents, equal to 2,250,000*l.* sterling.—*Trav. of Anach.*, vol. ii. p. 335. Mr. Dodwell says, "near a million sterling."

plied, it was a sign that the god was happy to oblige him." *

Delphi was plundered eleven times before the reign of Nero, who is stated to have taken 500 bronze statues from the temple, and to have polluted the *adytum* by putting men to death at the mouth of the oracular cave. In the time even of Strabo, the establishment was fast declining in wealth and credit; but the offerings which remained were numerous. In the time of Pausanias, the holy treasuries were empty; yet, a multitude of curiosities were still untouched. Lucian says, that answers were still given by the oracle in his time; but Juvenal refers to them as having ceased.† Constantine the Great proved a more fatal enemy to Apollo and Delphi, than either Sylla or Nero. He removed the sacred tripods to adorn the hippodrome of his new city, where, together with the Apollo, the statues of the Heliconian Muses, and a celebrated statue of Pan, they were extant when Sozomen wrote his history. ‡ Julian was desirous of restoring the temple, but he abandoned the project on its being represented to him, that the "well-built court" had fallen to the ground, and that the "vocal fountain" had ceased to flow.

The intense interest excited by the recollections associated with this venerable metropolis of classic idolatry, the fabled birth-place of the Muses, and fountain-head of poetic inspiration,—the illusion created by the names of Parnassus, Castaly, and Delphi, is apt to blind the judgement to the true character of the hieratic establishment which for so many

* Chandler, vol. ii. p. 321.

† ——— "*quoniam Delphis oracula cessant,*
Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri." Sat. vi. 554.

‡ See Gibbon, c. xvii. This took place, A.D. 324.

ages abused the credulity of mankind. We are apt to forget that the pompous fabric was but a theatric deception, a splendid falsehood, the foundations of which were laid in impiety and fraud. The crime of having "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image resembling corruptible man," of having "perverted the truth of God into a lie," was but the *first* crime of a series. The cunningly devised fable could be sustained only by cruelty as well as dishonest artifice. The functions exercised by the Pythic priestesses were attended by sufferings which frequently proved fatal. "The priests know this," the Anacharsis of Barthelemy is made to say; "yet had we seen them multiply and calmly contemplate the torments under which she was sinking. It is still more painful to reflect, that they are rendered thus callous to the feelings of humanity by sordid interest. But for the furious ravings of the Pythia, she would be less consulted, and consequently, the liberalities of the people would be less abundant; for an answer is not to be obtained gratuitously from the god. Such as render him only a simple homage, must at least deposit cakes and other offerings on the altar: they who wish to consult the oracle, are obliged to sacrifice animals.... and mercenary soothsayers have been known, after examining the entrails of an animal, to carry off whole pieces of it, and order the sacrifice to be recommenced. Yet, this tribute imposed on the credulity of mankind during the whole year,* and severely exacted by the

* "The season of inquiry," Chandler says, "was the spring, during the month *Busius*, after which Apollo was supposed to visit the altars of the Hyperboreans." The authority for this statement is not given: perhaps it was founded on the passage in Claudian, cited by Mr. Dodwell as referring to the final cessation of the Delphic oracle:

priests, whose principal revenue it forms,* is infinitely less dangerous than the influence of their answers on the public affairs of Greece and of the world. Who but must weep over the miseries of humanity, when he reflects that, besides the pretended prodigies of which the inhabitants make a constant traffic, the answers of the Pythia are to be obtained by money; and that thus a single word, dictated by corrupt priests, and uttered by a senseless girl, suffices to excite bloody wars, and spread desolation through a whole kingdom." †.

Mr. Dodwell supposes that the true explanation of the allegorical fiction relating to Apollo and Pytho, is, that the serpent was the river Cephissus, which, after the flood of Ogyges and Deucalion had over-

——— "*cum pulcher Apollo*
Lustrat Hyperboreas, Delphis cessantibus, aras."

* In the Hymn to Apollo ascribed to Homer, Latona thus addresses the Isle of Delos, the birth-place of the archer-god:

"Delos! if thou become my son's domain,
If here Apollo fix his splendid fane,
Sacred alone to him, thy seats shall be
From other lords and mortal tyrants free.
What though nor flocks nor herds thy pastures feed,
No harvest ripen and no vintage bleed;
Yet, if thy shores his sacred temples grace,
From each assembling tribe of human race
Shall hecatombs with pious zeal be given;
The smoke of offered victims climb to heaven:
While every god protective influence yields,
And foreign plenty crowns thy barren fields."

In like manner, when the Cretan voyagers who were driven by the god on the Delphic coast, inquired of Apollo how they were to subsist on the ungenial shore, they were told, that by their hands should fall the frequent victim, and that the winds should

"waft from every shore,
Of nature's richest boons a plenteous store."

† Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. ii. p. 349. The reader will find in this chapter, the best account of the temple, oracle, and games.

flowed the plains, surrounded Parnassus with its serpentine involutions, and was reduced by the rays of the sun within its due limits. It is, however, very evident, that the fiction was of exotic origin; and the learned Traveller admits, that it may have been copied from the Egyptian story of Horus and Ob. Herodotus tells us that Apollo is the same as Horus; and, in fact, both words signify the destroyer, as *ob* or *oph* is the python or serpent. Yet, Pythios was also a title of Apollo; and a dragon, Macrobius informs us, was used as a symbol of the sun.

Without plunging into the labyrinth of ancient mythology, it may be safely affirmed, that, like the institutions at Pisa and Epidaurus, the worship of Apollo was first introduced by foreign colonists; and from the Hymn to Apollo, it may be presumed, that Delos and Crete were the more ancient seats of the same idolatry. It would also seem from the same poem, that, prior to its introduction, Delphi was already famous for its sanctity, and that its fountain was the object of religious veneration. Apollo is represented as assuming the name of Delphusius, on partaking of the fame which the nymph of the fountain before enjoyed undivided. The nature of the more ancient worship which he consented to share, may be gathered from the fact, that one of the Phædriades is said to have been sacred to Bacchus; also, that the Corycian Cave was consecrated to the same deity, as well as to Pan and the Nymphs; and that the Dionysian orgies were celebrated by the Athenian Thyades on the summit of the mountain.* It has

* That Bacchus, Osiris, Adonis, Dionusus, Liber, are all names of the same deity, the sun, has been shewn from many ancient testimonies. Thus, in an epigram of Ausonius, cited by Mr. Faber, in his Dissertation on the Cabiri (vol. 1. p. 156),

been remarked, that Homer makes a clear distinction between Apollo, or Phœbus, and the Sun; and it is impossible to read the Hymns ascribed to him, more especially those to the Sun and Moon, without perceiving that, in his mythology, they had no connexion with Apollo and Diana. There is the same marked distinction between Vishnoo and his incarnation Krishnu, the Hindoo Apollo, who, as a herdsman, an archer, the destroyer of a dreadful serpent, and the patron of music, is the very counterpart of the Delphic god. May we not then interpret Apollo's assuming the name of Delphusius, as implying that his worship was grafted on that of the elder idolatry, by which means he assumed the character, or was recognised as an incarnation of the great solar deity? The Author of the Hymn seems to pun on the word Delphi, in making Apollo transform himself into a dolphin (δελφις). That the word was a foreign one, and not understood, is very plain. By some it was supposed to denote that Delphi was the centre or navel of the earth. It probably implied an oracle. Mr. Faber makes it *Tel Phi*, the oracle of the sun; and Jacob Bryant would tempt us to resolve the Nymph who

> "*Ogygia me Bacchum vocat;*
> *Osirin Ægyptus putat;*
> *Mysi Phanacem nominant;*
> *Dionuson Indi existimant;*
> *Romana sacra Liberum;*
> *Arabica gens Adoneum.*"

Sophocles addresses Bacchus as the glorious leader of the fire-breathing stars; and Virgil (Georg. i. 6) thus addresses the same deity:

> ——— "*Vos, o clarissima mundi*
> *Lumina, labentem cœlo qui ducitis annum,*
> *Liber et alma Ceres.*"

In the Orphic Fragments, it is declared:

Εις Ζευς, εις Αϊδης, εις Ἡλιος, εις Διονυσος·

originally presided over the sacred precincts of Delphusa, into *Ain omphe*, *fons oraculi*.* The Pythic cave was, in all probability, a lucky discovery, which was subsequently pressed into the service of the deity, and became so lucrative a source of attraction, and ultimately so important a political engine, as to eclipse every other mystic fount, or cave, or grove that had been sanctified by the ancient superstition. This may serve to explain how it came to pass, that the son of Latona, far inferior in dignity to Olympian Jove or the Lycæan Pan, should have been exalted to the highest rank in the Pantheon, as the patron deity of that theocracy which in a sense governed Greece.

"On leaving the monastery of Elias," Dr. Clarke says, "we found a recess hewn in the rock, either for a sepulchre or an oracular cave. The walls of the temple extend near to it. Within this recess are arched cavities upon the right and left; and there is one in front, lined with painted stucco, having two smaller cavities over it, and above the whole, a bull's head very finely sculptured." Mr. Dodwell saw no appearance of an "oracular cave," but says: "Near St. Elias are two sepulchral chambers cut in the rock, one of which contains a sarcophagus with its cover still entire; some other sepulchres of the same kind are seen in different parts of the rock."† Hard by,

* See Faber on the Cabiri, vol. i. p. 66. Bryant's Mythol. vol. i. p. 110, 345. Δελφυς signifies matrix; but δελφοι has been derived from the Arabic *telb*, to inquire. See Jones's Greek Lexicon. The Scholiast of Euripides makes *delphin* to be the name of the serpent.

† A short distance from the monastery of the Kalogeroi, in the way to Arakoba, are similar sepulchral caverns, containing, when Mr. Dodwell travelled, some *unopened* sarcophagi. One of these sepulchres has been very magnificent; the rock is flattened and cut in the form of a folding-door, similar to the sepulchres at Telmes-

there is "an alcove," or semicircular grotto hewn in the rock, with a seat all round it; of which there are other examples near Grecian temples.* When seated within this grotto, the view embraces the whole *coilon*† or circus of the ancient city. "Indeed," says Dr. Clarke, "to have a faithful conception of what Delphi was, it is only necessary to imagine an ancient theatre, with terraces of stone instead of seats, rising one above the other, of sufficient width to admit of temples and other public buildings; the Stadium being the uppermost structure of the whole series, and the Castalian Spring and the Gymnasium at the right extremity. The front work of these terraces, being perfectly even and perpendicular, is every where artificial. The masonry remains in many places entire; but, as it does not now continue throughout the whole semicircle, a hasty observer might conclude

sus in Caria. There is a large perpendicular fissure in the rock, apparently occasioned by an earthquake. "The Kastriotes have a tradition, that, at the birth of Christ, a priest of Apollo, who was sacrificing at this place, suddenly stopped the sacrificial ceremonies, and declared to the multitude, that the son of a God was at that moment born, whose power would equal that of Apollo, but that the Delphian god would ultimately triumph over the new-born divinity. The words were scarcely uttered, when the rock was rent in two by a clap of thunder, and the priest was consumed to ashes by a flash of lightning."—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 195. A mile from Kastri, are ruins of a small square edifice, strongly built of large stones, the entrance by a door diminishing almost imperceptibly towards the top: the interior is a mass of ruins; but the remains of a large sarcophagus near it, shew it to have been the sepulchre of some distinguished personage.

* There is one of a similar kind attached to the temple of Neptune at Kalauria (see p. 133 of this volume), and another at the entrance of Pompeii. That of Delphi is considerably buried. An inscription states that it was erected, Aristagoras being archon of Delphi, and Alexander polemarch of Ætolia.

† It is styled by Pindar, κοιλοπεδων νασος; in Homer's Hymn to Apollo, κοιλη—βησσα; by Strabo, θεατροειδες.

that the detached parts were so many separate foundations of temples. There is enough remaining to enable a skilful architect to form an accurate plan of the city; but it should be fitted to a model of Parnassus." The situation of both the streets and the houses, Mr. Dodwell says, may be discerned by the alternation of narrow and broad terraces. Some transverse streets seem to have intersected the others nearly at right angles, and the town, when entire, must have exhibited a most imposing spectacle. Yet, few fragments of marble are now to be found among the ruins;* and the soil is too thin to conceal large masses. All its pomp and opulence and architectural splendour have vanished like a dream of which only the indistinct remembrance survives. Numerous fragments of terra cotta vases are found here, which preserve in all their original freshness, their imperishable red and black polish. It may be said of them, that they form in this instance,

"*monumentum ære perennius.*"

The village of Kastri consisted, in 1806, of ninety cottages. The inhabitants were Arnauts, who spoke both Greek and *Albanian*, and wore the same costume as the Galaxidiotes.† The huts of the poorer people

* Sir W. Gell, however, represents the architectural fragments at Kastri to be so numerous as to lead one to imagine that the city was full of porticoes and colonnades. He mentions in particular, in the monastery, a column of blue marble; also, columns of Pentelic marble, two feet five inches in diameter, which may have belonged to the great temple; besides various Ionic columns and a Doric capital. See *Itin. of Greece*, p. 184.

† Dr. Clarke makes them Greeks, and adds: "Wherever Greek peasants are found in the villages, instead of Albanians, want and wretchedness are generally apparent." The real cause of this wretchedness, however, is stated to have been a contribution which the village had lately been laid under by Ali Pasha, to make up

consisted of one long room; the papas and a few others had houses consisting of two rooms raised over a ground floor, which was divided into stable, cow-house, and cellar; but even these houses were without the luxury of a chimney or glazed windows. Mr. Dodwell found the cold extremely piercing. The inhabitants seemed alike poor and uninformed; yet, Kastri had its school, and most of them could both read and write. Sugar was to them a novel luxury, and the power of India rubber in effacing some pencil lines, excited their suspicion of magic. The Kastriote women are described as combining with fine figures, handsome profiles, good teeth and large black eyes; in short, as distinguished by "native beauty and unadorned elegance." Mr. Dodwell was fortunate enough to purchase of the villagers eighty coins, some of great rarity. Below the village, there is a very remarkable echo.

Opposite to Delphi, and visible from it, there is a cave in Mount Kirphis (now called Zimeno), which attracted our Traveller's attention. It is fabled to have been the abode of an enormous monster named Lamia and Sybaris, who devoured men and flocks, but was at length destroyed by a certain Eurybates. In descending from the Castalian spring towards the glen of the Pleistos, some large masses of rock are seen, not far below the monastery, which have evidently been detached from Parnassus, "and are, no doubt, the same that fell upon the army of Xerxes, according to the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus. Pausanias and Justin relate, that they fell when Brennus was before Delphi, and destroyed great part of his

which, every thing they possessed had been seized. "In its present condition," he adds, "there is not in all Lapland a more wretched village than Kastri." The climate must make some difference.

army." The son of the papas pointed out one of the largest of these masses, and said it was του Απολλωνος η καθεδρα—the chair of Apollo. At the bottom of the glen, the Castalian stream forms a small cascade, and in a few paces, enters the Pleistos, near the remains of a bridge. Three quarters of a mile to the east of the fount, another stream gushes out of the side of Parnassus, and after turning some mills in its rapid descent, swells the waters of the same river. Having forded the rapid current, Mr. Dodwell, not without some difficulty, made his way through marshy ground and olive-plantations, and up the rugged side of the mountain, to the object of his curiosity, which ill repaid his labour. It is a natural cavern about forty feet deep, and contains only a few fragments of loose wall, which constitute a rustic Greek chapel. It bears the singular appellation of the Cave of Jerusalem.

Mr. Dodwell was prevented from visiting the Corycian cave, by a heavy fall of snow which covered the mountain. We are indebted to another English Traveller, Mr. Raikes, for a description of this interesting natural curiosity.

THE CORYCIAN CAVE.

About two hours from Kastri, on the road to Livadia, is the large Greek village of Rachova or Arakoba, situated on the sloping side of Parnassus, famous for its wine, and more remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants.* Here there is a cavern with a church in the interior, and a magnificent evergreen oak near its mouth, but no traces of any ancient site. From the

* This village was burned by Mustafa Pasha in 1823. See vol. i. p. 190. It contained in 1800, 250 houses, inhabited by Albanians and Greeks.

village, the view extends over the flat summits of Kirphis to the Corinthian Gulf, and the mountains of Achaia are seen overtopped by the snowy peaks of the Arcadian range. The declivity of the mountain is cultivated with an industry "worthy of Switzerland," every spot of vegetable soil being covered with low vines. "The shallow soil is sometimes interrupted by great masses of rock which rear themselves above the surface; and the careful husbandman, unwilling to lose the corner on which he must otherwise have heaped the loose stones gathered from the rest of the field, had raised them in pyramids on these masses." The vineyards are soon passed, and the ascent becomes more and more steep, until, in an hour from Arracoba, the traveller is surprised to find himself at the entrance of a wide plain of considerable extent and under cultivation, where he might expect to see nothing but rocks and snow. High above this wide level, the ridges of Parnassus rise on the north and east, covered with snow and hidden in clouds. The plain, Mr. Raikes says, cannot be less than four or five miles across. A large, dull-looking village is placed in the middle of it, and a lake with banks most beautifully broken is seen on the left. * The view to the southward is very extensive and striking. Mount Kirphis is seen to terminate in a flat table land well cultivated and studded with villages, and the mountains of the Morea fill up the distance.

"We rode across the plain towards the north,"

* This lake and another near it are supposed to be the reservoirs of the Castalian spring, which increases till the month of May. The lake itself is much diminished in summer. In the way to the cave, two streams are passed at their junction; one, called Tergiviki, rises at once from a large hole at the foot of the rock; the other rises in the same manner from a rock called *Koupkio Litho*. Gell's *Itin.* p. 190.

continues Mr. Raikes, "and leaving our horses at the foot of the ascent which bounded it, climbed up a steep and bushy slope to the mouth of the Corycian Cave. I had been so repeatedly disappointed with scenes of this kind,—they had so generally appeared inferior to the descriptions given of them, that I expected to meet with the same reverse here, and to find nothing but a dark, narrow vault. I was, however, to be for once agreeably surprised. The narrow and low entrance of the cave, spread at once into a chamber 330 feet long, by nearly 200 wide. The stalactites from the top hung in the most graceful forms, the whole length of the roof, and fell, like drapery, down the sides. The depth of the folds was so vast, and the masses thus suspended in the air were so great, that the relief and fulness of these natural hangings, were as complete as the fancy could have wished. They were not, like concretions or incrustations, mere coverings of the rock; they were the gradual growth of ages, disposed in the most simple and majestic forms, and so rich and large, as to accord with the size and loftiness of the cavern. The stalagmites below and on the sides of the chamber, were still more fantastic in their forms, than the pendants above, and struck the eye with a fancied resemblance of vast human figures.

"At the end of this great vault, a narrow passage leads down a wet slope of rock. With some difficulty, from the slippery nature of the ground on which I trod, I went a considerable way on, until I came to a place where the descent grew very steep; and my light being nearly exhausted, it seemed best to return. On my way back, I found, half buried in the clay, on one side of the passage, a small antique *patera*, of the common black and red ware. The incrustation of the grotto had begun to appear; but it was unbroken,

and I was interested in finding this simple relic of the homage once paid to the Corycian Nymphs by the ancient inhabitants of the country. The stalagmitic formations on the entrance of this second passage, are wild as imagination can conceive, and of the most brilliant whiteness.

"It would not require a fancy lively as that of the ancient Greeks, to assign this beautiful grotto as a residence to the Nymphs. The stillness which reigns through it, broken only by the gentle sound of the water which drops from the points of the stalactites (the ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα of the grotto of the Nymphs in the Odyssey), the dim light admitted by its narrow entrance, and reflected by the white ribs of the roof, with all the miraculous decorations of the interior, would impress the most insensible with feelings of awe, and lead him to attribute the influence of the scene to the presence of some supernatural being. An inscription which still remains on a mass of rock, near the entrance, marks that the cavern has been dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs." *

The Cave is called by the natives *Sarand' Auli*, the Forty Courts, and they say it will contain three thousand persons. It was notorious as a place of rendezvous for the robbers of Parnassus. The fortified cave of Odysseus must be the counterpart of the Corycian, only still more inaccessible. The distance from Arracoba is two hours, or four from Kastri; but the direct road from Delphi, by which Pausanias ascended to it, was only 70 *stadia* in length, or about eight miles and a half; and this road, Sir W. Gell says, may yet be traced from the western gate of the ancient city.

The most minute and interesting description of

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 312—1

this celebrated mountain is given by Dr. Clarke, who ascended its summit in proceeding from Kastri to Velitza.

ASCENT TO THE SUMMIT OF PARNASSUS.

At nine o'clock A. M. (Dec. 16), he set out from Arracoba with four guides, and in an hour, "after having surmounted the first precipices, found a large crater, with a village in it, called Kallidia or Callithea, the summer residence of the Arracovians, who cultivate the plain at the bottom of this crater, and, during the hottest part of the year, come hither to collect its harvest. Thence, turning from the former line of our ascent (which had been towards Delphi), we proceeded," he continues, "in an opposite direction, and, after two hours' progress, looked down from a great height, upon Arracovia. At twelve, we found the thermometer had fallen to 44° Fahr. Presently we came to another plain, with a well in it, full of clear water. Here we halted and regaled ourselves with bread and wine. It now began to be cold; the road being as before, steep, but admitting the horses to follow us the whole way. At this place, also, vegetation began to disappear. Thence, climbing the mountain on its north-eastern side, we found it bleak, and destitute of herbage: higher up, we passed through snow, lying in patches. At length, we reached a small plain upon the top of the mountain, and also in the bottom of a crater, containing a pretty large pool, frozen over. In this respect, the summit of this mountain resembles that of the Kader Idris in Wales. The sides of the crater, rising in ridges around this plain, are the most elevated points of Parnassus. We climbed the highest of them, which was

upon our left hand, but with great difficulty, as the sides were a glacier covered with hard and slippery ice, and our fingers, in spite of our exertions, were benumbed. At last, however, we reached the utmost peak, and having gained a footing upon its top, stood in pure ether; for, although there were clouds below, we had not one above us. It was now two o'clock P. M. If the wind had blown from the north, we could not have remained an instant in this icy region. Even with a soft breeze from the west, we had no sooner exposed our thermometer, than the mercury fell 2° below the freezing point.

"Having been for years engaged in visiting the tops of mountains, the Author must still confess, that he never saw any thing to compare with the view which he beheld from the summit of Parnassus. He possessed no other means of ascertaining its elevation, than by attending to the objects visible in the horizon, but he believes it to be one of the highest mountains in Europe. The Gulf of Corinth had long looked like an ordinary lake, and it was now reduced to a pond. Towards the north, beyond all the plain of Thessaly, appeared Olympus with its many tops, clad in shining snow, and expanding its vast breadth distinctly to the view. The other mountains of Greece, like the surface of the ocean in a rolling calm, rose in vast heaps; but the eye ranged over every one of them. Helicon was one of these, and it is certainly inferior in height to Parnassus. One of the principal mountains in the Morea, now called Tricala,* made a great figure in that mountainous territory: it was covered with snow, even the lower ridges not being destitute of it. We

* The guides said, that this mountain was near Patras: it must be a summit of Panachaikon.

looked down upon Achaia, Argolis, Elis, and Arcadia, as upon a model. Almost every part of the horizon was clear excepting the east, north-east, and north-west; our view being obstructed towards the Ægean and Mount Athos, as well as towards Epirus, by our being above the clouds, which concealed every object towards those points, although the day proved remarkably favourable for our undertaking in other respects. The frost was, however, so piercing that we were in haste to conclude our observations.*

"The summit and all the higher part of Parnassus are of limestone, containing veins of marble and a great quantity of a blue *lumachella* wherein are embedded very large *entrochi*. The surprising appearance of such shells at this enormous elevation, is very remarkable. We found them upon the highest peak and over all the mountain.† But all the limestone of Parnassus is not thus characterised. In places where the melting snow had disclosed the naked rock, we observed the most remarkable effect of weathering that, as far as our knowledge extends, has ever been noticed. A spontaneous decomposition of the stone had taken place; and this had occasioned rifts and fissures to a considerable depth. We have described all the higher region of Parnassus as bleak and destitute of herbage. A few rare plants, however, may be noticed here and there, even to its very peak; and those Alpine herbs are often characterised by woolly leaves. We found the Alpine daphne sprouting

* The following bearings were taken by the compass. Acrocorinthus, due S. Helicon, S.E. and by S. Hymettus, S.E. Negroponte, S.E. and by E. Olympus, N. and by E. Tricala, S.W. and by S. Galaxidi, W.S.W.

† Similar phenomena were noticed by Burckhardt upon the summit of Mount Lebanon.

through the snow and ice, quite up to the summit. We also collected specimens of a pine belonging to the same species as the balm of Gilead and the silver fir, but most resembling the latter.*

"We began to descend the north-west side of the mountain, having ascended by the side facing the south-east. Soon after leaving the summit, our guides pointed to one of the lower ridges which commanded our passage down, and to which they gave the name of Lugari or Lycari; perhaps the Lycorea of Pausanias.† The peasants in the plains of Bœotia call the whole mountain by the name of Lakura; but those who reside upon Parnassus still retain among them its ancient name, calling the heights by a general appellation, Parnassu, and one of the ridges in particular, Lugari. In our way down, our course afterwards bore towards the east. At seven o'clock P.M., in a woody region of the mountain (about three-fourths of the journey down), we arrived at the mo-

* Dr. Clarke enumerates the following plants in a note, *Daphne Alpina. Potentilla speciosa. Campanula rupestris. Pinus balsamea. P. picea. Euphorbia myrsinites. Dryopis spinosa.* A very beautiful species of *Cineraria.* A new species of *Cherleria,* called by the Author, *stellata.* Dr. Sibthorpe, who ascended the summit of Parnassus in June 1794, collected many curious plants on the sides of the precipices, but found few which could strictly be called Alpine: "those of the highest region would only be regarded as sub-alpine." In a third attempt to reach the summit, however, he met with several plants he had not before noticed. His account is very indistinct and imperfect. See Walpole's Memoirs, p. 67, &c.; and List of Plants, ibid. p. 235.

† The village of *Lyakoura* is about three hours from Kastri. It is deserted in winter on account of the snow, the inhabitants then descending to the neighbouring villages. "I spoke to some of the peasants of Lyakoura," says Mr. Dodwell, "who informed me that their village possessed considerable traces of antiquity. The ancient Lykoreia was founded at the time of Deucalion's deluge, about 1503 C. One of the earliest names of Parnassus was Lykoreia."

nastery of the Virgin of Jerusalem, beautifully embowered in the midst of pine-groves, overlooking the mountains of the Locri and the Dryopes, and the extensive plains watered by the Cephissus. This monastery contained fifty caloyers,* who expressed more astonishment at our coming, and seemed more inquisitive, than any we had before seen in Greece; but their state of ignorance did not differ from that of the other wild tenants of their lofty wilderness. Their order is that of St. Basil. There, is in fact, no other order among the Greeks. They profess chastity and obedience. Their way of living is very austere; for they abstain wholly from flesh. Most of their time is taken up in barbarous devotional ceremonies, either in a recitation, against time, of the Psalter, or in bowing and kissing the ground; nor is it possible to conceive that a Cree Indian, capering before his idol in the wilds of North America, exhibits a more abject debasement of human intellect, than one of these caloyers in the exercise of his μετανοιαι (bowings), three hundred of which he is obliged to perform every twenty-four hours. The one half of those bowings they perform in the first two hours of the night, and the other half at midnight, before they rise to matins, which are to begin four hours before day, and to end with the dawning of the morning. In summer time, the day breaks upon them, and the sun rises before their devotions are ended; so that they have scarcely the time and the liberty of convenient and natural repose. These devotions are evidently heathen ceremonies, and the services are also almost heathen. A traveller might have found the same mummery practised two

* A name derived either from καλος ἱερευς, good priest, or from καλογεραιοι, good old fathers."

thousand years ago. Judging indeed, from these vigils, wherein all their devotion appears to consist, the religion of Christ seems to be as foreign to those who call themselves its ministers, as if it had never existed; for, with the exception of now and then a hymn sung in honour of the Virgin, or upon the festival day of some saint, nothing connected with the history of Christianity or its worship seems to have been introduced.

"Being curious to know whether such a thing as a Bible, or even a copy of any one of the Gospels in their own language, existed among them, we asked permission to examine the books of their church; but they had none, nor were any of them able to read; neither had they any library or manuscripts belonging to the monastery. Yet, when we spoke of the *cheirographa* found in the monastery at Patmos, they seemed perfectly to understand us, and said, that there were many such in the monastery of St. Luke."

The next day, on leaving the monastery, the learned Traveller set out in a N.W. direction, descending the side of the mountain for half an hour. At the end of two miles and a half, he passed a ruined village called Neocorio, and in an hour and a half, the village of St. Mary's with a fountain. Continuing along the base of the mountain, he passed two very large pits, on the edge of each of which was a tumulus, and beyond them, the foundations of a square structure built of large blocks. This place is now called the Giant's Leap; for what reason, does not appear. Presently he came to another tumulus, upon which a Turkish sepulchre has been constructed; and after passing the bed of the torrent Cachales (now called *κακο-ρεύμα*, the bad stream), saw some more sepulchres hewn in

the rock. A little further, the walls of the ancient Tithorea are seen, "extending in a surprising manner up the prodigious precipice of Parnassus, which rises behind the village of Velitza. Their remains are visible to a considerable height upon the rocks, and even one of the mural turrets. In this precipice, above the ruins, there is a cavern, concerning which marvellous stories are told by the peasants. The water of the Cachales was rushing in a furious torrent down the steep: it appeared of a milky colour, owing to the calcareous matter with which it was impregnated.

"Delphi and Tithorea, on different sides of the mountain, were the halting-places of those passing over Parnassus, at the distance of 80 *stadia* from each other;* being situate as the towns of Aoste in Piedmont and Martinach in the Vallais, are with regard to Mount St. Bernard. The whole district on the southern side was Delphic; while all the country on the northern side was called Tithorea. The olives of that city were so highly celebrated, that they were conveyed as presents to the Roman emperors: they still maintain their ancient reputation, being sent as an acceptable offering to the pashas and other grandees of Turkey.† The village of Velitza (Belutza) contains about eighty houses. The chief produce of the land is wine, cotton, and corn: the wine is excellent. They are at present in a most wretched condition, owing to the extortions of Ali Pasha, or of those who have plundered in his name. In the short space of six months, they had paid to his tax-gatherers as

* Sir W. Gell thinks this must be an error.

† No olive-trees are now found in the immediate vicinity of Velitza, though the oil of this place was anciently esteemed the best in Greece.

they told us, eighty purses; a sum equivalent to 40,000 piastres. Poverty is very apparent in their dwellings; but the cottages of Phocis are generally as much inferior to those of Bœotia, as the latter are to those of Attica. Nor can it be otherwise where the wretched inhabitants are so oppressed by their lords. The whole earnings of the peasant are here taken from him: he is scarcely allowed any means of subsistence. Add to this the frequent calamities of sickness and fire; and plague, pestilence, and famine will be found to have done their work. This village had been twice burned within one year by banditti. As one source of consolation in the midst of so much misery, the inhabitants told us, they had no Turks resident among them."*

Tithorea† began to decline soon after the Christian era. In the time of Pausanias, though in a state of decay, it contained a theatre, a forum (or agora), and the grove, temple, and statue of Minerva. At the distance of eighty *stadia*, there was a temple of Æsculapius, and at forty *stadia* from that temple, was a *peribolus* containing an *adytum* or sanctuary of Isis. Dr. Clarke was unable to discover the theatre, but he found the forum,—"a square structure built in the Cyclopean style, of large masses of stone, laid together with great evenness and regularity, but without any cement." The walls are of the third and fourth styles, and are fortified with square towers in good preservation, approaching the angular construction, and apparently less ancient than the other parts of the wall.

* Clarke's Travels, vol. vii. pp. 270—80.

† The most ancient name of the city was Neon. Tithorea is plausibly derived by Bryant from *Tith-Or*, the mountain of Orus or Apollo. The Egyptian solemnities observed here in honour of Isis, favour this etymology.—See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. vii. 8vo. p. 290.

On descending from Velitza, Dr. Clarke again crossed the Cachales, and, in less than an hour, reached an ancient site to the left of the road, called *Palaio Thiva* or Theba. The indistinct traces of walls are alone discernible. Dr. Clarke conjectures that Ledon may have stood here; a city abandoned in the time of Pausanias. About an hour to the east, on the other side of the Cephissus, is the village of Turco-chorio, which contains a mosque and a Greek population, and has been erroneously supposed to occupy the site of Elateia, the largest city in Phocis, next to Delphi; but it contains no ruins; and the name of Elateia is evidently preserved in that of the village of Eleuta (pronounced Elevta), which stands on its ruins, two hours and ten minutes E.N.E. of Tithorea.

"The ruins of Elateia," Mr. Dodwell says, "are situated at the foot of some hills which unite with the chain of Cnemis and Œta. Its position was well adapted for securing the narrow passes that lead from the Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locris into this part of Greece. The acropolis was on an elevation of moderate height, and, from the few remains of walls, appears to have been constructed in the rude Tirynthian style. Elateia was a place of considerable strength and importance, and, though burned by the Persians, it afterwards rose into power, and was enabled successfully to resist the attacks of Cassander, and subsequently of Taxiles, the general of Mithridates. The principal objects at Elateia worthy of attention in the time of Pausanias were, the agora, the sepulchral *stele* of Elatos, (the supposed founder,) a temple of Æsculapius, and a theatre, of which some small remains may be seen." He mentions also, at the distance of twenty *stadia*, a temple of Minerva Kranaia, the ruins of which are found at about that

distance from the modern village. Proceeding in a northern direction by a gentle ascent, Mr. Dodwell reached, in half an hour, a church with some blocks about it, and a large broken vase, apparently the ancient receptacle of a fountain that here issues from the rock. In a quarter of an hour further, he arrived at the ruins of the temple, situated precisely as Pausanias describes it, on a steep rock of inconsiderable height and dimensions, surrounded with a peribolus, the southern side of which is supported by a terrace wall of great antiquity, composed of eleven layers of stones. "The temple itself was of smaller dimensions than the Theseion at Athens, and built upon the same plan. The lower parts of four columns are yet standing: they are of stone, and fluted Doric, two feet seven inches in diameter. A church has been erected on the spot. The view from hence over the plain of Elateia is very fine.

Dr. Clarke proceeded direct from Velitza to Dadi, in a direction more to the N.W., crossing over a projecting foot of Parnassus, and passing, by a bridge, a river called *Karafpotami*, "Madam's River." Dadi is described as a large Greek town, containing 700 houses and some good shops: it is built in a theatrical form upon a series of terraces facing the plain of the Cephissus. A hill beyond the town, where now stands a small church, has been anciently surrounded with walls, and one of the "mural turrets" is yet standing. Dr. Clarke thinks it must have been a place of great consideration; "probably Amphiclea."* From this place, he descended along an ancient military way, passing an aqueduct and ancient fountain,

* Sir W. Gell supposed Dadi to be Drymæa, the ruins of which Mr. Dodwell places at a *palaio-castro* and ancient site, an hour and twenty minutes further northward.

into the plain of Elateia. He crossed the Cephissus by a bridge of five arches, and shortly leaving it to the right, began to ascend a part of the Œtean range (supposed to be the ancient Callidromus,) which bounds the plain on the north. Here, he noticed foundations of ruined walls on the left; higher up, on the right, a ruin called the church of St. John; and still higher, a mosque and ruined village called Mergenari. Thence, a very bad road leads to the summit of the narrow pass, where a magnificent view suddenly presented itself, extending over the whole of the Maliac Gulf, which looked like a lake in the vast depth below. Upon the right, projected the Cenæan promontory of Eubœa. Towards the left, extended in many a wavy line and sinuous projection, the summits and shores of Thessaly. Below, the towers of Bodonitza were seen upon a lofty conical hill rising among the craggy summits of the mountain, crowned with forests of oak and pine.

Bodonitza (or Pontonitza) is supposed by the learned Traveller to occupy the site of Thronium.* There is a modern fortress here, and there are remains of ancient walls below the hill on which it stands; but there are no antiquities, although the place must always have been an important bulwark in guarding this defile. Continuing (the next day) to descend by the ancient paved way, our Traveller suddenly found himself, at the end of an hour, in a small plain surrounded with mountains, just before the descent to the narrowest part of the defile falls off abruptly by a steep and uninterrupted declivity. Here, close to the

* Nothing can be more uncertain than these conjectures. Sir W. Gell says; "it might rather be Calliarus." Some have erroneously supposed it to be Opus; and "something may be said," we are told, in favour of its being Cnemis.

ancient way upon the right, is an ancient tumulus, upon which are broken remains of a massive square pedestal, consisting of large blocks of red marble breccia, encrusted with a brown lichen. Being the only tomb that occurs in the whole of this defile, and corresponding precisely in its situation to the description given by Herodotus, there can be no doubt, Dr. Clarke says, that this is the *polyandrium* erected in memory of those heroes who fell at Thermopylæ, whereon were placed five *stelæ*, one of which contained the "thrilling epitaph," thus rendered by the learned Traveller:

> "To Lacedæmon's sons, O stranger, tell,
> That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

The descent now becomes rapid, and the military way, which leads through thick woods, is in many places broken up by torrents, as described by Strabo. In about three quarters of an hour, the traveller reaches the remains of the ancient wall which formerly extended along the chain of Œta, from the Maliac Gulf to that of Corinth, * forming the barrier of Hellas Proper towards Œtolia and Thessaly: it is composed of large and rudely-shaped stones, and put together without cement. Immediately beyond this wall, is a fountain overshadowed by an enormous plane-tree, † on leaving which the traveller enters upon a narrow, paved causeway, having on each side a deep and impassable morass, bounded, towards the east, by the sea, and on the west, by the precipices of Œta. On a small narrow bridge, which marks the

* A distance of twenty-four leagues.

† It was at this fountain, Dr. Clarke supposes, that the Persian horsemen sent forward by Xerxes, saw the Spartans of the advanced guard under Leonidas, occupied in combing their hair, or in gymnastic exercises.

most important point of the passage, there is a Turkish *derveni*, still, as in ancient times, guarded by sentinels; and a little further on are the hot springs, once sacred to Hercules, and still known by their ancient name (*Thermæ*), from which this defile received its illustrious name.

THERMOPYLÆ.

THESE springs are about half way between Bodonitza and Zeitoun. They issue principally from two mouths at the foot of the limestone precipices of Œta. The temperature, in the month of December, was found to be 111° of Fahrenheit.* The water is very transparent, but deposits a calcareous concretion (carbonate of lime), which adheres to reeds and sticks, like the waters of the Anio at Tivoli, and the sulphurous lake between that place and Rome. A large extent of surface is covered with this deposite. It is impregnated with carbonic acid, lime, muriate of soda, and sulphur. The ground about the springs yields a hollow sound like that within the crater of the Solfatara near Naples. In some places, Dr. Clarke observed cracks and fissures filled with stagnant water, through which a gaseous fluid was rising in large bubbles to the surface, its fetid smell bespeaking it to be sulphuretted hydrogen. The springs are very copious, and immediately form several rapid streams running into the sea, which is apparently about a mile from the pass. Baths were built here by Herodes Atticus. The defile or strait continues for some distance beyond the hot springs, and then the road, which is still paved in many places, bears off all at once

* Dr. Holland found it to be 103° or 104° at the mouth of the fissures.

across the plain to Zeitoun, distant three hours from Thermopylæ.

Near the springs, there are faint traces of a wall and circular tower, composed of a thick mass of small stones, and apparently not of high antiquity. The foot of the mountain, however, Mr. Dodwell says, is so covered with trees and impenetrable bushes as to hide any vestiges which may exist of early fortifications. Herodotus says, that the wall built by the Phocians as a protection against the inroads of the Thessalians, was near the spring, and that it was formerly occupied by gates. This wall was subsequently repaired by the Greeks, at the time of the Persian invasion; was at a later period renewed and fortified by Antiochus, when defending himself against the Romans; and lastly, was restored by Justinian when that monarch sought to secure the tottering empire by fortresses and walls: he is stated also to have constructed cisterns here, for the reception of rain-water. The question is, whether this be the site of the ancient wall, as Dr. Holland and Mr. Dodwell suppose, or whether the spring referred to by Herodotus be not the fountain mentioned by Dr. Clarke, who describes the wall, not as traversing the marsh, but as extending along the mountainous chain of Œta from sea to sea. The cisterns built by Justinian would hardly be in the marshy plain, but must be looked for within the fortified pass. The topography of this part requires, however, to be more distinctly elucidated. Out of six celebrated rivers which discharged themselves into the sea, in the vicinity of Thermopylæ, only three can at present be identified with any degree of certainty: these are the Boagrius, the Asopus, and the Spercheius. The other three were the Melas, the Dyras, and the Phœnix.

"We know from Strabo," remarks Mr. Dodwell, "that all this coast has been greatly changed by the violent efforts of nature; and it is probable, that, since the time of the Geographer, the features of the country have been undergoing a gradual but unremitting alteration. The marshes have gained considerably on the sea, while the rivers which discharge themselves into the Maliac Gulf, continually rolling great quantities of earth, have formed long, low projections to a considerable distance from their mouths. The intermediate pools are every day more choked with sand and mud, which, in process of time, will probably be converted into marshy ground, and afterwards into cultivated land. Even the Cenæum promontory may, in the course of ages, become united with the Thessalian shore."

It is very probable, however, that a more accurate examination of the spot will shew, that the accuracy of Herodotus and Strabo has been somewhat too hastily arraigned, and that the changes have been less considerable than this author represents. "It is certain," remarks Dr. Holland, "that, as far back as the time of Herodotus, a morass formed one of the boundaries of the pass even in its narrowest part; and it appears from his account, that the Phocians had artificially increased this, by allowing the water from the hot-springs to spread itself over the surface, with the view of rendering the passage yet more impracticable to their restless neighbours, the Thessalians. From the later descriptions of Livy and Pausanias, it is probable, that, before their time, this swampy plain had extended itself, and become more nearly resembling its present state."

Formidable as this pass may seem, it has never opposed an effectual barrier to an invading army, the

strength of these Gates of Greece being rendered vain by the other mountain routes which avoid them. "The Persians," Procopius says, "found only one path over the mountains: now, there are many, and large enough to admit a cart or chariot." A path was pointed out to Dr. Clarke, to the north of the hot-springs, which is still used by the inhabitants in journeying to Salona. "After following this path to a certain distance, another road branches from it toward the south-east, according to the route pursued by the Persians upon that occasion." Dr. Holland ascended Mount Œta by "a route equally singular and interesting, but difficult and not free from danger." After skirting for a mile or two along the foot of the high cliffs which extend westward from the pass, and form the southern boundary of the valley, he turned into a path winding upwards along a deep and thickly wooded recess in the mountains, through which a stream flowed towards the sea, which he supposes to be, "if not indeed the Asopus, either the Dyras or the Melas." Turning then to the right, and rapidly ascending for nearly an hour, he came to the very edge of the cliffs which overhang the valley; lofty, precipitous, and rugged, yet clothed with a rich profusion of wood. The view from this point, of the plains of the Spercheius, of the Bay, and of the chain of Othrys was very magnificent. He now turned southward into the mountains by a rapid ascent, and reached towards evening, the miserable village of Leuterochorio, situated on a very lofty mountain-level, "probably that formerly inhabited by the Œnianes," but below the highest summits of Œta.

When the Gauls under Brennus invaded Greece, the treacherous discovery made to him of a path through the mountains, compelled the Greeks to

retreat, to prevent their being taken in rear. Antiochus was in like manner forced to retreat with precipitation on seeing the heights above the pass occupied by Roman soldiers, who, under the command of M. Porcius Cato, had been sent round to seize these positions. In the reign of Justinian, the army of the Huns advanced to Thermopylæ, and discovered the path over the mountains. When the Sultan Bajazet entered Greece towards the close of the fourteenth century, there appears to have been little need of these artifices: a Greek bishop is stated to have conducted the Mohammedan conquerors through the Pass, to enslave his country. During the present Revolution, Thermopylæ has never opposed any serious barrier against the progress of the Turkish forces. The passes of Callidromus and Cnemis were disputed on one occasion with success by a body of armatoles under Odysseus; but they have since then been repeatedly suffered to cross the ridges of Othrys and Œta without opposition.

We have now conducted the reader to the northern boundary of Ancient Hellas in this direction; and our contracting limits admonish us to hasten back to the point from which we started, that we may with as much speed as possible transport him to the once-glorious plains of Attica.

FROM DELPHI TO ATHENS.

On leaving Kastri, Mr. Dodwell (to whose route we shall adhere) proceeded eastward through Arracoba* to Distomo, a village containing about 150 houses, built chiefly with the fragments of large blocks

* An hour and a half from Arracoba, are ruins of an ancient city on a hill, with a stream at its base, called Zimeno or Palaio Arakoba. A little further, is a spot where three roads meet, lead-

of a dark-coloured stone, extracted from the surrounding ruins of an ancient city, the ancient Ambrysos. The inhabitants are Greeks and Arnauts. The acropolis occupied a round hill a few hundred feet to the north of the village, where the foundations of the wall are still discernible; and the church of St. Elias probably stands on the site of a temple, with the ruins of which it appears to have been built. A copious fountain rises in the village, and forms a small stream which finds its way to a marsh a short way to the south. In the rocks of the acropolis are sepulchres. At two hours distance from Distomo, is the ancient Anticyra, now called Aspropiti.* There is here a good port, which is frequented by vessels for corn; and a few ruins are found on a bold promontory connected by an isthmus with the continent.

Distomo stands at the southern extremity of a rich plain, at the distance from Kastri of about five hours and a half. At rather more than an hour and a half from this place is the monastery of St. Luke Stiriotes, near the ruins of the ancient Stiris, out of which it has been built. Wheler styles this one of the finest convents in all Greece.

The monastery itself is a barbarous edifice and of an ordinary appearance, and the cells are very mean; but the church is described by Chandler as a sumptuous fabric. "It has suffered greatly, as might be expected, from age and earthquakes; and the outside is much encumbered and deformed by the addition of huge but-

ing to Delphi, to Distomo, and to Daulis. This spot, now called *Derbeni*, or more generally Σπιτια, was anciently called Schiste. Some large blocks of stone here indicate, perhaps, the tomb of Laius.

* That is, "the white house," which may allude, Mr. Dodwell thinks, to the temple of Neptune which once stood here. Anticyra was proverbially famous for its hellebore, the root of a plant which was the chief produce of the rocky mountains above the city.

tresses to support the walls, and by the stopping up of several windows, particularly those of the principal dome. The inside is lined with polished marble, empannelled, but some of the chapels have been stripped. The pavement is inlaid with various colours, artfully disposed. The domes are decorated with painting and gilding in mosaic, well executed, representing holy personages and scriptural stories. The gallery is illuminated with pieces of transparent marble, called *phengites*, fixed in the wall in square compartments, and shedding a yellow light; but, without, resembling common stone, and rudely carved. A fabric thus splendid in decay, must have been, when recently finished, exceedingly glorious. Beneath the church is an extensive vault, in which mass is celebrated on certain festivals. It is the cemetery of the monks. The body is enclosed in a horizontal niche on a bier, which is taken out when wanted. The bones are washed with wine, and thrown on a heap. In the area are two flat tombs raised above the floor, erected, as the abbot informed us, over the founder, Romanus, and his empress." *

From Distomo, Mr. Dodwell retraced his steps to "the tomb of Laius," and then turned eastward into

* Chandler, vol. ii. c. 35. The author of some Iambic verses in praise of the monastery, which were shewn to Chandler, states this emperor to have been the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was crowned in A.D. 945, about the time that this Saint Luke, junior, the hermit of Stiria, died. Gibbon, however, makes Romanus II. succeed his father not till 959; and he is said to have been poisoned by his empress in 963. Chandler has given a sketch of the life of this St. Luke; but it throws little light on the foundation of the monastery. The best description of the place is given by Wheler. He says, the monks possessed many manuscripts; but those which he was permitted to see, were only ordinary ones, as of service books, saints' lives, &c. There was a fair MS. copy of the works of St. Chrysostom in the chamber of one of the fathers, who

a narrow, barren glen, leading out into a cultivated plain; and at the end of two hours and twenty-three minutes, arrived at Daulia. This is an Albanian village consisting of sixty cottages and eighteen churches! These consecrated edifices were, however, for the most part composed only of four loose walls, formed of ancient fragments, and without a roof, the altar being frequently nothing more than either a slab of marble supported by the block of an ancient column, or the pedestal of a statue. "The Greek priests, as an expiation for great misdeeds, sometimes impose upon the penitent the construction of a church;" and these mock-chapels are the result. The remains of the ancient acropolis are found on an oblong rock above the village, which is precipitous on all sides, and must have been very strong. It commands an interesting view over the rich plain of Chæroneia and Panopeus towards Livadia. Parnassus is seen to great advantage from the plain below. A road runs directly up the mountain, passing over it to Delphi. There are some large caverns in the rock of the acropolis, which are now the retreat of sheep and goats; and to the west of this is a rocky hill, with a deep, narrow glen, through which runs a stream called Platania, flowing from Parnassus to join the small river called Aliphantino, when their united waters enter the Chæroneian plain. Mr. Dodwell crossed this river in proceeding the next morning to Agios Blasios,* the ancient Panopeus; distant one hour

read the ancient Greek pretty well. About a mile and a half off, there lived (in 1676) a hermit, who seemed to be emulous of the fame of St. Luke, and was already esteemed a saint. Wheler visited him, and was so fascinated with the beauty and retirement of the scene as to be half inclined to turn caloyer himself!

* Pronounced *Aivlash:* it is the English Saint Blase.

from Daulia. Here also is a ruined citadel with two dilapidated churches, but no remains of interest.* Leaving on the right the village of Kapourna (or Kaprena) on the site of the ancient Chæroneia, Mr. Dodwell traversed some rich pasture-land and some barren hills; then passed through some rich arable land, and, in three hours and a quarter, arrived at Livadia.

This city is the head-town of a jurisdiction extending over a rich territory which includes the ancient Phocis, Bœotia, and Eubœa. It has a voivode as governor, and a kadi as judge, and contained in 1806, about 10,000 inhabitants, half of whom were Greek, and half Turkish. "The Greeks," says Mr. Dodwell, "are powerful and rich. Here are six mosques, and as many principal churches: the latter are in the diocese of Athens. The chief commerce consists in cotton and the red dye called *prinari*, which they export to Trieste, Venice, Leghorn, Genoa, and sometimes England. The neighbouring plains produce silk, rice, tobacco, and corn: the wine is plentiful, but of the worst quality." The winters here are intensely cold, and the summers as violently hot, the thermometer sometimes rising to 96° within doors.† It is then a very unhealthy residence, as the waters of Lake Kopais then stagnate in pools and swamps, sending up pestilential effluvia. The plague raged here in the years 1735, 6, for fifteen months, and destroyed about 6000 persons. The place is also much infested by locusts. Altogether, Livadia, though

* In one of these churches, Sir W. Gell says, "are curious paintings of the torments of the damned." He mentions also in a glen to the west of the village, a species of stone which, on being rubbed, emits an odour—probably the fœtid limetsone. "The story of Pyrrha and Deucalion refers to this."

† Mount Granitza, a branch of Helicon, intercepts the sun in winter, and the sea-breezes in summer.

from the north, it has a beautiful appearance, would seem to be a most uninviting place. The city is commanded by a modern castle, now mouldering into decay, which was a stronghold of the Turks in 1694: it exhibits very few ancient vestiges, but was probably the site of the ancient Medeia.*

Unattractive as the place is in itself, it acquires an interest from being pretty clearly ascertained to occupy the site of the sacred Grove of Trophonius. In this neighbourhood was the far-famed oracular cave, in which rose the fountains of Memory and of Oblivion. The scene of this imposing superstition is thus described by Mr. Dodwell.

"There is a rough and stony channel behind the town, worn by the winter torrents. From this glen rises a precipitous rock, on which stands the castle. In the eastern face of the rock is an excavated chamber, (12 feet 9 in. by 11 feet 4 in., and 8 feet 6 in. in height,) raised three or four feet from the present level of the ground, to which we ascended by steps formed by the present voivode, who uses it as a cool retreat in the summer. Within the cave, just under the roof, are still seen the remains of some elegant painted ornaments, particularly the funereal leaf which is delineated on terra cotta vases. It is probable, that this place contained the statues of Æsculapius and Hygeia.† The rock which is contiguous to the cave, is full of niches of various sizes for statues and votive offerings. Near this, the sacred fountain issues from the rock by ten small modern spouts: the water is

* Livadia was burned by Omer Vrionis in 1821; and Odysseus, in an attack upon the Turkish garrison, completed the destruction of the city.

† A stone bench within this chamber, Dr. Clarke thinks, may have been the "throne of Mnemosyne," on which those who came from consulting the oracle underwent the interrogatories

extremely cold and clear. On the opposite side of the channel is the other fount, the water of which, though not warm, is of a much higher temperature. The two springs of Memory and Oblivion, blending their waters, pass under a modern bridge, and immediately form a rapid stream, the ancient Hercyna. It contains excellent fish of a small size, and, in its way through the town, turns several mills: after a course of a few miles, it enters the Lake Copais."

The second spring, which, Sir W. Gell says, *is still called Lephe*, (a corruption of Lethe,) forms the principal source of the Hercyna. Its waters, Dr. Clarke describes as troubled and muddy; and from this circumstance, as well as from the substances found floating in it, he supposes it to be the gushing forth of some river from a subterraneous channel.* The lively imagination of this Traveller has endeavoured to supply the want of existing data in describing this curious spot.

"There was something," he remarks, "in the nature of the scenery here, which tended to excite the solemn impressions that were essential to the purposes of priestcraft. The votaries of the oracle were conducted through a grove to the *hieron*. Having reached the consecrated precincts, they could not avoid being struck with its gloomy and imposing grandeur. It is surrounded with rocks, bare and rugged, rising in fearful precipices to a great height; the silence of the

* This opinion was first suggested by Wheler. "I do not," he says, "call it the fountain, but think that some other rivers from the Helicon do make it rise here by a subterraneous passage under the mountains." Pausanias says, that the fountains are within the cave (καταβασιον; called by Strabo, χασμα; by Lucian, σπηλαιον); but his words, Mr. Dodwell thinks, "must not be rigorously interpreted." Dr. Clarke thinks, that the word described the glen or chasm. This will hardly be deemed satisfactory.

place being interrupted only by the roaring of waters bursting from their cavernous abyss. The most sacred part of the *hieron*, containing the narrow entrance to the *adytum* and the receptacle for the offerings, is a perpendicular rock of black marble.....Immediately below the chamber, a little towards the left hand, is the *stoma* or sacred aperture of the *adytum*. It is small and low, and shaped like an oven; and this, Pausanias affirms to have been the form of the artificial masonry adapted to its mouth: it is, in fact, barely spacious enough to admit the passage of a man's body." The Author's companion succeeded in introducing himself into this cavity, after they had removed the rubbish from the opening, but found the passage to be entirely closed at the depth of about six feet.

Whether this was really the entrance, must for the present remain problematical. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that the entrances are probably concealed under the present surface of the soil, which has the appearance of having been considerably elevated. The whole distance from the ancient city to the oracle, was covered with temples, *hiera*, and votive decorations. Of these or of the sacred grove, not a vestige is left. Higher up the glen, however, on the other side of the torrent, and in the face of a precipice, is *another* cave, "now a chapel, to which there is no ascent, except by a chain. The rock is there evidently artificially excavated, and there are marks in the floor, where columns or altars seem to have stood." This remarkable spot, which is mentioned by Sir W. Gell, neither Mr. Dodwell nor Dr. Clarke seems to have explored. "All these things," as Wheler says, "want good search and examination, and are not easily to be found out by travellers who stay but a little while in a place." The subterranean wonders and oracular jugglery of the Trophonian cavern

may possibly yet be brought to light by a little expense and perseverance.*

From Livadia, it is a distance of about five and twenty miles to Thebes. Fifteen miles from the former place, and ten from the Bœotian capital, are the ruins of the ancient Haliartus, now called Mikrokoura, which commanded a narrow pass between the foot of Mount Libethrius and the lake. The road now traverses a ridge of hills which separate the plains of the Cephissus and Copais from that of Thebes. This rocky pass is reputed to be the one where the Sphinx proposed to the traveller her perilous questions; and there is reason to believe, that it is the spot to which Sophocles refers as the scene of his story.

We must not now venture into Bœotia. It is a bleak, foggy, inhospitable region, and, moreover, at present quite Turkish. The reader must excuse us, if we do not suffer ourselves to be seduced from our purpose even by the venerable name of its capital; of which, nevertheless, we shall find room to say something in our description of Turkey. Our narrow limits compel us also to pass over for the present, the names of Thespeia and Platæa. It is by a dreary

* Who Trophonius was, is as unknown as the site of his oracle. Public games were anciently celebrated at Libadeia in honour of this "subterranean divinity;" as is proved by an inscription found by Wheler at Megara. Yet, Julius Pollux is the only ancient writer who mentions them. Trophonius is said to have been the architect who, with his brother Agamedes, built the temple at Delphi. Why he should have had divine honours paid to him, one cannot tell. The various reasons assigned for it, shew that the ancient Greeks were as ignorant on this point as ourselves. Anacharsis is wisely made to cut short the discussion by remarking, that "almost all the objects of Grecian worship have origins which it is impossible to discover, and unnecessary to discuss." (Vol. iii. p. 175.) Jacob Bryant tells us, that Trophonius "was a sacred tower, *toroph-os*, *solis pythonis turris*; an oracular temple dedicated to the sun, situated near a vast cave n.

and rugged pass over Mount Cithæron, that we enter Attica. Having reached one of the lower ridges, commanding a view of the Athenian mountains in the distance, the traveller descends through a narrow rocky glen, and at three hours from Kokla (Platæa), reaches a fountain called Petrokeraki, forming a small stream, which is soon lost among the rocks. Not far from this fount, the glen ends at the foot of a steep and rugged hill on the left, crowned with the ruins of an acropolis now called Giphto Kastro (apparently corrupted from Αιγυπτου καστρο), "probably the ancient Eleutheria." The walls, which are very perfect, are in the style of those of Mantineia and Messene: they are fortified with square towers at unequal distances, projecting from the walls, and divided into two stories. Many of them are nearly entire. The walls of the acropolis, which are eight feet in thickness, enclose an area of about 360 yards by 110, within which are remains of a large oblong rectangular building, composed of a few layers of blocks of a polygonal form, which perhaps constituted the *cella* of a temple. In a plain at the eastern foot of Cithæron, are heaps of blocks and traces, the remains of the lower town, to which this formed the citadel. Here, the roads to Athens and Corinth diverge. The former route now leads for three hours through narrow glens and a wooded tract, called *Saranta Potamoi* (Forty Rivers), at the end of which it issues in the great Thriasian plain, at the head of the Eleusinian Gulf; an arid level broken only by a few scattered olive-trees, some large balania oaks, and the projections of Mount Parnes adorned with firs. Crossing this long level, the traveller leaves Eleusis about a mile to the right, and soon enters upon the *Via Sacra* by which the great processions passed from Athens to the temple of Ceres. This conducts him at last un-

derneath the cliffs upon the shore; then, by a rapid ascent, between the hills Ægaleon and Corydalus, and past the picturesque monastery of Daphne, occupying the supposed site of the temple of Apollo. Half a mile beyond this, he catches a view of the eastern part of the plain of Athens; and in a few minutes, a break in the hills discloses to view the "sacred city,"

> "Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence .....
> See there the olive-grove of Academe,
> Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
> Trills her thick-warbled notes, the summer long;
> There, flowery hill, Hymettus, with the sound
> Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
> To studious musing: there Ilissus rolls
> His whispering stream." *

ATHENS.

ATHENS, were we to attempt the illustration of its history and antiquities, would of itself require a

* Milton, Parad. Reg. b. iv.

† "To give a detailed account of every thing which has been hitherto deemed worthy of notice in such a city as Athens," is the remark of Dr. Clarke, (and we may be allowed to adopt his apology,) "would be as much a work of supererogation as to republish all the inscriptions which have been found in the place." Till towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, however, Athens had so totally ceased to attract attention, that the city was believed to have been totally destroyed. Crusius, a learned German, first endeavoured, in 1584, to awaken public curiosity respecting its remains and to promote investigation. De La Guilletière, in 1675, was the first traveller who published a description of the city and its antiquities. He was followed by Sir George Wheler and Dr. Spon. During the last and the present century, the publications relating to Athens have been constantly multiplying. Chandler, who visited Greece in 1765, devotes thirty-eight chapters (considerably more than half) of his second volume to Athens and its vicinity. Much of his description, however, is borrowed from the larger and splendid work of Stuart and Revett. Mr. Dodwell has

volume; but the numerous publications in which they are minutely described, supersede the necessity of our entering upon the seductive and boundless field. Through the publication of Stuart more especially, Sir W. Gell remarks, "Athens has become more known than the other cities"—he might have said, than any other city—"of Greece." Research, indeed would seem to be not yet exhausted. Mr. Dodwell has contributed some highly valuable illustrative matter; and still, there seems scope for investigation and disquisition interminable. From the perplexities of our present task, we can extricate ourselves only by adhering to the brief and melancholy account of its present state which is furnished by the most recent travellers.

In 1812, Athens could boast of a population of 12,000 souls, not more than a fifth part of whom were Turks; and the constant influx of foreigners gave it a more lively, social, and agreeable aspect than any other town in Greece. Even the Turks were remarked to have lost something of their harshness by coming in contact with so many Europeans, and to have acquired quiet and inoffensive habits. Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans might almost always be found here; our countrymen, however, generally, in a tenfold proportion to the others, and

devoted no fewer than 230 quarto pages to this favourite subject; and Dr. Clarke, who professes to confine himself to such observations as had not been made by preceding travellers, occupies three chapters (upwards of 80 pages, 8vo. edition) with his description of the city. Mr. Hobhouse has 100 pages (4to.) upon Athens. M. Chateaubriand contents himself with about 40 pages of sentimental description. In Sir W. Gell's Itinerary of Greece, (p. 35—47) will be found a brief and useful catalogue of the objects of chief interest. A learned paper on the Topography of Athens by Mr. Hawkins, is inserted in Walpole's Memoirs, and in the same volume are contained other communications relating to Attica.

taking Athens as a resting-place or a centre to more extensive research. "From whatsoever part of Turkey the traveller may arrive," says Dr. Holland, "he finds himself (at Athens) coming to a sort of home, where various comforts may be obtained that are unknown elsewhere in this country. Society is more attainable, and the Greek females enter into it in general with much less restraint than in Ioannina or other Greek towns." In fact, instead of a wretched straggling village, like Corinth, or a collection of huts scattered among the ruins of temples, Athens presented the appearance of "a large and flourishing town, well peopled, and containing many excellent houses, with various appendages belonging to the better stage of cultivated life."

Such was modern Athens at the beginning of the present century; but the ruthless contest which has been carried on during the past few years, has now left but a mass of ruins. It has been the scene of frightful massacre, devastating siege, and repeated conflicts. Mr. Waddington thus describes its appearance in 1824.

"The modern town of Athens was never remarkable for beauty or regularity of construction: it has now suffered the demolition of about one-third of its buildings. Many Turkish houses were burned by the Greeks, in the first siege of the citadel; many Greek houses were destroyed during the occupation of the place by Omer Briòni; and many of both have fallen into the streets from mere humidity and neglect. The churches and mosques have not met with greater mercy in this religious war; and even the ashes of the dead have not been allowed to repose in security. The spacious Turkish burial-ground at the foot of the Areopagus, formerly solemn and sacred, and now scattered over with the fragments of its monuments, and profaned by the insults of the conqueror, attests

the fury of a revenge not to be satiated by blood. That part of the town which lay immediately under the northern or Pelasgic wall of the citadel, where the house of poor Lusieri will be recollected as very distinguished, has naturally suffered the most severely.....

"The Greeks had scarcely obtained possession of the acropolis, before they made two discoveries, which could never have been predestined to any Mussulman. The one was a small subterraneous chapel, underneath (or near, so) the right wing of the Propylæum, and which appeared to have been long filled with rubbish: the other was the celebrated fountain of Pan, rising so near the north-west corner of the citadel that it was immediately enclosed by a new bastion; and being now comprehended within the walls, it renders their defenders nearly indifferent to the caprices of the wind and clouds. In the midst of so much of devastation, I am deeply consoled in being able to add, that very trifling injury has been sustained by the remains of antiquity. The Parthenon, as the noblest, has also been the severest sufferer; for the lantern of Demosthenes, which had been much defaced by the conflagration of the convent, of which it formed a part, has already received some repairs from the care of the French Vice-Consul. Any damage of the Parthenon is irreparable. It appears that the Turks, having expended all their balls, broke down the south-west end of the wall of the *cella* in search of lead, and boast to have been amply rewarded for their barbarous labour. But this is the extent of the damage. No column has been overthrown, nor any of the sculptures displaced or disfigured. I believe all the monuments except these two, to have escaped unviolated by the hand of war; but almost at the moment of the commencement of the Revolution, the temple of Theseus was touched

by a flash of propitious lightning, so little injurious to the building, that we might be tempted to consider it as an omen of honour and victory.

"The present miseries of the Athenians are exceeded only by those of the Sciots and others, who have suffered absolute slavery or expatriation; for, amid such aggravations of living wretchedness, we have not a tear to waste on those who have perished. Three times has that unhappy people emigrated almost in a body, and sought refuge from the sabre among the houseless rocks of Salamis. Upon these occasions, I am assured, that many have dwelt in caverns, and many in miserable huts, constructed on the mountain sides by their own feeble hands. Many have perished, too, from an exposure to an intemperate climate; many from diseases contracted through the loathsomeness of their habitations; many from hunger and misery. On the retreat of the Turks, the survivors returned to their country. But to what a country did they return! To a land of desolation and famine; and, in fact, on the first re-occupation of Attica, after the departure of Omer Briòni, several persons are known to have subsisted for some time on grass, till a supply of corn reached the Peiræus from Syra and Hydra."

"In my daily rides among the mountains and villages, I observed little else than distress and poverty. The villages are half burned and half deserted; the peasants civil, but suspicious; the convents abandoned or defaced; and their large massive gates shattered with musket-balls; while human bones may sometimes be discovered bleaching in the melancholy solitude. In the mean time, there is no appearance of depression or indolence. A great portion of the ground is cultivated, and crops are sown, in the uncertainty who may reap them "for the immortal gods:" the

olives, too, and the vineyards, are receiving almost the same labour which would be bestowed upon them in a time of profound peace.

"In the city, the bazar exhibits a scene of some animation; and, owing to the great influx of refugees from Thebes and Livadia, some of whom have even preserved a part of their property, there is here no appearance of depopulation. There is even occasionally some inclination to gayety; genuine, native hilarity will sometimes have its course in spite of circumstances, and the maids of Athens will dance their romaic in the very face of misery. But it will scarcely be credited, that the celebration of the carnival is at this instant proceeding with great uproar and festivity. Drunken buffoons, harlequins, and painted jesters are riotously parading the streets, while Gourra's sulky Albanians sit frowning at the fortress-gate, and the Turks and the plague are preparing to rush down from Negropont and Carysto.

"It is true, however, that this delirium is by no means universal. Very many of the inhabitants are far too deeply sunk in wretchedness to respond to any voice of mirth. The pale and trembling figures of women, who stand like spectres by the walls of their falling habitations; the half-naked and starving infants, who shiver at their breasts; the faces of beauty, tinged with deepest melancholy, which timidly present themselves at the doors and windows of their prisons rather than their houses—objects such as these are so numerous, and so productive of painful sympathy, as to leave us little pleasure in the contemplation of the progress of revolution; and Athens, however erect in her pride of independence, affords a very mournful and afflicting spectacle."

Count Pecchio landed at the Piræus in the spring of the following year. It was the time of barley-har-

vest, and the road to Athens was thronged with women and children coming from the city to engage in the labours of the field, and to secure their produce before the Turks, like locusts, should arrive to lay waste the country. After a two hours' walk, amid olive-trees and vineyards, he entered Athens. The streets were full of *palikars*, but the houses were empty, the families and furniture being withdrawn. General Gourra had given orders for the women and children to evacuate the city, and had placed the acropolis in a condition to sustain a two years' siege. "If, therefore," adds the Count, "the Turks should wish to gain possession of Athens by force, they would purchase with their blood only heaps of stones; for, excepting a few houses, all the rest of the city is a ruinous wilderness."

The temple of Minerva Parthenos in the acropolis, is still, however, "the most magnificent ruin in the world." Though "an entire museum" has been transported to England from the spoils of this wonderful edifice, it remains without a rival. The history of this beautiful fabric is the history of Greece. First a temple sacred to the goddess of wisdom, it was next converted into a church consecrated to the idolatrous worship of the Panagia, and, lastly, was transformed by the Ottomans into a mosque. Alaric the Goth is supposed to have commenced the work of destruction. The Venetians, who besieged the acropolis in 1687, threw a bomb which demolished the roof, and did much damage to the fabric. Since then, the Turks have made it a quarry, and virtuosi and noble antiquaries have more than rivalled them in the work of havoc and spoliation, destroying

"What Goth, and Turk, and Time have spared."

War and "wasting fire" will probably ere long complete the demolition of "Athens's poor remains."

ÆGINA.

THE neighbouring islands of Ægina and Salamis (now called Colouris) have hitherto escaped from the devastating fury of the Turks, and have repeatedly afforded shelter to the fugitive population of Attica.* The former, pronounced by Sir W. Gell "one of the most interesting spots in Greece," has of late years been rising into importance and prosperity owing to its connexion with the commerce of Hydra. The inhabitants had formerly lived chiefly in a city built by the Venetians upon a mountain in the interior; but the love of commerce induced them to prefer the sea-shore, and they accordingly chose the site of the ancient Ægina. Here, in 1825, the emigrations caused by the Revolution, had assembled a mixed population of about 10,000 Greeks from all parts. Mr. Waddington states the number of refugees from Scio, Aivali, and Livadia, at nearly 1200, of whom about a fifth were men. To these were subsequently added about 1000 Ipsariots, who, after the catastrophe which befel their native island in 1824, sought an asylum here, where those who had preserved any property, continued to prosecute their maritime and commercial

* Mr. Waddington, speaking of Salamis, says: "That rock contains 11,477 souls, whom the circumstances of the war have reduced to misery: of these, 192 only are natives. The greater part are refugees from Bœotia: the rest are Livadians, with some few from Negropont and Aivali. During the period of the annual Turkish invasion, nearly the whole population of Attica is added to this list." Count Pecchio says: "This island, which has several times saved the ancient Athenians, gave an asylum in 1821 to full *one hundred thousand Greeks*. At the beginning of the winter, when the Turks usually retire, the families return to their firesides, if the fury of the Turks has not destroyed them."

employments. Ipsara is an arid, sterile rock; Ægina, on the contrary, is a beautiful island, fertile, well-cultivated, and under a delightful sky; yet still, Count Pecchio states, the Ipsariots sighed for their barren island.

The temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, situated on a mount of the same name about four hours from the port, is supposed to be one of the most ancient temples in Greece. The approach, by a winding path ascending through rich and varied scenery, is exquisitely attractive, and nothing can exceed the beauty of the situation. The ruin stands on the top of a wooded hill, of moderate height, but commanding a noble view of the greater part of the island, the whole of the Gulf, Salamis, and some of the more distant islands, the coast of Attica from the Scironian rocks to Cape Colonna,* the Parthenon and Eleusis. The temple is remote from any human habitation, and was formerly surrounded with shrubs and small pine-trees†. "No ruin in Greece," Mr. Dodwell says, "is more rich in the picturesque, as every point of view has some peculiar charm." It originally consisted of thirty-six Doric columns, exclusive of those within the *cella*, six at each end and twelve on each side. Within the *cellæ* were ten smaller columns, five on each side, supporting the roof, the lower parts of which still retain their ancient positions. Twenty-five columns were left entire in 1806. The greater part of the architrave also was still remaining, but the cornice with the *metopæ* and triglyphs, had all fallen. The temple is built of a soft, porous stone,

* To an Englishman, "Colonna's Steep" has an additional interest as the actual scene of Falconer's Shipwreck.

† The trees have been cut down and the picturesque effect greatly injured by classical spoliators, "in order to facilitate the removal of the statues found beneath the ruin."

coated with a thin stucco, and the architraves and cornice were elegantly painted. The pavement also was found to be covered with a fine stucco, of a vermilion colour. The platform upon which it stands has been supported on all sides by terrace walls. In the rock beneath, there is a cave, apparently leading under the temple, and which was doubtless often employed in the mysteries of the old idolatry.

Here we must close the volume. Of Ancient Greece, much yet remains to be described, which may with propriety be comprised in our topographical account of European Turkey. The description of Constantinople, Salonika, and Ioannina, will connect itself also with further details relating to the modern Greeks, as well as respecting that "be barous, anarchic despotism," to adopt the eloquent language of Burke, beneath which "the finest countries in the most genial climates in the world, are wasted by peace, more than any countries have been wasted by war; where arts are unknown, where manufactures languish, where science is extinguished, where agriculture decays, where the human race itself melts away and perishes under the eye of the observer."

THE END

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